23-25-11

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WESTERN UNION

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PRESIDENT

1201

(20)

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DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
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N131 PD=SACRAMENTO CALIF 23 420P

1948 FEB 23 PM 8 30

DR W E DUBOIS=

IN CARE ROOSEVELT HOTEL=

CONGRATULATIONS ON 80 YEARS OF SERVICE TO ALL HUMANITY=

SACRAMENTO CITIZENS LEAGUE FOR GOOD GOVERNMENT.

80.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Reg Int 1948.

December 6, 1948

Dr. Robert Sager
285 Central Park West
New York 24, New York

Dear Dr. Sager:

Underseparate cover I have sent you two pamphlets:

MEDICAL CARE AND THE PLIGHT
OF THE NEGRO

PROGRESS AND PORTENTS FOR THE
NEGRO IN MEDICINE

There is a charge of 35¢ for these two booklets, the first sells for 10¢ and the latter for 25¢.

You will find a rather extensive article on the Negro in medicine in THE CRISIS, April, 1948. This can be secured by calling the CRISIS office, Longacre 3-6890. Also, consult the NEGRO YEAR BOOK, 1947, and write to the director of the NegroMedical Association for other data. Dr. Louis T. Wright of Harlem Hospital can give you information on how to contact this association.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

[St. James Literary Forum]

lecture

Ye shall know the truth and
the truth shall make you free

St. James Literary Forum

Organized April 1927
8401 Cedar Avenue
Cleveland 3, Ohio

REV. JOSEPH GOMEZ
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

ANDREW J. CUNNINGHAM
PRESIDENT
ROY STEWART
FIRST VICE PRESIDENT
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COMMENTATOR
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CHARLES W. BROWN
OFFICIAL HOST
KATHLEEN FORBES
MINISTER OF MUSIC

23-48-43

January 19, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. Dubois:

We are inviting you to be the guest speaker before the St. James Literary Forum on Sunday, April 4, at 4:00 p.m.

You may speak on any subject you wish.

We shall look forward to hearing from you favorably, with the announcement of the subject on which you will talk, and the amount of your fee.

Mr. Davis informs us that he has written to you.

Thanking you, we are

Very cordially yours,

ST. JAMES LITERARY FORUM

Andrew J. Cunningham

Andrew J. Cunningham, President

AJC/caw

Speaks on Sunday

Sorry - too late for reader, Before Apr 18

[St. James Literary Forum]

January 21, 1948

Mr. Andrew J. Cunningham, President
St. James Literary Forum
8401 Cedar Avenue
Cleveland 3, Ohio

Dear Mr. Cunningham: Dr. DuBois wishes to thank you for your letter of January 19 inviting him to address the St. James Literary Forum. He appreciates the honor and would be glad to appear before your group. However, since he will be lecturing in the Far West, on the Pacific Coast, and in the South during the next few months, he will be unable to come to you before April 18. If you would like to present him sometime after that date, he will be glad to hear from you further, at which time you might suggest several suitable dates.

Thanking you for your interest and courtesy, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

[Saint James Literary Forum]

lecture

Ye shall know the truth and
the truth shall make you free

St. James Literary Forum

Organized April 1927
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MINISTER OF MUSIC

REV. JOSEPH GOMEZ
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

January 23, 1948

23-48-44

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois,
20 East 40th Street,
New York 18, N. Y.

My dear Dr. Dubois:

Mr. Harry E. Davis turned over to me the letter which he received from you concerning your coming to the St. James Forum.

We will be very pleased to have you come as our guest speaker on Sunday, May 2nd, or Sunday May 9th, at 4:00 p.m. The 2nd of May would be preferable, however.

You may speak on any subject that you feel will be of most benefit to the people. We here in Cleveland have been following your work with interest.

Respectfully yours,

ST. JAMES LITERARY FORUM

Andrew J. Cunningham

By: Andrew J. Cunningham, President

AJC/caw

[Saint James Literary Forum]

lecture

January 26, 1948

COPY

23-48-45

Mr. Andrew J. Cunningham, President
St. James Literary Forum
8401 Cedar Avenue
Cleveland 3, Ohio.

Dear Mr. Cunningham:

Your letter of January 22, concerning the appearance of Dr. DuBois in lecture before the St. James Forum, has just arrived. Since the Doctor had long since scheduled a prior speaking engagement in Baltimore, Maryland, for May 2, he will be unable to come to you until May 9. Consequently, we are thus confirming May 9 as the date of his appearance for you in Cleveland.

With thanks for your courtesy and interest, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

Lecture Lending

[Saint James Literary Forum]

Ye shall know the truth and
the truth shall make you free

St. James Literary Forum

Organized April 1927
8401 Cedar Avenue
Cleveland 3, Ohio

ANDREW J. CUNNINGHAM
PRESIDENT
ROY STEWART
FIRST VICE PRESIDENT
CARRIEBELL J. COOK
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MINISTER OF MUSIC

REV. JOSEPH GOMEZ
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

April 1, 1948.

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois,
20 West 40th, Street,
New York City, N. Y.

23-48-41

Dear Dr. Dubois:

Please send me the subject for your lecture at The St. James Forum on Sunday, May 9th, at 4: P. M.

We shall be looking forward to seeing you at that time.

Yours very truly,

Andrew J. Cunningham

Andrew J. Cunningham, Pres.

[Saint James Literary Forum]

April 2, 1948

23-24-42

Mr. Andrew J. Cunningham
8401 Cedar Avenue
Cleveland 3, Ohio

Dear Mr. Cunningham:

Your letter of April 1, to Dr. DuBois has just arrived. The Doctor is still out of the city, but I shall inform him of your request, as soon as I have heard from him I will contact you.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

[Saint James Literary Forum]

Lecture

April 13, 1948

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. Andrew J. Cunningham
St. James Literary Forum
8401 Cedar Avenue
Cleveland 3, Ohio

Dear Mr. Cunningham: Dr. DuBois, who is still out of the city lecturing, has asked me to write you to the effect that if it is not too late, he would like you to announce that the subject of his speech on May 9 will be:

WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS IN 1948

Would you please be good enough to let me hear from you concerning this change of titles?

With thanks for your courtesy, I remain.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

[Saint James Literary Forum]

TELEPHONE CEDAR 3562

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MUSIC DIRECTOR

Ye shall know the truth and
the truth shall make you free

JOSEPH GOMEZ
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

St. James Literary Forum
Organized April, 1927
8401 Cedar Avenue
Cleveland 3, Ohio

Lecture

April 15, 1948

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe,
Department of Special Research,
National Association for the Advancement of
Colored People,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, N. Y.

23-26-12

My dear Mr. Smythe:

The subject that you sent for Dr. Dubois, "WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS IN 1948", in our opinion is better than that originally announced, and is satisfactory to us.

We shall be looking forward to seeing Dr. DuBois on Sunday, May 9.

Incidentally, the Urban League, which has a program every Monday night at 10:00 p.m. over Radio Station WJW, would like to know if Dr. Dubois would be willing to stay over and appear on that program the Monday following his appearance at the Forum.

Very sincerely yours,

ST. JAMES LITERARY FORUM

Andrew J. Cunningham

Andrew J. Cunningham, President

AJC/caw

[St. James Literary Forum]

Future pending

April 20, 1948

23-48-33

Mr. Andrew J. Cunningham
8401 Cedar Avenue
Cleveland 3, Ohio

My dear Mr. Cunningham:

I have your letter of April 15. I will take the subject, WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS FOR 1948. With regard to the Urban League, please inform them that my rule is to make some charge for every appearance, otherwise one organization like yours shoulders all the expense and another organization gets a part of the benefit. I will stay over and broadcast Monday night. The charge will be $25.00. I realize that it is quite possible that the League is not prepared to make any such payment.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Lectures Pending

Lect. corr

Ye shall know the truth and
the truth shall make you free

St. James Literary Forum

Organized April 1927
8401 Cedar Avenue
Cleveland 3, Ohio

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KATHLEEN FORBES
MINISTER OF MUSIC

22-33-42

September 17, 1948

Dr. W. E.B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are now in the process of making out our program of the St. James Literary Forum. We would be very happy and honored to have you as our guest speaker on Sunday, January 2, 1949, at 4:00 P.M.

This would be a good time for you to give us a message that would start us out right for the new year.

We wish to congradulate you on your recent stand and I know that the little people all over the country are with you.

Sincerely yours,

Andrew J. Cunningham

Andrew J. Cunningham
President, St. James
Literary Forum

AJC:okm

[Saint James Literary

22-33-43

September 24, 1948

Mr. Andrew J. Cunningham
St. James Literary Forum
8401 Cedar Avenue
Cleveland 3, Ohio

My dear Mr. Cunningham:

I am not sure that I shall be lecturing in 1949, but if I do make a trip I can speak in Cleveland on March 6.

My charge would be as usual $100. However, I cannot let you know definitely until sometime in January.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD/lm

To Dr. W.E.B. DuBois on his 80th birthday.
February 23, 1948.

Honored Son of Fisk, Our Alma Mater,
On this, Your natal day, May God be praised,
That through the years, His gifts to you, in order
Have treasured growth, and shared new pathways, blazed.

'Tis meet we greet you, Sage of Song and Sorrows,
'Tis meet we pause to count along our way,
The hours you've spent envisioning Tomorrows,
Which leave no time to grieve about Today.

For you have shown us <u>heights</u> that need attaining,
And given <u>depth</u> to varied tasks, <u>Today</u>;
So all of Fisk---on field, or still in training,
Pay homage, to a Loyal Son's birthday.

(From the St. Louis Fisk Club.)

[St Louis Fisk Club]

COPY COPY COPY COPY COPY COPY

To: Dr. William E. Burghardt Dubois on his eightieth birthday.
February 23, 1948.

Honored Son, of Fisk, Our Alma Mater,
On this, Your natal day, May God be praised,
That through the years, His gifts to you, in order,
Have treasured growth, and shared new pathways, blazed.

'Tis meet we greet you, Sage of Song and Sorrows,
'Tis meet we pause to count along our way,
The hours you've spent envisioning Tomorrows,
Which leave no time to grieve about Today.

For you have shown us heights that need attaining,
And given depth to varied tasks, Today;
So all of Fisk---on field, or still in training,
Pay homage, to a Loyal Son's birthday.

(From The St. Louis Fisk Club.)

23-25-26

Read For Info.

GABE SANDERS
50 LORNE STREET
DORCHESTER 24, MASSACHUSETTS

23-24-48

Dear W. E. B. Du Bois,

I am compiling a book, tentatively titled, "When Franklin D. Roosevelt Died." The book will include statements from 500 or 1000 persons of varying political beliefs about their immediate reactions (physical, emotional, political) to the death, on April 12, 1945, of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

If you would care to contribute a statement of your reactions to the announcement of the death of Pres. Roosevelt, I would appreciate it highly.

These are the questions in which there is the most interest:

(1) How you heard the news of Pres. Roosevelt's death. From whom? Was it radio? Newspaper?
(2) Time of day or night you heard the news.
(3) What specific place were you at that time?
(4) What specific activity were you engaged in at that time?
(5) What did you do immediately after learning of the news?
(6) How was the surprise and the shock caused by the news demonstrated by others and by yourself?
(7) Any other information you think important, such as political reactions, if you so desire.

The statements I have gathered to date run from 75 to 600 words. However, I would be glad to receive an even longer statement, if you care to make one.

As editor of an Army Air Force newspaper in the Philippines when President Roosevelt died, I interviewed many soldiers and civilians. The vast differences between reactions to his death suggested my present project.

Thank you for your time in reading this letter.

Yours very truly,
Gabe Sanders

I should very much like to be able to add your reply to those already contributed by Cong. Adolph Sabath, E. B. Henderson, Mark Starr, Harold Laski, Eugene P. Connolly, Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild, Stuart Chase, and Erwin Canham.

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

December 15, 1948

Mr. Gabe Sanders
50 Lorne Street
Dorchester 24, Massachusetts

23-24-47

My dear Sir:

I should be glad to make a short contribution to your book, "When Franklin D. Roosevelt Died."

What is your deadline?

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Dec. 24, 1948

Dear Mr. Du Bois,

If you could find time to send me a statement by the middle of January, I would appreciate it very much.

Very best wishes for the coming year.

Yours sincerely,

Gabe Sanders

[Sanderson]

The Board of Home Missions
of the Congregational and Christian Churches

ROSS W. SANDERSON
DIRECTOR OF FIELD RESEARCH
297 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

23-25-31

February 12, 1948

Dr. E. R. Alexander
234 West 139th Street
New York 30, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Alexander:

Dr. Sanderson has asked me to acknowledge for him the invitation to the dinner honoring Dr. DuBois, and to express his regret that previous plans for a trip to Boston will make his presence impossible. He appreciates the invitation and would be happy to attend were he to be in the city.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret W. McElman
Secretary to Dr. Sanderson

23-32-15

June 8, 1948

The Editor
The Saturday Evening Post
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Sir:

Recently I made a survey for the concluding exercises of the Rosenwald Fund. It covered the matter of Political and Civil Rights for Negroes in the United States between 1917 and 1947; a period of 30 years.

I was, myself, astonished at the progress that had been made and the methods by which this progress was attained.

It seems to me that this might make an article which the POST would publish.

May I ask if you would be willing to read such an article and have you any suggestions as to its space and style.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

EDITORIAL ROOMS

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST

FOUNDED BY Benj. Franklin

BEN HIBBS
EDITOR

THE CURTIS
PUBLISHING COMPANY
PHILADELPHIA 5

23-16-16

June 14, 1948.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

We appreciate your inquiry, but I'm sorry to say that we cannot encourage you to prepare the article you propose, on the Rosenwald Fund. Our thanks, though, for your letter.

Yours sincerely,

Jack Alexander

Jack Alexander
Associate Editor

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
JA/hke

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22-32-20

LORD DUNSANY, Honorary President for the British Isles

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DEDICATED TO THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE CULTURAL ARTS

H. L. SCHROEDER, Founder and International Director

8 E. Glendale Road, Webster Groves 19, Mo.

SAINT LOUIS P.O., U. S. A.

2-8-48

Dear Dr. DuBois:-

I have before me your book "The World and Africa"; also your photograph and several pages of manuscript.

Thank you for these fine tokens: they will be a delightful addition to our historic collection.

However, I should like to make a suggestion: As I would like to have your work stand out prominently among the works of the colored writers, will you kindly write, in your own hand, an inscription on a sheet of white paper the exact size of the book, to be inserted opposite the main title of the book, so that the inscription and title may be read simultaneously when exhibited.

Please have the inscription read: "Inscribed to the Schroeder Foundation with best wishes of (your name)," or some similar wording. This will make it in harmony with other contributions.

I am very anxious to get names and addresses of colored writers of prominence. I have only a few of these. Can you help us?

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Francisco Vallhonrat
A. L. Pereira Ferraz
Edgardo Ubaldo Gentro
Ana M. Berry

to find these names?

Thanking you for your fine cooperation,

I am,

Most cordially,

K. L. Schroeder

Director

Make Folder

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22-32-19

LORD DUNSANY, Honorary President for the British Isles

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H. L. SCHROEDER, Founder and International Director

8 E. Glendale Road, Webster Groves 19, Mo.
SAINT LOUIS P. O., U. S. A.

2-10-48

Dear Doctor Du Bois: -

The enclosed circular-letter will explain itself and I want you to join this celebrated group by contributing materials suggested to make your exhibit complete we should have an inscribed photograph of yourself, some sort of inscribed book and a page of your manuscript. I hope these will be forthcoming soon.

I am arranging for a special Memorial in honor of Doctor Albert Schweitzer. It will contain all available books by and about this great humanitarian all portraits, photographs, manuscripts, etc. Much of this material has already been gathered, and will be inscribed by Dr. Schweitzer himself. He writes me that on his next visit to Europe in the spring he will arrange for an

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A. L. Pereira Ferraz
Edgardo Ubaldo Gentro
Ana M. Berry

oil portrait.

In conjunction with this Special Memorial I am arranging a series of "tributes" to Doctor Schweitzer, which may be published in facsimile. Many of these tributes have already been submitted by noted writers. Would you not like to write your own "appreciation" of Dr. Schweitzer as a part of this "anthology"?

May I hope for your early cooperation?

Most cordially

H. L. Schwenke
Director

You have been made an Honorary Member of this Foundation, and I am sending a batch of our envelope seals. More will be forthcoming if you wish them.

Dr. Archer Milton Huntington [Enclosure]

LORD DUNSANY, Honorary President for the British Isles

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H. L. SCHROEDER, Founder and International Director

8 E. Glendale Road, Webster Groves 19, Mo.

SAINT LOUIS P. O., U. S. A.

INTERNATIONAL LITERARY MEMORIAL

An Important Announcement to Authors and Editors Everywhere

This Foundation is projecting an International Literary Memorial. It will contain one or more books of each standard author, a photograph of the writer, and some of his or her manuscript, if only one page, duly identified.

As a nucleus toward this project, we already possess many holographs of famous writers of the past century. Among these writers are Mark Twain, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Philipps Brooks, Jane Austin, Edward Everett Hale, May J. Holmes, Charlotte M. Yonge, Ella Wheeler Wilcox, Canon F. W. Farrar, Ernst Haeckel, William H. Mallock, Annie Besant, Sir J. William Dawson, Samuel F. Smith, Julia Ward Howe, and a host of others, internationally known.

No other collection like this exists anywhere, and several of our great Universities have sought to acquire it. These holographs, comprising the work of famous American and English writers, and unpublished, will be used as a nucleus to this Memorial.

Hundreds of the most noted Living Authors of America and Foreign Countries have already enrolled in this memorial by contributing their books, photographs and manuscripts, and we want you to join this famous group. Should it be impossible to contribute a book, simply send your photo and manuscript, duly endorsed. If impractical to send original manuscript, a page may be improvised.

Books should be inscribed, on page opposite title, if possible, with your Creed or personal living philosophy, or a message to book lovers.

It is planned that this collection shall be made a permanent institution -- that an International Shrine be instituted for the housing of these precious examples of the world's best work in literature. So we are inviting authors and editors everywhere to join this movement. So far our contacts have brought marvelous response, many writers contributing book length manuscripts.

22-32

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Authors who die during their membership will be listed among our "Immortals". Of these, we already have a large group, among them being Hendrik Van Loon, Sir Arthur Eddington, Sir Arthur Quiller Couch, John Oxenham, Sir James Jeans, Cosmo Hamilton, Stephen Leacock, George Arliss, Charles M. Sheldon, David Grayson, Edwin Markham, Theodore Dreiser, Booth Tarkington, Franz Werfel, Margaret Deland, Carrie Jacobs-Bond, not to mention many of the past century.

It is intended that this collection shall be offered to libraries and colleges as an exhibit. The first such exhibit will be at the St. Louis Public Library.

This exhibit will be held during the whole of April

22-32

It is planned that Achievement Awards be made for commendable work of writers enrolling in the project. Medals and other awards are planned for outstanding literary merit.

In order to develop our project still further, we are appointing State and Regional Presidents. Those interested in assuming these positions are invited to make application, giving an outline of their literary activities.

The Foundation will accept meritorious manuscripts, with a view to publication, on an attractive plan, and the Director will act as Agent or Literary Executor for authors who desire such a service.

Awaiting your cooperation in this great movement by sending materials herein requested, I am,

Most cordially,

H. L. SCHROEDER, Director

I am planning a series of "Personal Living Philosophies" to take form in the shape of an anthology, or otherwise. These are to be written by outstanding writers throughout the English speaking world.

Medals for "Achievement in Literature" will be awarded by the Foundation for the five (5) best articles submitted, and all essays shall be contributed to the Foundation.

Would you not like to contribute your own personal philosophy to this aggregation? You can write as much or as little as you wish.

It is preferred that manuscripts be hand-written and signed.

February 25, 1948

Mr. H. L. Schroeder
Schroeder Foundation
8 East Glendale Road
Webster Groves 19, Missouri

22-32

Dear Mr. Schroeder:

Your letter of February 10, has come during the absence of Dr. Du Bois from the city. He is on an extended lecture tour that will take him to the West Coast, and he will not return to his desk until sometime in April. However, I am sending you as much of the material as you requested as I possibly can.

I am sure that Dr. Du Bois appreciates being made an honorary member of The Schroeder Foundation. I shall inform him of this.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

March 17, 1948

Mr. H. L. Schroeder
8 East Glendale Road
Webster Grove 19, Missouri

22-32

Dear Mr. Schroeder:

Your letter to Dr. DuBois has arrived during his absence from New York. He is still away on the West Coast lecturing and is not due back for several weeks yet. However, I have forwarded your letter to him.

In regard to the list of other Negro writers, I suggest that you write to, Mr. Carl Van Vechten, 101 Central Park West, New York, New York, and to Mr. Arna Bontemps, Librarian, Fisk University, Nashville 8, Tennessee. Also it might be worth while to write to, The Curator, The Schomberg Collection, 136th Street Public Library, New York, New York, and to Dr. Edwin Embree, Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Again you might write to Mr. Owen Dodson, Department of Dramatics, Howard University, Washington 1, D. C.

It might help also to check the NEGRO YEAR BOOK 1947, the section on "Negro American Literature" beginning on page 456, or write to Mr. Claude Barnett, Associated Negro Press, 3435 Indiana Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

Please let me know if we can be of further service to you.

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

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Ana M. Berry

4/8/48

Dear Mrs. Smythe:-

I have your letter of Mar. 17th before me.

My delay in answering it was caused by the fact that I was preparing my big exhibit at the St. Louis Public Library this has just been closed after a sensational showing in which I featured Doctor Du Bois' book and photograph. I felt this was a deserved compliment to Dr. Du Bois, as he was the only Negro represented in the exhibit which contained many Nobel Prize Winners.

In our collection we have several special memorials to famous writers including the great - Albert

23C-45

Schweitzer which contains most of Dr. Schweitzer's books, and books about him.

I should like to gather such a special Memorial to Dr. Du Bois. The first start for this is an inscription in his own hand, a photograph inscribed in his own hand and a page of his manuscript in his own hand. Unfortunately the material you sent did not contain any of his personal writing - all tokens were made by Rubber stamp. In spite of this I featured Dr. Du Bois' tokens and all the tokens are inscribed in the authors' own hands.

I think you will understand why I am so meticulous, and I know you will be glad to meet my suggestions. I thank you for your cooperation so far and for your evident desire to be of service. You speak of the Negro Year Book of 1947. Would it be possible for you to loan us a copy of this? I wish to contact other outstanding Negro writers. Our recent exhibit caused a mild sensation here.

2/ and it is now possible that our collection may be endowed.

Assuring you of my kindest thoughts of Doctor Du Bois and yourself, I am,

Faithfully yours

H. L. Schrader
Director

2

23C-45

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Henry Schuman, Inc., Publishers

20 EAST 70TH STREET, NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

January 13, 1948.

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe,
Research Specialist,
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, N.Y.

23C-45

My dear Mr. Smythe:

Thank you so much for your letter of January 9. We are happy to send you a complimentary copy of In Henry's Backyard: The Races of Mankind by Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish. As you may already know, this little book is scheduled for publication on February 23rd, the second day of Brotherhood Week, and the list price is $2.00.

We shall appreciate it very much if you will be kind enough to let us know your reaction to "In Henry's Backyard", when you and members of your research department have had an opportunity to evaluate it. We think you will be interested to see some of the early comments which we have received from civic and social leaders in the field of intercultural education, a copy of which is enclosed.

Cordially yours,
for HENRY SCHUMAN, Inc.

Dorothy Scully

Dorothy W. Scully
Educational Department

*Enclosure

letter sent inquiring
about copyright Jan 20

Answered
with thanks

[Enclosure]

First Comments -- IN HENRY'S BACKYARD

"Congratulations on IN HENRY'S BACKYARD. I am positive it will receive widespread use and promote better human relations."

--Willard Johnson, The National Conference of Christians and Jews

"IN HENRY'S BACKYARD is delightful. It is a noble concept, brought enchantingly to readers of all ages. I am all for Henry's Backyard. Who wouldn't be, once privileged to get a glimpse of life, real and loveable, within its walls?"

--Rabbi Stephen S. Wise

"A dear old Baptist chaplain with whom I soldiered used to say when he wanted to get by someone's mental barriers -- 'let us go up on the blind side of him.' In this way many a person was won and became a glad captive to a plan or an idea. In Henry's Backyard blind spots are by-passed with charm, and delightful persuasiveness. The brotherhood of man is seen in anatomy formed from the clay common to all peoples since the start of time. Here is a scientific demonstration of the unity of mankind which religion attests and proclaims."

--Father George B. Ford, Corpus Christi Church

"This simple parable told in the style of the comics carries a serious criticism of our boasted 'way of life' and a sharp message to mend our ways. No one today quarrels with our Bill of Rights, but with the glaring discrepancy between preaching and practice. Our future at home is threatened more by our prejudice, intolerance, and hate, than by any possible propaganda from abroad. Our 'own backyard' is the testing-ground of our faith in democracy and religion."

--Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, The Church Peace Union

"I think it's a marvelous idea to have Henry in this permanent record and I hope that it will reach as large an audience as possible."

--Bucklin Moon, Author of "Primer for White Folks"

"We liked the 'look-and-read' format of the book. The illustrations are vivid and the text is simple but sufficiently explanatory. IN HENRY'S BACKYARD is a stimulating presentation of the problem of racial prejudice and a presentation which will be enjoyed by all ages."

--Lucille Hein, Program Specialist, Camp Fire Girls, Inc.

"I like it very much. I shall display it not only in the bookshop but among the collection of books I like to take with me whenever I am asked to talk to groups on children's and parent's books."

--Dorothy B. Hill, American Unitarian Association

"I am sure IN HENRY'S BACKYARD expresses some very important facts that are worthy of anyone's attention who believes in a full democratic way of life. I have read it with great interest."

--A. F. Whitney, President, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen

Henry Schuman, Inc., Publishers
20 East 70th Street New York 21, N.Y.

[Enclosure]

Henry Schuman, Inc., Publishers

Copy

LILLIAN SMITH
OLD SCREAMER MOUNTAIN
CLAYTON, GEORGIA.

January 7, 1948.

Henry Schuman, Inc.,
Publishers
New York City, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

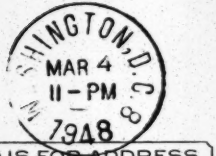
Congratulations to Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish and yourselves for a brilliant execution of a fine idea In Henry's Backyard.

It is what New York and Detroit and all cities need to read but especially do I hope that it finds its way into the rural South. No one can read In Henry's Backyard without smiling. Down here we could do with a few smiles. Henry is a good ghost-catcher. And we still have plenty of ghosts in Georgia.

I find myself hoping that the book will be given a gay, warm, cheery kind of promotion that will lure the fearful and timorous to its pages. Sometimes the advertising of a 'race propaganda' book serves nicely to drive away those who really need it most.

Sincerely,
/s/ Lillian Smith
Lillian Smith

(Scientific Monthly)



Dr. W. E. G. Du Bois
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 W. 40th St.
New York City 18

1515 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE N. W. • WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

March 4, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you very much for your excellent review of "Ideas Have Consequences," which arrived in good time for our May Book Issue. I hope you will not mind if we are compelled, owing to lack of space, to delete a few of your quotations from Mr. Weaver--we shall try not to do violence to your text.

Sincerely,

Gladys M. Keener

(Mrs. John D. Keener)
Assistant Editor

23-24-63

"I SEE" A Clarence W. Scott DESIGN COMING SOON

Curious letter

3535 - Ellis Ave., Chicago 15, Ill.

May 15, 1948.

Dear Dr. Du Bois: —

As an observer of behavior for more than 50 years, coupled with more than 15 years of historical research, I shall attempt to relate a few (I think) historical events our scholars have neglected.

First, the so-called Jews, who got into Egypt about 2176 B.C., from Ur, have received more credit than they deserve about their contribution to Western Civilization. Akhenaton gave us (religion) that is, what we now call Christianity about 1375 B.C. Never mentioned.

This Akhenaton, was an Egyptian, who had 7 daughters, one of whom was the wife of King Tut. He was also the grandfather of Moses. The mother of the latter, was a sort of favorite of the Royal household. If we can put any credit to the conversations of the grandmother to Moses on those tours of the wonderful Royal grounds.

22-38

"I SEE" A Clarence W. Scott DESIGN
COMING SOON

To get back to the Jews' entry to Egypt, we find that they were permitted the use of the Egyptian library and literature, that they now claim as their very own. About the no. 1 fraud.

Fraud no 2, is (I think) that Greece played such an important part in world history. The Olympics were first seen by them when the 81st (or 2nd) were being held! They were held at 4 year intervals.

Another fraud, none have seen fit to challenge. Those 'Oriental Institutions. They were African, still are. Those Egyptians set up that distinctive civilization in China about 6000 B. C.

Manetho the Egyptian, was the historian Herodotus met when he and others arrived there to make notes. Incidentally, those Greeks were not permitted to take up permanent residence there until about 250 B. C.

These too, get credit where not a semblance of evidence to support them.

22-38

"I SEE A Clarence W. Scott DESIGN COMING SOON"

That great physicist, whose claim that, given a lever and a place to stand he could lift the world - and said 'Eureka' I have it, was a native African.

That great mathmetician whose geometric theorems have withstood the universal attacks for over 2000 years; that great architect and astrologer, all native africans - called Greeks.

They even call Saint Augustine a Greek - born and buried on his native african soil.

I think if I were permitted to write a column, I should incidentally refer these events to those who seem to discredit descendants of the Sphinx - a vain african king's likeness - from 100 ft. of solid stone. The world's oldest man made thing.

The story of the Great Pyramids makes interesting reading. The world's biggest and most scientific build-

22-38

ing ever constructed. Valley of Kings nothing like it in all the world.

Count Volney said in part - "to our despised black servants we owe all of our art and sciences, and even the art of speech."

Even Napoleon, when he reached those burning sands there, said in part - "soldiers, 40 centuries of civilization look down upon you from those heights?" What a thrill!

And last and by no means least, let us remember what Livy's History of Rome tells us about what happened to rebels who rebelled against organized government. The Agrarian Act* Roman so-called - although known in Africa from 2360 B.C. when the first Social Revolution was recorded.)

Enlighten us on these even occassionally Dr. please.

Respect. Clarence W. Scott.

(*was inserted - furnished on request)

22-38

South Africa

[Scott]

LAKE SUCCESS, LONG ISLAND
January 20, 1948

Dear Sir,

I am taking the liberty of writing to you in connection with the possibility of establishing a foundation to assist young Africans from South Africa, South West Africa and Bechuanaland to come to the United States for their studies.

Perhaps I should explain that I was asked to come to America to bring some petitions from the Herero and other South West African tribes to the United Nations asking that their territory be brought under Trusteeship and that the Paramount Chief of the Hereros with 14,000 of his tribesmen should be allowed to return to South West Africa from their exile in Bechuanaland.

While I am here I felt it would be useful to explore the possibilities of arranging scholarships for some of these Africans especially in agricultural and other technical subjects. Such training would be of enormous benefit to them personally and would assist them in their endeavors to rehabilitate their people and to take their place in the new economy which civilisation is bringing to Africa.

I have been informed of a number of scholarships which would be available for South West Africans but the main obstacle is the initial expenditure on their passage, clothing and other minimum equipment, as well as their living expenses in America. But, I do think training in American colleges and universities and the experience of living in a country which also has a race problem will best prepare them for return to Africa as leaders among their people.

Therefore, it seems to me a foundation, the funds of which would cover these expenses is indicated. I wonder if I may call on you to assist in making this possible, feeling that you appreciate the force of education as an instrument of advancement.

If you have any suggestions for this may I ask you to communicate with Mrs. Emily Dean, as I am shortly returning to South Africa. Mrs. Dean was until recently Director of the U.S. Information Library in Johannesburg and has great sympathy with the position of the non-Europeans there.

I am informed by Mrs. Haygood of the Institute of International Education that that body would be agreeable, if requested, to handle the administration of such foundation.

Upon my return to SW Africa, I propose to invite the Bishop of Damarland and a small number of leading educationists to take up the matter of sending students overseas. Meanwhile, I should be very grateful for any suggestions. Mrs. Dean's address is : Tudor House, 324 East 41 Street, NYC. In South Africa I can be reached: c/o Diocesan Office, Darragh House, Plein Street, Johannesburg, S. Africa.

Sincerely,
Michael Scott.
Rev. Michael Scott

AD/56/29

Camp p. 5/11

22-32

April 5, 1948

Mr. Neil Scott
Public Relations and Publicity
400 Manhattan Avenue
New York 26, New York

Dear Mr. Scott:

Your letter of April 2 concerning Dr. Harry T. Burleigh, to Dr. Du Bois, has just arrived. The Doctor is out of the city and will not return until April 15. However, I am forwarding your letter to him for action.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Reg. Miscellaneous

July 9, 48

Dr. W.E.B. Dubois
Atlanta, University
Atlanta, Ga.

22-39-29

Dear Sir,

I have been advised by Dr. Posey of Agnes Scott College to contact you for advice concerning a thesis which I am working on at Tulane Univ. My thesis is the Colonization Society in Louisiana. I am having a great deal of trouble locating material here at Tulane. Do you know whether such material is available at Atlanta Univ? I would appreciate your advice in this matter.

Sincerely,

Sterling Scott
29 The Alster Place
New Orleans, La.

22-39-30

July 13, 1948

Mr. Sterling Scott
29 McAlister Place
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Scott:

I have your letter of July 9, which was missent to Atlanta University where I have not been since 1944. In regard to your request concerning the Colonization Society in Louisiana, I suggest that you get in touch with the following:

Dr. Lawrence D. Reddick, Librarian
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Dorothy Porter
The Library
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

You might find it helpful to consult the files of the Journal of Negro History, or to get in touch with Dr. Benjamin Quarles, Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana. Dr. Quarles is a historian who should have some knowledge about materials concerning your project.

With every good wish for success in your project, I am

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

September 28, 1948

Miss Viola Scott
39 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Miss Scott:

23-26-28

I hesitate to accept your kind offer and if you find this is too much work, send it out to a reliable firm and let me have the bill.

I want to have this statement and get it into the mails to the Board of Directors this week.

I shall certainly appreciate anything you can do to help me.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD/lm

[SCRIBNER] (1)

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

23-25-24

"Grow old along with me!
The best is yet to be,
The last of life, for which the first was made:
Our times are in His hand
Who saith, 'A whole I planned,
Youth shows but half; trust God: see all, nor be afraid!"

Hope you'll be able
to see at a glance,
As soon as this Birthday's begun,
It's a day that is
just the beginning
OF A YEAR THAT'S
A WONDERFUL ONE.

(over)

[3]

87 Randall Avenue
Ocean Park, Maine
February 19, 1948.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

Since it is association with Fisk University which unites us, I ransked for a birthday card with Fisk "gold and blue." This one on which I am writing is the nearest to my desire, available.

The announcement that it is your 80th birthday on February 23 suggests several other links. My 80th birthday was April 24, 1947! I did not feel so old as I did feel on my 25th birthday, the first after I had come to Fisk to teach in the fall of 1891. You graduated from Fisk's classical college course in 1888; B. from Wellesley College in 1889 with two years of college Latin and Greek and two years of electives in several different lines, all useful to me, I found in 44 years of teaching North and South, and 59 years of adult living. Both of us have done graduate studying in various universities; both have traveled in the United States and abroad, you much more extensively than I in both study and travel. I have tried to teach others to write; you by your writings have taught others to think. Thanks to my dear Fisk pupils, I continue my education with most of the Negro

(over)

monthly magazines, including The Crisis. Is there in existence now a periodical named Opportunity? I do not recall what it represented, and have not seen it mentioned of late years.

One of my college teachers taught me to love Robert Browning's poems. The copy she gave me is marked with dates when certain passages were helpful, some in April and in February of certain years. I hope you love Browning's poems, also, for I wish for you and for myself now, the first stanza of "Rabbi Ben Ezra" and will copy on another page, my birthday wish for you on February 23. Bless [and myself]

May we — both grow in patience, — wisdom, and tolerance! Sincerely, Dora Anna Scribner.

Harry Ransom Center MADE IN U.S.A. 307

[Sellitz]

New School

234 East 88 Street
February 1

Dear Dr. Du Bois —

Here, at last, is my paper. The New School office asked me to send it directly to you.

I feel a need to comment on my discussion of your book, since I'm afraid the conclusion may lead to a suspicion of apple-polishing. In disclaiming any such intention, I can only say that I leaned over backward to avoid being unduly influenced by it — leaving it till the last to read, and all three my reading of it keeping in mind Myrdal's comment about its bias. I have ended by discussing it as if its author were as unknown to me as any of the others I read. It just happens to be the best of the books I covered!

Sincerely,
Claire Selltiz

23-23-34

A for Laker
A + fund

MEMO-IN-SUBJECTS-Mailed on-11/9/48
TO-STUDENTS-for-selecting
TERM-PAPER-

PAWEL-IGLEHART-Lieber
RIPPIN-Berger-
DALY-Hellman-

MEMORANDUM TO CLAIRE SELLTIZ

DATE: November 9, 1948

SUBJECT: Term Paper

From: DR. W. E. B. Du Bois

22-37-45

Regarding a term paper, I think that you might treat the psychological effect of segregation on the development of the American Negro either 1619 to 1863, or 1863 to 1948.

Smythe

June 16, 1948

Dr. Clarence Senior
Bureau of Applied Social Research
Columbia University
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Senior:

When I talked with you during the meeting of the NAACP honoring Gunnar Myrdal recently at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, I mentioned being interested in the study you were making of Puerto Ricans. Today, I noticed in the Times that the report is ready, as well as a 16-page summary of the findings.

This office would appreciate it very much if you would be good enough to send us a copy of the report and the summary, or whichever is currently available. We shall be much obliged for this favor.

With thanks for your courtesy, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

17 27464 72

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

(23)

1201

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LC=Deferred Cable
NLT=Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

23-39-52

N322 LONG PD=NNW NEWYORK NY 14 340P=

DR W E B DUBOIS=

409 EDGECOMB AVE=

1948 JUN 14 PM 4 27

WOULD LIKE VERY MUCH FOR YOU TO MAKE BRIEF ADDRESS AT CARNEGIE HALL MEETING THURSDAY EVENING JUNE 17 ON EFFECT OF COLD WAR ON CIVIL LIBERTIES AND GROUP AND RACE TENSIONS= MEETING IS TO REPORT ON CONFERENCE HELD BY FORTY SCIENTISTS TO TRY TO COME UP WITH COUNTERATTACK AGAINST THE TREND TOWARDS WAR= OTHER SPEAKERS AT THIS MEETING ARE LILLIAN HELLMAN, JR RAYMOND WALSH, DR ALBERT EINSTEIN AND MYSELF= WE ARE MOST ANXIOUS TO HAVE YOU APPEAR WITH US= SOMEONE WILL BE GLAD TO DISCUSS THE REST OF THE PROGRAM WITH YOU= PLEASE SAY THAT YOU CAN DO IT= CALL MURRAY HILL 27464 EXTENSION 72=

HARLOW SHAPLEY=

SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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Lay Leader

Sharp Street Memorial Methodist Church

Joshua O. Williams, Minister

PHONES: OFFICE - LAFAYETTE 1193 — PARSONAGE - LA 0067 — COMMUNITY HOUSE - MA 4436
DOLPHIN & ETTING STREETS — OFFICE: 1206 ETTING STREET
BALTIMORE - 17, MARYLAND

Lecture
Secretary
are members
Bishop Alexander P. Shore

Letter A

[Sharp Street Methodist Church]

23-26-13

March 15, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th. Street
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We wish to express our thanks to you for accepting a share in our Forum Series planned through the East and West Association of New York.

It is our understanding that we will be responsible for your travel plus the amount agreed to in signed contracts, a copy of which was to be mailed you by the association. Please let us know in ample time the time of your arrival in Baltimore and we will arrange to meet you.

Sincerely yours,

Joshua O. Williams

Joshua O. Williams,
Minister

P.S. Lecture Period about 30 minutes;
Question period - 15 to 20 min.
J.O.W.

JOW/AGB.

Bishop Alexander P. Shore
1206 Etting Street
Baltimore 17, Md.

Never sent me check 8-16-48

[Sharp Street Methodist Church]

lectures Pending

March 17, 1948

Mr. J. O. Williams
Sharp Street
Memorial Methodist Church
1206 Etting Street
Baltimore 17, Maryland

Dear Mr. Williams:

Thank you for your letter of March 15. Dr. DuBois is still away lecturing on the West Coast. However, I am conveying your message to him, and you will be notified in advance of the time of his arrival for his lecture in Baltimore on May 2.

With thanks for your interest, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

[Sharp Street Methodist Church]

April 20, 1948

Rev. Joshua C. Williams
Sharp Street Memorial Methodist Church
Dolphin & Etting Street
Baltimore 17, Maryland

23-26-14

Dear Mr. Williams;

I am noting my engagement to speak for you in your Forum series, May 2. Nothing has been said about the subject. I might suggest either THE NEGRO BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS, or WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS FOR 1948. I shall be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Sharp Street Methodist Church]

Little B

June 4, 1948

REGISTERED MAIL
SPECIAL DELIVERY

Rev. Joshua O. Williams,
Sharp Street Memorial Methodist Church
1206 Etting Street
Baltimore 17, Maryland

23-26-9

Dear Mr. Williams:

The check you sent in payment for Dr. DuBois' appearance in your forum series on May 2, has not been honored at his bank. As the enclosed shows it was returned for insufficient funds.

I am sure that you were not informed of your bank balance by your secretary prior to issuing this instrument, or else this oversight would not have occurred. Since I know you would want to know of this immediately, I am returning the refused check. The Doctor would appreciate hearing from you about this matter at your earliest convenience, so that his records may be brought up to date.

With thanks for your courtesy, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

Enclosure

Reply for

22-39-19

331 Witherspoon Hall,
Princeton University,
Princeton, N. J.
October 5, 1948

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

As a senior at Princeton I am engaged in writing a thesis and am writing to ask for your help since I am attempting a biography of your life. In some respects this seems rather impudent since since such an attempt must inevitably lead to judgements that are all too apt to prove incorrect. In a way, however, you are responsible for my topic since it was your lecture here last fall in connection with Professor Goldman's course that awakened my interest.

Since last autumn I have read nearly all your books and many articles both by and about you, but there are still large gaps in the picture and I'm hoping that you can suggest additional sources of information. In particular I am interested in any comments you may care to make on your reaction to racial prejudice when you first went south. As a northern white in southern army camps my own reaction to such things as the "for whites only" signs was one of helplesness and anger, a reaction that was not lessened by my war experiences in India. It seems to me that the shock you must have experienced must have had a vital effect on the course of your life, and I feel that if I could explain those formative years my work might have some value.

A second question has been provoked by your chapter "The Riddle of Russia" in Color and Democracy. Would you care to give me any details of your attitude towards Marxism and the Russian experiment.

I hesitate to intrude on you with my problems, but would be extremely grateful for any information or suggestions you may care to give me, and I venture to hope that I may have the pleasure of meeting you later in the year.

Yours very sincerely,

Laurence F. Shaw

22-37-20

November 9, 1948

Mr. Thomas F. Shaw
381 Witherspoon Hall
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

My dear Mr. Shaw:

Answering your letter of October 5, I am afraid I cannot help you much in your work. You will find my reaction to race prejudice put down with some particulars in my autobiography, DUSK OF DAWN; editorials in the CRISIS, wo ld perhaps add to this.

So far as Russia is concerned, I regard the Soviet Union as one of the most hopeful countries on earth today. I think that Marxism is a great attempt to interpret economic development; not perfect, but not to be ignored by any intelligent person.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:LM

SHAW UNIVERSITY
RALEIGH, N. C.

May 17, 1948

Office of the Personnel Counselor

File Smythe

Mr. Robert A. Thompson
Atlanta Urban League
250 Alburn Ave.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bob:

I received your letter and the report from the committee. It looked very good to me. I was also happy over the Seante vote.

You have my permission to have my report published by the NAACP and by the press. Enclose herewith is a copy of this report for fear you do not have the one I gave you.

I was very happy to contribute in a small way to the success of the meeting.

I shall write you later of my other trips.

Yours truly,

WNS/gp

William N. Smith
Counselor

23a-14

Mr. Smith's report should be told to the public. The public should know the type leadership heading its schools. Seemingly, only a few Negroes have honest convictions about segregation and the damnable effects of wanting money and status.

195 Griffin Street

UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

23-22-136

March 30, 1948

Hon. Kenneth Sherbell
50 Court Street
Brooklyn 2, New York

Dear Mr. Sherbell:

Your letter of March 29 to Dr. DuBois has just come to my attention since it was sent to his residence. Dr. Du Bois has been away from New York since February 24 and is not due to return until the middle of April. However, I shall bring your letter to his attention as soon as he returns.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

[Shore, Alexander P.]

August 16, 1948

Bishop Alexander P. Shore
1206 Etting Street
Baltimore 17, Maryland

Dear Mr. Shore:

In the Spring of this year, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois at the request of the East-West Association, 62, West 45th Street, New York 19, N. Y. , accepted a lecture engagement for the Sharp Street Memorial Methodist Church. Although he had not planned to lecture in Baltimore this season, the East-West Association told him that the minister was most anxious to have him, and that he would be doing the Church a great favor if he could manage to take the engagement. At personal inconvenience, the Doctor went to Baltimore and spoke in the Forum Series of the Church on May 2.

The enclosed letters, A, B, C, show the difficulty that Dr. DuBois has had in trying to be reimbursed, and indicate that Mr. Joshua Williams, the minister of the church, has not cooperated in making good the dishonored check which he sent in payment for the lecture.

Receiving no response from Mr. Williams, the East-West Association was notified of the returned check and of the correspondence with Mr. Williams. That organization contacted Mr. Williams, and we finally received a letter from his office to the effect that he was in California but the matter had been brought to his attention. But this office has never received any acknowledgement from Mr. Williams himself concerning the matter, and all efforts to get him to honor the contractual agreement have been futile. Not only this, but Miss Lily Edelman, the head of the East-West Association, went to Baltimore and talked with Mr. Williams by phone. He gave her no satisfaction and acted quite rudely when she asked him what he intended to do about clearing up the difficulty.

Since Mr. Williams' actions indicate that he does not intend to do the honorable thing in this matter, the only recourse left to Dr. Du Bois and the East-West Association is to take legal action to see that he is paid, he is desirous that the facts be made known to you prior to his taking this step. He is willing to wait a reasonable period to give interested parties time to act to clear up the matter, for it is not his wish to embarrass the Church, or others who helped sponsor the lecture. He will appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience regarding this matter.

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:LM

Enclosures

23-26-11

P.S. The check was for $87.50

Bishop Alexander P. Shore
1206 Etting Street
Baltimore 17, Maryland

Re lecture 1948 completed

67, West 45th Street, New York 19, N.Y.

1

In the spring of this year, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois [redacted] at the request of the East-West Association, [redacted], accepted a lecture engagement for the Sharp Street Memorial Methodist Church. Although he had not planned to lecture in Baltimore this season, the East-West Association told him that the minister was most anxious to have him, and that he would be doing the Church a great favor if he could manage to take the engagement. At personal inconvenience, the Doctor [redacted] went to Baltimore and spoke in the forum series of the Church on May 2.

28-48-25

As can be seen from Letter A, enclosed, Mr. Williams, the pastor of Sharp Street Memorial Methodist Church, [redacted] assumed responsibility for the financial arrangements. After the lecture and Dr. DuBois has returned to New York, Mr. Williams sent a check [redacted] ($76 fee, plus $12.50 travel expenses, total $87.50) to cover the expenses of the engagement. Unfortunately, when the check was deposited to the account of Dr. DuBois, here in New York City, the bank returned it for insufficient funds.

On June 4, Dr. DuBois sent Mr. Williams a registered, special delivery letter, enclosing the check and asking that he please make it good. See Letter [redacted] enclosed.

3

Receiving no response from Mr. Williams, the East-West Association was notified of the returned check and of our correspondence with Mr. Williams. That organization contacted Mr. Williams, and we finally received a letter from his office to the effect that he was in California but the matter had been brought to his attention

2

The enclosed letters, A, B, C, show the difficulty that Dr. DuBois has had in trying to be reimbursed, and indicate that Mr. Joshua Williams, the minister of the church, has not cooperated in making good the dishonored check which he sent in payment for the lecture.

Add into 3, as new 4 PP

But this office has never received any acknowledgment from Mr. Williams himself concerning the matter, and all efforts to get him to honor the contractual agreement have been futile. Not only this, but Miss Lily Edelman, the head of the East-West Association, [redacted] went to Baltimore and talked with Mr. Williams by phone. He gave her no satisfaction and acted quite rudely when she asked him what he intended to do about clearing up the difficulty.

5

Since the only recourse left to Dr. DuBois and the East-West Association is to take legal action to see that he is paid, he is desirous that [redacted] the facts be made known to you prior to his taking this step. He is willing to wait a reasonable period to give interested parties time to act to clear up the matter, for it is not his wish to embarrass the Church, or others who helped sponsor the lecture. He will appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience regarding this matter.

Mr. Williams' actions indicate that he does not intend to do the honorable thing in this matter.

VSG

Shirley Graham Du Bois

Memo from... Rhodes

BERNARD HARKAVY

December 23, 1948

23-38-2

TO: Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

Under separate cover I am sending you a picture taken at the American Jewish Congress ACTION FOR ISRAEL meeting on November 30 at Manhattan Center, marking the first anniversary of the UN decision on Palestine.

May I take this opportunity to express our appreciation for the very fine contribution you made to the success of our meeting.

BH

SHUISINGER BROTHERS
LINOTYPING AND PUBLISHING CO.
21 EAST 4th STREET NEW YORK 3, N. Y.
Tel. GRamercy 5-3637

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

MPM

HUNTER COLLEGE
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
695 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N.Y.

February 18, 1948

23-25-78

Dr. E. R. Alexander
234 West 139 Street
New York 30, New York

Dear Dr. Alexander:

I had hoped very much indeed to be able to go to the dinner in honor of Dr. DuBois. Unfortunately, I now find that it will not be possible by reason of an engagement which I must keep.

Trusting that the affair will be very successful, I beg to remain,

Sincerely yours,

George N. Shuster

George N. Shuster
President

L. H/s Assembly

No. 150/2491

THE ROYAL SIAMESE EMBASSY
WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

February 3, 1948.

Mr. W.E.B.Du Bois,
Director,
Department of Special
Research,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, N.Y.

23-46-5

Dear Mr. Du Bois,

I have received your letter of January 30, and also a copy of AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD, which you kindly sent me.

I have read the appeal with great interest. As, however, the matter is also dealt with in the Report of the President's Commission on Civil Rights, action will no doubt be taken thereon in due course.

As your Association has presented the petition to the Commission on Human Rights, United Nations, that Commission will no doubt determine the procedure for its consideration.

In Siam there is equality of rights for all under the Constitution without distinction as to race, religion or sex. There is no discrimination problem there and for the moment the country is mainly interested in its own internal problems. I am afraid therefore that it will be most difficult to arrange to have the APPEAL printed in Siamese and published in Siam.

Sincerely yours,

Wan Waithayakon

[Sigma Pi Phi]
Grand Boule

Mon.
4/5/48.

CHARLES H. CARROLL, M. D.
1201 BOYLE STREET, N. S.
PITTSBURGH, PA.

23-13-18

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
409 Edgecombe Av.,
New York, N.Y.

My dear Archon:- As Grand Sire of Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity it is my privilege and duty to select the main or chief speaker for our Grand Conclave, which meets, as you know, Aug. 11, 12 & 13th 1948 at Wilberforce Univ. Ohio. This letter is to inform you that I have selected you to honor Sigma by rendering this service, if you can possibly do so.

Kindly let me know if you can accept this invitation, at your earliest convenience. By so doing you will facilitate the work of properly arranging the program. From present indications, I think this Conclave bids fair to excel, in numbers, any previous Grand Session.

With sincerest best wishes for your good health and happiness,

I remain Fraternally Yours
Chas H Carroll G.D.A.

Absence from my desk makes my answer to yours of the 5th late.

I should like nothing better than to speak at the Grand Boule but am not sure now that I can stand the severe cold. I assume that you do not usually meet the expenses in the case of the Negro speaker. Please write me on this point

[Sigma A Phi Grand Boule]

Boule

April 20, 1948

23-13-19

Dr. Charles H. Carroll
1201 Boyle Street, N.S.
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Dear Dr. Carroll:

Absence from my desk makes my answer to yours of the 5th late.

I should like nothing better than to speak at the Grand Boule but I am not sure now that I can stand the expense of the trip. I assume that you do not usually meet this expense in the case of the main speaker. Please write me on this point.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

Thurs.,
5/6/48.

SIGMA PI PHI FRATERNITY

GRAND BOULÉ

OFFICE OF
DR. CHAS. H. CARROLL
ARCHON MEGISTOS
1201 BOYLE STREET
PITTSBURGH, PA.

23-13-23

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
20 West 40th St.,
New York (18), N.Y.

My dear Archon Du Bois:- Your letter of Apr 20th to hand. I owed you an immediate reply, but was hesitated to answer your letter until I could consult all members of Exec. Com. I could find no precedent by which I could be guided, hence consultation with Com. was imperative. While the selection and invitation of the speaker for the important occasion is left entirely in my hands, it has been my policy to consult the other members concerning every action of importance, I take.

It has, so far as I have been able to ascertain, never been the policy nor has any speaker, ever asked, what your letter contains. Yet I see no impropriety in such a request. That has been my attitude in my correspondence with other members of Exec. Com.

Certainly if there is any one, more capable and more deserving of this honor than you I have yet to find them. By every measurement of human values, both national and international, you more than meet the requirements. This, to me, is a very public expression of our gratitude to you for the outstanding contributions you have made to all races and nations.

I therefore, in the name of Sigma Pi Phi Frat. assume the responsibility of your appearance. I have the unanimous concurrence of whole Com.

Kindly inform me at your earliest con-

SIGMA PI PHI FRATERNITY

GRAND BOULÉ

OFFICE OF
DR. CHAS. H. CARROLL
ARCHON MEGISTOS
1201 BOYLE STREET
PITTSBURGH, PA.

23-13-24

convenience, just how you desire this contract consummated.

I am pleasedly improving in health and hope to assume all my responsibilities when we meet at Wilberforce this.

Thanking you and yours the best of health and happiness,

I am fraternally yours.

Chas H Carroll M.D. G.B.A.

CHARLES H. CARROLL, M. D.
1201 BOYLE ST., N. S.
PITTSBURGH 12, PA.

[Sigma Pi Phi Grand Boule]

23-13-20

May 12, 1948

Mr. George F. David, Editor
Boule Journal
Wilberforce, Ohio

My dear Mr. David:

I have been asked by the Grand Sire Archon Carroll to make the chief address at a coming Grand Boule at Wilberforce. In order to prepare for this, I want to correspond with the Grammatei of the various Boules.

If it would not be too much trouble, can you send their addresses? I have their names, but not their addresses. If you can do this, and do it very soon, I shall be under great obligations.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Sigma Pi Phi]
Grand Boule

May 12, 1948

23-24-64

Dr. Charles H. Carroll
1201 Boyle Street, N.S.
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Dear Dr. Carroll:

I have in mind for the Grand Boule, a speech treating the general attitude of members of the Boule toward current conditions in the world and in our race. I am going to call it , "The Talented Tenth: A Reexamination of a Concept." I want to base the thesis on my early advocacy of the leadership of our race through men of education and talent, and ask how far this is really taking place today; and just what the ideas and accomplishments which would make such a leadership successful have gone forward. Or, if on the other hand, we are building up a class of men with satisfactory incomes and pleasant conditions of life who are not in accord with the more far-reaching social currents of our day, and tend to become a self-satisfied bourgeoisie rather, than a group of real leaders of the mass of people.

I am going to assume that the Archons of Sigma Pi Phi represent a fair cross-section of our Talented Tenth, and I want to write to the various Grammatei and get some general facts concerning them. Enclosed is a letter which I am sending to Mr. David, Editor of the Boule Journal, asking for addresses. I should be very glad if you would back me up, or if in any other way you could furnish these addresses very soon so that I may get letters and answers in time to prepare my address.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

eorge F. David, Editor
Boule Jor

[Sigma Pi Phi] Cards sent June 17, 1948

Dear Grammatus:

Since writing you on May 27, I have not heard from you concerning the material on your boule, which I asked your cooperation in sending me. Since I am in great need of this data and the time is growing short before the annual meeting ~~xxxxx~~ at Wilberforce, I would appreciate ~~xxxx~~ hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

With thanks for your courtesy and cooperation, I am

Sincerely yours,

WEBDuBois

283a-13

[Sigma P. Phi]

July 6, 1948

Dear:

mailed again at July 24

On June 17, I wrote you concerning some material which I had requested in an earlier letter in May. The data related to information about members of your Boule. To date I have had no word from you, and since the time is growing short before the meeting of the Boule in Wilberforce, Ohio, I would appreciate your sending me this information at your very earliest convenience.

With thanks for your courtesy and cooperation, I am

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

June 6-27/48.

SIGMA PI PHI FRATERNITY

GRAND BOULÉ

OFFICE OF
DR. CHAS. H. CARROLL
ARCHON MEGISTOS
1201 BOYLE STREET
PITTSBURGH, PA.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th St.
New York 18 N.Y.

23-13-21

My Dear Archon Du Bois:- Upon reading your letter carefully and after having received a letter from Archon David concerning data &c you asked him to send you, the question was asked if you knew the occasion and time you are to address our organization. I recall that I simply informed you that I wanted you for the main address without stating when or upon what occasion. In order to clarify that matter I am now informing you that you are supposed to make the Memorial Address as did Archon Wesley at our last Biennium. The time will be similar to the time he had, except that you will have as much time to deliver it as you desire.

I might further state that your

SIGMA PI PHI FRATERNITY

GRAND BOULÉ

OFFICE OF
DR. CHAS. H. CARROLL
ARCHON MEGISTOS
1201 BOYLE STREET
PITTSBURGH, PA.

23-13-22

traveling expenses will be defrayed by Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity. All other expenses you will pay yourself, for the reason, all entertainment is arranged and paid for by the host boule. I suspect you already know this, but I think I should mention this in order that any misunderstanding may be cleared up.

I have already informed several of the Archons and our host boule of my choice and they are really pleased. I have heard nothing but favorable comment with the anticipation that you will give much food for thought.

I sincerely hope that you remain well and vigorous, and that our every anticipation will be realized.

I am steadily improving in health and hope to see you at Richmond at the appointed time.

With best wishes

Fraternally yrs. Chas H Carroll G.S.A.

P.S. If you wish anything concerning the mailing herein discussed as name, I see no need for answering this letter. C.H.C.

[Sigma Pi Phi]
Grand Boule

RAYMOND PACE ALEXANDER
MACEO W. HUBBARD
SADIE T. MOSSELL ALEXANDER
CURTIS C. CARSON, JR.

LAW OFFICES
RAYMOND PACE ALEXANDER
40 SOUTH NINETEENTH ST.
PHILADELPHIA 3, PA.

RITTENHOUSE 6-9960

HONORARY CONSUL OF HAITI

August 3, 1948

Dr. W. E. DuBois
c/o N A A C P
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

23-26-1

I am very glad, indeed, to know that you will deliver the principle address at the forth-coming convention of the Grand Boule of Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity.

Undoubtedly your address has been prepared and perhaps it is upon a subject not touching the questions contained and reported upon in a study which I recently undertook for Sigma Pi Phi, upon appointment by our Grand Sire Archon, Dr. Carroll. Knowing, however, of the controversial nature of the subject under consideration, e.g., the future policy and action of Sigma Pi Phi and the importance of having the views of persons of unusual mind and vision, such as you possess, I am taking the liberty of sending you a copy of my report, the original of which I have just mailed to Dr. Bell, chairman, and the other members of the Committee.

I hope to see you at Wilberforce next week.

Cordially and fraternally yours,

RPA:cb

RAYMOND PACE ALEXANDER

[Sigma Pi Phi]
Grand Boule

August 6, 1948

23-26-2

Mr. Raymond Pace Alexander
40 S. 19th Street
Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Alexander: Thank you for your letter of August 3, and the enclosure. I am thinking along the same lines. I shall see you in Wilberforce.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

[Sigma Pi Phi]
Grand Boule

Boule

22-38-33

August 6, 1948

Dr. Charles H. Carrol
1201 Boyle Street
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Dear Dr. Carrol:

I am enclosing a sheet of paper with a set of tables on it. I wonder if you could possibly arrange to have this made into a chart large enough for the members to see? I want to use this chart in connection with my speech at the Boule in Wilberforce.

I shall be very much obliged.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:S

Enclosure

[Sigma Pi Phi]
Grand Boule

August 9, 1948

22-36

Dr. Charles H. Carrol
1201 Boyle Street
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dear Dr. Carrol: Enclosed is a revised list of tables of the data on the Boule members, which Dr. DuBois asked that you have made into charts large enough for the members to see during the activities of the fraternity. These include material for every chapter, except that of the Baltimore, Maryland, group. If possible, Dr. DuBois would like for you to have the revised figures inserted on the charts. If this is too late and cannot be done, he will understand.

With thanks for your courtesy in this matter, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

hhs:s

Wilberforce, Ohio

August 11-13,1948

[Sigma Pi Phi...]

SIGMA PI BHI BOULE DATA

CHAPTER ENROLLMENT

No. of Members	No. Chapters
8 - 9	1
10 - 14	3
15 - 19	11
20 - 24	4
25 - 30	5
Total	24*

*Baltimore not reported - there are 25 chapters in all

MEMBERS IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	Number
Ministry	23
Medicine	152
Law	45
Dentistry	46
Teaching	105
Business	20
Social Work	4
Engineering	7
Pharmacy	3
College Presidents	9
Hospital Administration	1
YMCA Secretary	2
Journalism	1
Chemistry	1
Architecture	1
College Dean	3
Judge	4
Government Work	2
Retired	3
Unknown	8
Total	440

AGES OF LIVING MEMBERS

Years	Number
Under 30	1
30 - 60	311
Over 60	128
Total	440

APPROXIMATE ANNUAL INCOME OF MEMBERS

Income	Number
Under $ 5,000	86
5,000 - 9,999	199
10,000 - 24,000	111
Over - 25,000	16
Unknown	28
Total	440

MEMBERS WITH LIVING OFFSPRING

Number of Children	Number of Members
0	159
1	88
2	98
3	[illegible]
4	[illegible]
5	[illegible]
Over 5	4
Unknown	9
Total	440

MEMBERS WITH LIVING GRANDCHILDREN

Number of Grandchildren	Number of Members
0	329
1	39
2	37
3	21
4	7
5	
Over 5	
Total	

1948

25 Total Boulesdyles
10 replies need 6-16
6-28 = 17 replies rec'd
7-9 = 19 " "

Grammatei

James H. Duckery — Alpha Boule ✓
3844 North Smedley Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

James A. Cashin — Beta Boule ✓
4900 Washington Park Court
Chicago, Ill.

Dallas F. Nicholas — Gamma Boule
14 E. Pleasant St.,
Baltimore, Md.

C. M. Roulhac — Delta Boule ✓
Albany State College
Albany, Ga.

F. A. Gregory — Epsilon Boule ✓
4015 Massachusetts Ave., S. E.
Washington, D. C.

Herbert T Miller — Zeta Boule ✓
558 Decatur Street
Brooklyn, N. Y.
~~J. A. Scott~~

J. A. Scott — Eta Boule ✓
4342 Cook Ave.,
St Louis Mo.

Thomas A. Webster — Theta Boule ✓
2210 East 17th St.,
Kansas City Mo.

Cornelius L. Henderson — Iota Boule ✓
6119 30th St.,
Detroit 10, Michigan

J. R. Porter — Kappa Boule ✓
542 Johnson Ave., N.E.
Atlanta Georgia

J.H. Thomas — Lambda Boule ✓
412 Eldridge Ave.,
Columbus ~~Ave.~~, Ohio

Clarence A. Jones — Xi Boule ✓
234 West 45th St.,
Los Angeles, Calif.

Elmer Morris Sr. — Omicron Boule ✓
318 N. Victoria St.,
St. Paul 4. Minn.

I. T. Gillam — Pi Boule ✓
~~237 Loving Ave.~~
~~Buffalo, New York~~
1211 Pulaski St.
Little Rock Arkansas
~~Richard F. Jones~~

138-13

[Sigma Pi Phi]

Richard F. Jones — Rho Boule ✓
592 Oakwood St.,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

George F. David — Sigma Boule ✓
Box 31
Wilberforce, Ohio

Charles H. Garvin — Tau Boule ✓
11114 Wade Park Ave.,
2321 East 55th St.,
Cleveland, Ohio

E. L. Powell — Upsilon Boule ✓
916 First Avenue
Charleston, West Virginia

H. Councill Trenholm — Phi Boule ✓
611 Thurman St.,
Montgomery, ~~Albama~~ Alabama

GeorgeW. Gore Jr. — Chi Boule ✓
2808 Centennial Blvd 8
Nashville, Tennessee

Whitney M. Young — Psi Boule ✓
Lincoln Institute
Lincoln Ridge, Ky.

S. Tanner Stafford — Alpha Alpha Boule ✓
2425 Louisiana Ave.,
New Orleans, La.

Wiley A. Hall — Alpha Beta Boule ✓
1106 N. First Street
Richmond 19, Va.

Stuart T. Davison — Alpha Gamma Boule ✓
2838 Pine Steet
San Francisco, Calif.

H.Hannibal Hull — Alpha Delta Boule ✓
1378 Burdett Ave.,
Cincinnati,Ohio

83a-13

[Sigma Pi Phi]

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

GRAND BOULE

OF THE

SIGMA PI PHI

FRATERNITY

32.29.22

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

GRAND BOULE

OF THE

32,29,23

SIGMA PI PHI FRATERNITY

FRATERNAL PRESS
107 EAST 35TH STREET
CHICAGO

CONSTITUTION OF THE GRAND BOULE OF SIGMA PI PHI FRATERNITY

32,29,24

Article I

The name of this body shall be the Grand Boule of Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity.

Article II—(Object)

The object of this body shall be to establish, organize, manage, govern and control subordinate Boules of Sigma Pi Phi, which shall have for their object the binding of men of like qualities, tastes and attainments into close, sacred and fraternal union, that they may know the best of one another; and that each may in this life aid, to his full ability, the other; and by concerted action bring about those things that seem best for all, but cannot be accomplished by individual efforts.

Article III—(Composition)

Section 1. The membership of this body shall consist of the officers, of the Grand Boule, Past Grand Sire Archons, of not more than two delegates from each of the subordinate Boules, of the delegates of the first meeting of the Grand Boule, and of Chairmen of Standing Committees and other Committees appointed, whose work continues from one Grand Boule session to the next Grand Boule session.

Sec. 2. The officers of this body shall be the Grand Sire Archon, the Grand Grammateus, the Grand Thesauristes, the Grand Agogos Archon, the Grand Rhetoricos Archon, and the Grapter of the Journal.

Sec. 3. There shall be an Executive Committee composed of the Grand Sire Archon, Grand Grammateus and Grand Thesauristes. They shall serve as a cabinet to the Grand Sire Archon, and shall pass upon all questions submitted to them by the Grand Sire Archon and subor-

dinate Boules, and shall also supervise the establishment of new Boules as provided for in this constitution. They may restrict, enlarge and otherwise define the district or jurisdiction, as hereinafter defined, of a subordinate Boule, whenever by a two-thirds vote they deem it necessary.

Article IV—(Choosing of Officers)

Section 1. The Grand Sire Archon shall be elected by ballot, and by a majority vote of the Grand Boule may succeed himself for one term only.

The Grand Grammateus and Grand Grapter shall be elected by ballot, and by a majority vote of the Grand Boule may succeed themselves as long as their services are satisfactory.

The Grand Thesauristes shall be selected from the city next entertaining the Grand Boule.

All other Grand Officers shall be selected by lot and shall not succeed themselves.

Sec. 2. (Duties of Officers). The Grand Sire Archon is the chief executive officer and his duties shall be such as usually devolve upon a presiding officer. He shall also suggest to the Executive Committee the name of one person in each city where it is desired to form a new Boule, said person, after being authorized by the Executive Committee shall make up the list of not fewer than ten names of persons eligible for membership on the regular blank provided for that purpose and forward it to the Grand Grammateus. He, together with the Grand Grammateus, shall also issue charters to subordinate Boules. He shall be ex-officio member of all committees. He shall also make visits to subordinate Boules whenever such Boules indicate that his presence is needed; but all expenses incidental to such visits shall be paid by the Boule requesting the visit.

The Grand Grammateus shall keep all records and properties of the Grand Boule, a roster of the entire

membership of the organization. He shall be required to sign and seal all charters; receive all moneys of the Grand Boule, and turn over the same to the Grand Thesauristes, taking a receipt therefor; and perform all such other duties as usually devolve upon the secretary of other organizations.

The Grand Thesauristes shall hold all moneys coming to the Grand Boule, and shall pay out the same only on order signed by the Grand Sire Archon and the Grand Grammateus, and shall promptly turn over all money to his successor on receipt of voucher for same.

The Grand Agogos Archon and the Grand Rhetoricos Archon shall have such duties as are suggested by the ritual or assigned by the Grand Sire Archon.

Sec. 3. In case of vacancies or inability to perform the duties of office during the interval between elections or selections, the Grand Sire Archonship shall devolve upon the Grand

Grammateus. The Grand Thesauristes shall succeed in case of the death or removal of the Grand Grammateus. In case of death of the Grand Thesauristes the Grand Grammateus shall fill the vacancy. When filling out the unexpired term of the Grand Sire Archon, the Grand Grammateus or the Grand Thesauristes each respective officer shall also perform the duties in connectiton with the office for which he was originally chosen. In case of vacancies in the offices of Grand Grammateus and Grand Thesauristes during the interval between elections, the Grand Agogos Archon and the Rhetoricos Archon in the order named shall perform the duties of these offices.

Article V—Salaries and Allowances.

Section 1. The Grand Sire Archon shall be allowed the expenses of his office.

The Grand Grammateus shall be allowed the expense of his office and an Honorarium.

The Grand Thesauristes shall be allowed the expense of his office.

The Grand Grapter shall be allowed the expenses of his office.

Article VI—Attendance on Death of Grand Boule Officers.

Section 1. Upon the death of a Grand Boule officer the Grand Sire Archon shall attend the funeral or delegate some member of the Fraternity to represent the Grand Boule. Expenses of such attendance shall be borne by the Grand Boule.

Article VII—(Delegates)

Section 1. Delegates and alternates to the Grand Boule shall be selected by ballot or chosen by lot at the June meeting of the local Boules prior to the assembling of the Grand Boule, and the Grand Grammateus shall be immediately notified as to the choice.

Sec. 2. Delegates must have credentials signed by the Sire Archon and Grammateus of their respective

Boules to make them eligible to seats in the Grand Boule.

Sec. 3. If for any reason the delegates or alternates chosen cannot attend the Grand Session and that fact becomes known after the Boule has had its last meeting prior to the meeting of the Grand Boule, the Sire Archon shall appoint the delegates and immediately notify the Grand Grammateus.

Article VIII—(Votes)

Section 1. Each member of the Grand Boule shall be entitled to one vote.

Article IX—(Time and Place of Meeting)

Section 1. The Grand Boule shall meet biennially the second Wednesday in August.

Sec. 2. The place of the next meeting of the Grand Boule shall be decided by the Grand Boule at each regular meeting, or it shall refer the same to the Executive Committee for final action.

Sec. 3. The transportation and expenses of the Grand Sire Archon,

the Grand Grammateus, Grand Thesauristes and Grapter, while in attendance at the sessions of the Grand Boule, shall be paid by the Grand Boule.

Article X—(Subordinate Boules).

Section 1. All members of a Boule shall be known as Archons.

Sec. 2. (Officers). The officers of a subordinate Boule shall be a Sire Archon, a Grammateus, a Thesauristes, an Agogos Archon, a Rhetoricos Archon, and three Archons composing the Membership Council. The annual meeting of the Boules shall be in December, at which time the officers shall be chosen by lot. No Archon shall succeed himself in the office he held during the previous term, except the Grammateus who may serve as long as his work is satisfactory.

Sec. 3. (Duties). The duties of the first five officers of the subordinate Boule shall be similar to the duties of the corresponding officers of the Grand Boule.

Sec. 4. In addition to his other duties, the Grammateus shall on January 1st of each year make out and forward to the Grand Grammateus the Annual Report of his Boule, comprising a roster of membership, etc., the transactions of the Boule for the preceding year and the amount of money due the Grand Boule for the succeeding year. He shall also make out a statement of the current events and activities of his Boule and send it to the editor of the Journal on the first of December, March, June, and September of each year.

Sec. 5. (Meetings). Each subordinate Boule shall hold during the year not less than nine regular meetings for the transaction of business. For failure to hold such number of meetings as above stated the Executive Committee shall impose a penalty unless good and sufficient reasons are given and they are excused by the Committee. Five Archons shall constitute a quorum.

Sec. 6. (Initiation Fee, Dues and Fines). The initiation fee in a sub-

ordinate Boule shall not be less than $15.00, fifteen dollars, three-fifths of which amount shall be sent immediately to the Grand Grammateus who shall then furnish a Boule pin for the use of the initiate. Dues and fines shall be governed by the constitution and by-laws of each Boule, subject to the above.

Sec. 7. (Insignia, Seal and Colors). The official insignia of this fraternity shall be a pin bearing the figure of a Grecian sphinx and urn, with the Greek letters Sigma Pi Phi inscribed beneath. The title of the pin is vested in the Grand Boule.

In case of loss of pin the member may have the right to secure a duplicate with a new number at his expense without changing the title.

In case of death of a member the Sire Archon of the local Boule shall recover the pin as the property of the Grand Boule and forward it at once to the Grand Grammateus.

The pin shall not be mutilated, but may be embellished by adding such

stones as represent our colors upon a bar at the bottom which may be taken off when restored to the fraternity. The pin shall be worn only by the member of the fraternity, and shall be worn on the left side of the shirt or vest.

The seal of the fraternity shall consist of a sphinx and urn, and the Greek letters, Sigma Pi, Phi, similar to the insignia, encircled by a band bearing the words Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity. Incorporated (Year of incorporation).

The colors of the fraternity shall be blue and white.

Sec. 8. (Transference). Any member of the Boule changing his residence from the district within which he was enrolled, to the jurisdiction of another Boule, may on the written application of his home Boule, the majority of the members present at any meeting concurring, have his membership transferred by his Boule, through the Grand Grammateus, to the Boule within the

jurisdiction of which he is then located, provided the majority of the members of said Boule, at any regular meeting approve. When the Grand Grammateus has notified the Boule to which the transfer is desired the Grammateus of that Boule shall present the request to his Boule at the next regular meeting; and if the request is approved by a majority vote of those present, he shall notify the applicant of the next regular meeting of the Boule. The cost of such transfer shall be $2.00, one dollar of which shall accompany the application to be sent to the Grand Boule through the Grand Grammateus, and the other $1.00 to be paid by the member to the subordinate Boule to which he is being transferred after notice of his acceptance. If not agreeable to said Boule, he shall continue a member of his home Boule, and the $1.00 accompanying the application shall be returned to him by the Grand Grammateus. Under no condition will a transfer be granted a member who is not in

good financial standing in his home Boule.

Sec. 9. (Membership). Any man to be eligible to election into a Boule shall possess a degree from a recognized college which requires for entrance into it a preparatory course in a standard High School or Academy with a four years' course or a professional degree from an institution which requires for entrance into it a preparatory course having the above requirements. He shall be a resident of the city or come within the jurisdiction of said Boule—said residence to be that place in which he is domiciled the greater portion of the year in which he applies for membership; provided that, in case a man whose name has been suggested for membership has removed within five years from a jurisdiction in which there is an existing Boule, the membership council shall inquire of his fitness for membership from the Boule in the jurisdiction from which he has removed. But any man who does not fulfill the

above qualifications as to residence may, upon unanimous approval of the Executive Committee, be eligible as a member of a Boule, if the Boule applies to the Executive Committee for such purpose.

After the formation of a Boule in the manner prescribed in Article XI, Section 1, the future members shall be admitted in the following manner: —A member who desires to propose the name of any man for membership in his Boule shall, before soliciting the application from the proposed candidate, present his name to the Boule at a regular meeting. The name shall be referred immediately to the Membership Council, who shall investigate the facts concerning the candidate, and shall ascertain the sentiment of all the members of the Boule towards the applicant. The Membership Council shall report upon the eligibility of the proposed candidate, and shall further report whether every member of the Boule is favorable. They shall report not

later than the second meeting following the submission of the name to it. Upon failure to receive unanimous consent the name or names shall not again be proposed for a period of at least six months. If the Membership Council find each member favorable, then the entire membership of the Boule shall be notified that at the next regular meeting, a secret ballot will be taken; and if one or more negative votes be recorded, the matter shall be investigated as to why the original agreement was not kept and may be referred to the Executive Committee for some action. If by unanimous vote, the Boule gives permission to solicit the application of the proposed candidate, the Grammateus shall hand the member who proposed the name such permission signed, together with the application blank. At the next or second following meeting, the application blank properly signed, together with the permit and proper fee, shall be returned to the Boule. The Boule

shall then decide when and where the candidate shall present himself for initiation. If, however, he does not present himself at the proposed time and place, he shall forfeit his fee accompanying his application, unless some valid and acceptable excuse be made to the Membership Council and the Boule concurs therein.

Sec. 10. Form of Permission for soliciting membership Boule:

..... Boule

..... 19....

Permission is hereby given Arch on to solicit the membership of.....

.....

Initiation fee $.....

.....

Grammateus

Sec. 11. Form of Application.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

.....**Boule**

.....19..

I, ..., herewith

make application for membership in .....Boule of the Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity and send herewith the sum of.....dollars. If accepted, I will abide by all the law and regulations of said Fraternity.

.....
Signature of Applicant.

Sec. 12. (District or Jurisdiction). The city shall be regarded as the natural district or jurisdiction of a subordinate Boule; and there shall be only one Boule in a city. A Boule, when first organized, may be given jurisdiction over the entire state and may even, with the consent of the Executive Committee of the Grand Boule, extend its jurisdiction to neighboring cities of other states. It may also, upon approval of the Executive Committee, secure members from distant cities and states, providing there is no Boule in the state of such an applicant and providing further that the Boule soliciting said applicant is the nearest Boule. The Executive Commit-

tee, however, may at any time restrict wholly or partially the extra-city jurisdiction of any Boule—such restriction to be specifically stated, but not necessarily to affect existing membership of said Boule.

Article XI—(New Boules).

Section 1.—(Formation). The Grand Sire Archon shall suggest to the Executive Committee the name of one person in any city where it is desired to form a Boule. After being authorized by the Committee, he shall submit a list of not fewer than ten names for proposed members. This list shall then be submitted to each Boule of the organization, and each Boule shall act upon it and report within 30 days to the Grand Grammateus. If any person named in the proposed list is objected to by any member of a subordinate Boule, such person shall not be eligible to membership in the proposed Boule or thereafter in any Boule unless permission is given by the Executive Committee. Sixty

days after the submission to the Boules of the proposed list, the majority of the Boules having approved same, the Grand Grammateus shall authorize the establishment of the Boule. The Grand Sire Archon and the Grand Grammateus shall constitute the Initiation Committee; but the Grand Sire Archon may deputize two members from subordinate Boules to set apart the new Boule.

Sec. 2.—(Taxation). The Grand Boule shall have the power of taxation and assessment of subordinate Boules, provided that no assessment except for support of Grand Boule shall be laid by the Grand Boule, unless notice of intention to do so shall have been first given to subordinate Boules at least sixty days before the meeting, at which said assessment is to be acted upon.

Sec. 3. Subordinate Boules shall exhibit their charter at meeting at least once every three months.

Article XII

Section 1. No subordinate Boule shall pass any law conflicting with the Constitution and By-Laws of the Grand Boule.

Article XIII—(Delinquent Members).

Section 1. Any member of a subordinate Boule failing to pay his assessments and dues for a period of (3) three months, after due notice, shall be dropped from the roll and the G. G. notified of said action.

A subordinate Boule may prefer charges for any offense unbecoming a member, against any Archon, and after reasonable notice may try him for the same; but its findings and recommendations must be certified to the Executive Committee of the Grand Boule, for its approval or disapproval. The penalties shall be (1) fine, (2) censure, (3) suspension, (4) expulsion.

An excluded or suspended Archon may be reinstated upon the recommendation of the local Boule and ap-

proval of the Executive Committee of the Grand Boule.

Article XIV—(Special Meetings).

Special meetings of the Grand Boule may be called by the Grand Sire Archon, upon the request of two-thirds of the Boules; or the Grand Sire Archon, upon the approval of the Executive Committee and the ratification by a majority of the Boules, shall call a special meeting at such time and place as the Executive Committee shall determine.

Article XV—(Functions)

Attendance at social functions officially under the supervision of the Grand Boule or any local Boule shall be restricted to Archons, their wives, their daughters or other female relatives, or female friend, provided that no married female be invited whose husband is not an Archon. Unmarried widows of deceased Archons are eligible to be present at all social functions. No

Archon may bring to a social function more than two guests.

Article XVI—(Journal)

The Grand Boule shall publish, through its editor, a publication known as the "Journal." It shall contain such matter as is furnished the editor by the several Boules through their respective Grammatei and such other matter as the editor may deem to be beneficial for the Fraternity.

In the issue of the Journal next following the meeting of the Grand Boule session the proceedings of said session shall be printed in full, just as furnished by the records of the Grand Grammateus.

The Journal shall be issued at least quarterly, beginning January 1st of each year. The size and cost shall be regulated by the Executive Committee.

The Editor shall notify said Committee before any change is made in size or cost.

Article XVII—(Amendments)

Any delegate or member of the Grand Boule may propose an amendment to this Constitution, at any regular meeting of the Grand Boule, which amendment, if ratified by two-thirds of the delegates to and members of the next meeting, shall become a law.

Any amendment to this Constitution may become a law immediately, provided it has the unanimous consent of the members of the Grand Boule.

BY-LAWS

Article I

Sec. 1.—(Charter and Tax). Before the establishment of a new Boule, the men composing the proposed Boule shall pay to the Grand Grammateus, in advance, the sum of twenty-five dollars in addition to initiation fee hereinbefore provided in Article X, Sec. 6, of this Constitution for charter and make provision to pay the transportation and all necessary expenses of not more than two men to initiate them.

Sec. 2. Each subordinate Boule shall pay to the Grand Grammateus, on Jan. 1st of each year in advance three (3) dollars for each member of said Boule, said money shall accompany the Annual Report.

Sec. 3. Any Boule failing to pay its Annual Tax or Assessment six months after becoming due shall, after written notice from the Grand Grammateus, be given 30 days to liquidate its indebtedness. If payment is not made within the 30

days the Boule may be immediately suspended by the Executive Committee.

A Boule suspended for non-payment of dues, upon the payment of all indebtedness, may be reinstated by the Executive Committee.

Sec. 4. (Appropriation). The Grand Boule may appropriate the sum of $300.00, three hundred dollars, to the subordinate Boule entertaining it in biennial session.

Article II—(Order of Business).

The order of business of regular meetings of the Grand Boule shall be as follows:

Grand Boule

a. Alpha.

b. Reading "Call."

c. Roll Call of Officers.

d. Organization.

e. Report of Credentials Committee.

f. Roll Call of Members.

g. Appointment of Commitees.

h. Report on Order of the day.

i. Report of Officers.

j. Report of Committees.

k. Unfinished Business.

l. New Business.

m. Report of Resolutions Committee.

n. Installation.

o. Omega.

Subordinate Boule

a. Alpha.

b. Roll Call of Officers and Members.

c. Reading of the Minutes.

d. Reports of Officers.

e. Appointment of Committees.

f. Reports of Committees.

g. Unfinished Business.

h. New Business.

i. Financial Roll Call.

j. Installation of Officers.

k. Omega.

These by-laws may be amended by majority vote of the Grand Boule.

Formulated at Grand Boule Session held in Philadelphia, Penn., September, 1908.

Revised at Grand Boule Session held in Washington, D. C., September, 1913.

Approved and passed at Grand Boule Session held in St. Louis, Mo., August, 1915.

Revised and passed at Grand Boule Session held in Philadelphia, Penn., September, 1919.

Revised by Committee on Law, appointed at Kansas City, Mo., 1921, and presented and passed at New York Session, September, 1923.

Committee:—

CHAS. H. CALLOWAY

ALLEN A. WESLEY

AUSTIN M. CURTIS

HARRY H. PACE

Ages of Employees — Cen. 3-1000

Ages	Men
Under 30	1
30–60	14+17+8+7+18+10+15+9+14+20+11+2+11+14+16+15+17
Over 60	4+5+11+10+3+6+2+11+2+6+3+5+2+14+12+5

30–60 := 10+12+23+12+20=97

Over 60 := 2+3+4+3 = 12

320 / 89 / 9

215 / 77 / 292

I Length of living under one roof.

No.		
5 – 9	1	= 1
10 – 14	1	11 = 3
15 – 19	//// ///	1 = 9
20 – 24	////	= 4
25 – 30	///	11 = 5

II No. in Industrial Occupations

Ministry	2+4+2+3+1+0+0+2+3+0+2+1+1
Medicine	3+1+3+0+7+3+0+2+0+1+1+1+5+3+6
Dentistry	4+2+8+6+7+7+4+5+5+10+4+2+4+2+13+11+7
Teaching	3+1+3+2+5+2+0+0+1+2+1+2+1+3+2
Business	4+10+0+3+1+1+8+6+3+9+7+6+7+5+1+1
Social Work	1+4+3+3+0+1+0+0+0+2+1+1+2+1+2
Engineering	1+1+1+1
Pharmacy	1+5+1
College Pres	1+1 (1)
Hosp. Admr	4+2+2 (1)
Welfare Secretary	1
Journalism	1+1
Retired	1
Architect	1
Unknown	5+3
College Dean	2 (6)
Judges	2+2
College Admr	6
Chemist	1
Grant	1+1
Architect	1

2+3+3 = (8) 36

8+3+16+8+6 (41) 101

3+3+1+5+1 (13) 26

4+5+8 ∅ (17) 71

∅ 79 20

53 4

59 7

320

8	17	16
22	20	16
40	37	32
19	16	30
59	53	62
17	25	27
76	78	89
21	13	22
97	91	111
16	5	96
113	96	207
		113
		320

IV Apparent Own Income Justus

Ungefähr	Wo.		
Unter 5000	10+6+0+3+5+1+2+4+2+0+8+2+1+4+1+1+9	1+9 1+2+1+	59
5000 – 9.999	5+10+9+2+0+8+15+16+12+0+5+3+12+11+13+13+5	18+6 5+5+12	139
10 – 24.999	3+3+9+9+13+7+0+0+2+0+0+0+3+1+15+11+6	7+9+2 4+5	82
über 25000	0+3+1+3+3+0+0+0+0+0+0+0+0+0+1+1+2	2+0	14
Unbekannt	25+1		26
			320

V Number with living Children

Kinderzahl	Anzahl der Familien		Anzahl der Großeltern		
None	109	5+12+9 6+6	5+9+12 6+6	225+80 = 305	
1	65	2+1+7 5+5	2+1+5 3+7	32	2+2 =
2	65	3+1+6 8+4	3+1+6 4+6	30	2+2
3	57	2+3 1+4	2+1 3+4	20	
4	9			7	
5	8	1	1	4	1
mehr als 5	4			2	
Unbekannt	9			107	
	320			320	

None	1 child	2 children	3 children	4 children	5 children	men 5	unknown
4	3	8	3	0	0	0	0
7	4	6	3	0	0	0	2
9	1	5	4	0	0	0	0
5	1	5	2	2	2	0	0
13	4	3	1	0	0	0	0
4	4	1	4	0	1	2	0
9	2	3	2	2	1	0	4
4	4	5	4	1	0	0	0
10	9	3	3	0	1	0	0
3	4	0	3	2	0	0	1
2	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
5	5	4	1	1	0	0	0
3	2	4	6	0	1	0	0
12	7	4	4	1	0	1	0
9	9	6	3	0	0	0	0
9	4	2	4	0	0	1	2
109	65	65	31	9	8	4	9

23a-13

= 320

2nd children

16	4	9	2	0	0	0	0
15	1	2	5	0	0	0	0
0	0	5	0	0	0	0	6
19	4	0	2	2	0	0	2
0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0
1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
0	3	2	1	0	0	0	6
14	0	0	2	0	0	0	1
12	2	1	0	0	0	0	5
19	1	2	1	0	0	0	9
13	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
17	3	1	1	0	0	0	1
	4		0				3
	1		1				0
	6		0				0
	3		0				0
	4		1				9
118	32	30	20	7	4	2	107

added to Children

= 320

12
24
26
50
16
66
23
89

89

22
147
169
44
213
41
254
88
342
20
362
4
366
7
373
3
376
6
382
3
385
3
388
3
391
8
399
4
403

22
147
169
44
213
41
257
88
345
20
365
4
369
7
376
3
379
9
388
1
389
2
391
3
394
8
402
4
406
2
408
1
409
8
417

59
14
73
139
46
185

82
27
109

383
26
409

109
29
138 +9

65
18
83

29
18
47
22
69
10
79
1
80

400

138
35
173

109
38
147

22
65
87

320 419

II

AGES OF LIVING MEMBERS

Age Years	Number
Under 30	1
30 - 60	311
Over 60	128
Total	440

I

CHAPTER ENROLLMENT

Number of Members	Number of Chapters
5 - 9	1
10 - 14	3
15 - 19	11
20 - 24	4
25 - 30	5
Total	24

NOTE: There are 25 chapters - 1 not reported

III

MEMBERS IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Occupation			Number
Ministry	21	1	23
Medicine	101	41	152
Law	36	8	45
Dentistry	28	13	46
Teaching	71	17	105
Business	20		20
Social Work	4		4
Engineering	7		7
Pharmacy	2	1	3
College President	8	1	9
Hospital Admin.	1		1
YMCA Secretary	1	1	2
Journalism	1		1
Chemistry	1		1
Architecture	1		1
College Dean	2		3
Judge	4		4
Government	2		2
Retired	1		3
Unknown	8		8
Total			440

IV

APPROXIMATE ANNUAL INCOME OF MEMBERS

Income	Number
Under $5,000	86
5,000 - 9,999	199
10,000 - 24,000	111
Over 25,000	16
Unknown	28
Total	440

V

MEMBERS WITH LIVING OFFSPRING

Number of Children	Number of Members
0	159
1	98
2	98
3	64
4	9
5	9
Over 5	4
Unknown	9
Total	440

VI

MEMBERS WITH LIVING GRANDCHILDREN

Number of Grandchildren	Number of Members
0	329
1	39
2	37
3	21
4	7
5	5
Over 5	2
UNKNOWN	0
Total	440

68
60
24
+ 5
157

[SIGMA PI PHI, AUG 11, 1948]
Grand Boule

The Nineteenth
Biennial Conclave
of
Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity

230-13

WITH

SIGMA BOULE

WILBERFORCE, OHIO

AUGUST 11, 12, 13, 1948

TUESDAY, AUGUST 10, 1948

MENU

DINNER

TOMATO JUICE or FRUIT CUP
ROAST YOUNG TOM TURKEY
DRESSING—GIBLET GRAVY—CRANBERRY SAUCE
or
BAKED VIRGINIA HAM — SPICED PEACH

Choice of: Any TWO of the following vegetables
Fresh Lima Beans and Corn in Cream Buttered Brussel Sprouts
Mashed Potatoes—Candied Sweet Potatoes—Buttered Fresh Spinach

SALADS: Fresh Fruit Salad—Salad Bowl—Lettuce with Thousand Island Dressing

BREADS: Corn Sticks — Hot Rolls — Rye Bread — White Bread Whole Wheat Bread

DESSERTS: Ice-Cold Watermelon — Fresh Pineapple — Homemade Apple Pie — Ice Cream — Wellesley Fudge Cake

BEVERAGES: Coffee — Tea — Milk — Buttermilk — Iced Tea

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1948

MENU

BREAKFAST

Choice of:

Cantaloupe — Grapefruit Juice — Orange Juice — Stewed Prunes
Assorted Cereals — Cream —

BROILED BACON or SAUSAGE — EGGS

HOT BLUEBERRY MUFFINS BUTTER

TOAST JELLY

BEVERAGES: Coffee — Tea — Milk

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1948

MENU

LUNCH

PLATE No. 1

SLICED COLD TURKEY

MOLDED FRUIT SALAD WHIPPED CREAM DRESSING

POTATO CHIPS

PLATE No. 2

SLICED VIRGINIA BAKED HAM

INDIVIDUAL POTS BOSTON BAKED BEANS

TOMATO-CUCUMBER SALAD

DRESSING

BREADS BUTTER BUTTER BEVERAGES

DESSERTS: Ice Cream Cake Lemon Pie Apple Pie Fresh Fruit

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1948

DINNER

MENU

Choice of:

Chilled Fruit Cup Tomato Juice Shrimp Cocktail

Choice of:

ROAST BEEF — BROWN GRAVY

BREADED PORK CHOPS — APPLE SAUCE

Choice of Two:

French Fried Potatoes — Mashed Potatoes — Fresh Green Beans
Corn on the Cob — Buttered Green Peas

Choice of Salads:

Head Lettuce — Tomato — Cottage Cheese — Cream Slaw with Peppers — Fresh Fruit Salad

Choice of Breads:

Corn Sticks — Hot Rolls — Assorted Breads
Butter Jelly Beverages

Choice of Desserts:

Fruit Shortcake with Whipped Cream — Iced Watermelon
Pineapple Chiffon Pie — Ice Cream — White Coconut Cake

★

THURSDAY, AUGUST 12, 1948

MENU

BREAKFAST

Choice of:

Chilled Orange Juice — Iced Melon — Stewed Prunes
Grapefruit — Assorted Cereals — Cream

Choice of:

GRILLED HAM OR BACON

SCRAMBLED EGGS

ASSORTED SWEET ROLLS

Assorted Sweet Rolls Hot Biscuits Toast
Butter Jelly Beverages

THURSDAY, AUGUST 12, 1948

LUNCH

MENU

PLATE No. 1

INDIVIDUAL CHICKEN PIE
SHOE STRING POTATOES
FRESH FRUIT IN CANTALOUPE RING

PLATE No. 2

SLICED COLD TONGUE AND CHICKEN
PINEAPPLE WITH COTTAGE CHEESE SALAD
SHOESTRING POTATOES

Choice of:

Fresh Fruit in Season — Ice Cream — Chocolate Sauce
Lady Baltimore Cake — Fruit Jello — Sherbet

Assorted Breads Crackers Nut Muffins Beverages

★

BANQUET TO TAKE PLACE OF DINNER FOR ADULTS

★

THURSDAY, AUGUST 12, 1948

CHILDREN'S DINNER

MENU

Choice of: Fruit Cup — Tomato Juice

Choice of:

Roast Leg of Lamb — Brown Gravy — Mint Jelly
Beef Tenderloin — Brown Butter Sauce

Choice of Two:

Mashed Potatoes — Buttered Peas — Glazed Carrots Juliene
Buttered Fresh Spinach

Choice of:

Orange-Banana Salad — Whipped Cream Dressing
Tomato Salad — Shredded Carrot and Raisin Salad

Assorted Breads

Choice of Desserts:

Prune Whip — Custard Sauce — Fresh Fruits — Ice Cream — Cake

FRIDAY, AUGUST 13, 1948

MENU

BREAKFAST

Choice of:

Orange Juice — Grapefruit — Melon — Stewed Prunes
Sliced Peaches — Assorted Cereals — Cream

Choice of:

BACON or SAUSAGE

EGGS

HOT CAKES — SYRUP

Toast Jelly Beverages

★

FRIDAY, AUGUST 12, 1948

MENU

LUNCH

PLATE No. 1

TUNA FISH SALAD

POTATO CHIPS

CHEESE-NUT SANDWICH

PLATE No. 2

JUMBO HAMBURGER ON BUN

FRENCH FRIED POTATOES

LETTUCE-TOMATO SALAD

Assorted Breads Crackers Butter Beverages

Choice of:

Fresh Fruits — Washington Cream Pie — Ice Cream in Meringue Shells — Sherbet

★

FRIDAY, AUGUST 12, 1948

PICNIC (NO DINNER)

SATURDAY, AUGUST 14, 1948

MENU

BREAKFAST

Choice of:

Fresh Fruit — Fruit Juice — Stewed Prunes — Assorted Cereals — Cream

BACON — EGGS — BRAN MUFFINS — BUTTER

Coffee Tea Milk

[SIGMA PI PHI
Aug. 12, 19

BIENNIAL BANQUET

The Grand Boulé

SIGMA PI PHI FRATERNITY

with

SIGMA BOULE

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION AND INDUSTRIAL ARTS

Wilberforce, Ohio

THURSDAY, AUGUST 12, 1948

Officers of the Grand Boule

CHARLES H. CARROLL ..... *Archon Megistos*

JOS. H. B. EVANS ..... *Grammateus Megistos*

B. A. ROSE ..... *Thesauristes Megistos*

GIDEON W. BROWN ..... *Megistos Archon Rhetoricos*

GEO. W. GORE, JR. ..... *Megistos Archon Agogos*

GEORGE F. DAVID ..... *Grapter Megistos*

"Did you not know, then, that today
Lucullus sups with Lucullus."

Life of Lucullus
— PLUTARCH

★

"A dinner lubricates business"

Life of Johnson (Boswell)

"Epicurean cooks: Sharpen with cloyless sauce his appetite"
Anthony and Cleopatra, Act II, Sc. I.

MENU

●

MINTED MELON BALLS IN ORANGE CUPS
"Help thyself, and God will help thee."
—Jacula Prudentum Herbert

●

RELISHES: CELERY OLIVES PICKLES
Appetite comes with eating, says Angeston."
—Works, Book I, Rabelias

●

FRIED SPRING CHICKEN — GIBLET GRAVY
"Stella is no chicken." — Swift

●

CANDIED SWEET POTATOES
"Let the sky rain potatoes." — Merry Wives of Windsor, Act V, Sc. 5.

●

BUTTERED ASPARAGUS
"A morsel for a monarch." —Anthony and Cleopatra, Act I, Sc. 5

●

ICEBERG LETTUCE SALAD ROQUEFORT CHEESE DRESSING
"My salad days,
When I was green in judgment."
Anthony and Cleopatra, Act I, Sc. I.

●

CLOVERLEAF ROLLS BUTTER JELLY
"I have fed like a farmer: I shall grow as fat as a porpoise."
Polite Conversation. — Swift

●

FRUIT ICES FANCY CAKES
"A dish fit for the gods." — Julius Caesar, Act I, Sc. 2.

●

MIXED NUTS MINTS COFFEE ICED TEA SMOKES
"Enough is equal to a feast." — The Convent Garden Tragedy, Fielding

SIGMA BOULE

CHARLES H. WESLEY.....*Sire Archon*

GEO. F. DAVID.....*Grammateus*

E. CHAMP WARRICK.....*Thesauristes*

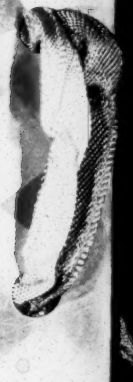
FOWLER A. BIGGS..... *Agogos Archon*

ANTHONY DAVIDSON .....*Rhetoricos Archon*

JAMES A. BYRD
L. H. COX
W. T. DARNELL
JAMES A. DUNN
J. A. GREGG
S. S. JORDAN
JOHN H. LEWIS
F. A. MCGINNIS
D. T. MURRAY
JAMES A. PARSONS, JR.
R. N. PYRTLE
B. A. ROSE
EARL A. RYDER
W. O. STOKES
W. E. WILEY

AUTOGRAPHS

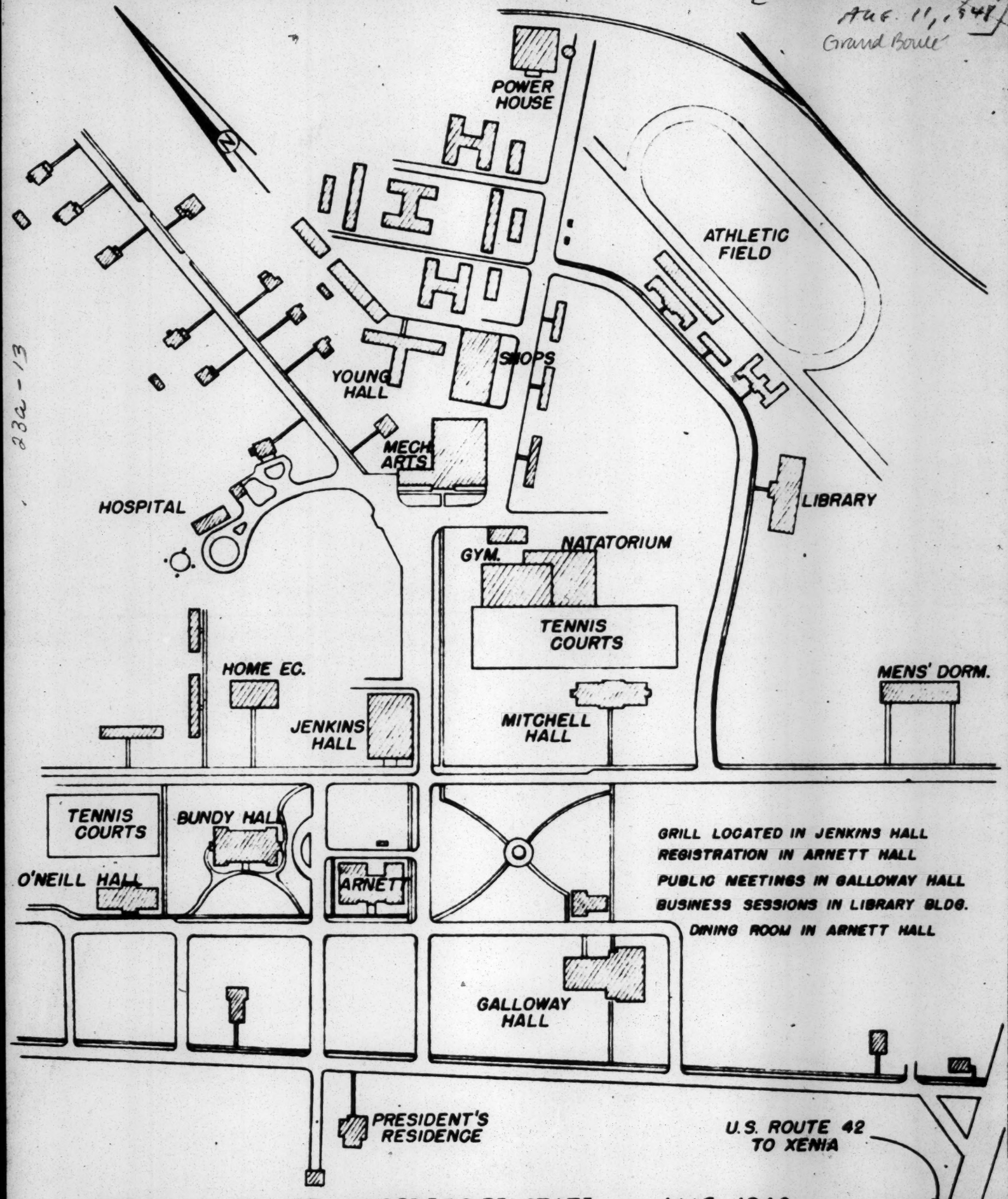
"For sweet memory's sake."



"Good Night, Good Night! Parting is such sweet sorrow,
That I shall say good night till it be morrow."

Romeo and Juliet, Act II, Sc. 2.

[Sigma Pi Phi
Aug. 11, 1948]
Grand Boule'



SIGMA PI PHI AT WILBERFORCE STATE AUG. 1948

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[Sigma Pi Phi, Aug 12, 1948]
Grand Boule

SIGMA PI PHI FRATERNITY

BOULE SONG

Words by Archon Arthur S. Gray - Epsilon

Tune: "Maryland, My Maryland"

(Complimentary to G. S. A. McCard and Gamma Boule)

****

234-13

"From far and near you've traveled here
Over rough and rocky road,
To reach the open portals of
Sigma Pi Phi's blest abode.
Our hearts, our homes to you belong,
And glad we are that you have come,
To share our fellowship and song,
Share our fellowship and song.

"Each Archon who has dared to taste
Of the cup that threatened death,
Dear Sigma Pi Phi will defend
With his life and dying breath.
Should any foe a "Greek" assail
His cunning words shall not avail
Our ears are deaf to Envy's tale,
Ever deaf to Envy's tale.

"Though elsewhere bickerings annoy
Here, at least, are peace and joy;
Where friendships built on Faith abound;
Strife and discord ne'er are found.
Then drink together, Archons dear,
The cup of Fellowship and Cheer,
For as the apple of the eye,
Is to us SIGMA PI PHI."

[Sigma Pi Phi, Ms. Grand Grammateus]

Office of
JOS. H. B. EVANS
Grand Grammateus Magistus
101 S Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

SIGMA PI PHI FRATERNITY

GRAND BOULÉ

REPORT OF

THE GRAND GRAMMATEUS

FOR THE PERIOD

AUGUST 1946 TO AUGUST 1948

SUBMITTED TO

THE GRAND BOULE

AT

WILBERFORCE, OHIO

AUGUST 11 TO 13, 1948

230-13

227-5

This office has not neglected exploring the possibility of new boules in northern New Jersey and in the New England area. The Grand Sire Archon will no doubt mention this in his report. I have been with him in conferences on the New Jersey situation and have turned over to him a list of proposed charter members. We have been guided in our approach to the New England problem by an active archon of Zeta who lives in New England and the reports coming from him do not offer a great deal of encouragement. I spent some time with two archons from Beta and Pi who now live in Buffalo, N. Y. and who were anxious to see a boule established there. After a very frank discussion on Buffalo soil they agreed with me that it would be best to wait a while. Archon E. B. Perry of Theta, now residing in Houston, Texas assisted me in the ceremony at Dallas and went away with material, information and instructions for moving forward in Houston. This area and the Columbia, S. C. area will be given first consideration now that we have cleared up the petitions which had been hanging fire for many years.

230-13

I express my appreciation and that of the Grand Sire Archon to those grammatei who promptly sent in the questionnaires asking for a great deal of pertinent information. At this writing 19 have been sent in - a 78% record. When we get them all we will have valuable information for our files and each boule will have valuable information for compiling its own history. Fortunately I have been able to give the Grand Sire Archon all of the information he desired.

May I take this opportunity to thank all of the grand officers and the grammatei of the subordinate boules for the cooperation they have given me and especially for their consideration during the troublesome period when I was faced with the temporary loss of some of my records. We got back on an even keel and from that point I made the work of this office my vocation instead of my avocation.

I have processed this report in a form and size similar to the Journal with the idea in mind that this can be circulated along with the Minutes of this Grand Boule and thus materially cut down on the cost of that issue.

I look with you to the coming biennium for a sustained but solid growth in our organization and the continued effective impact of our fellow-archons on the many problems, local and national, whose solution must depend on our zeal and effort.

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

Jos. H. B. Evans

Grand Grammateus.

FINANCIAL REPORT FOR THE PERIOD AUGUST 21ST TO AUGUST 25TH, 1946

Balance on Hand at Close of Books for the 1946 Grand Boule			$2967.48
RECEIPTS:		None	
DISBURSEMENTS: (At Convention)			
Convention Expenses		$ 177.63	
Honoraria		1375.00	
Host Boule Allowance		600.00	
Binding of Journals		13.24	
Bal. Ofc. Exp. (Gr. Gram.)		64.39	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS:			$2230.26
Balance on Hand at Beginning of New Administration August 25, 1946			$ 737.22

FINANCIAL REPORT FOR THE PERIOD AUGUST 25, 1946 TO AUGUST 15, 1947

RECEIPTS:			
Grand Taxes:			
Past Due	$ 167.38		
Current (1947)	2130.00	$2297.38	
Initiation Fees		228.00	
Pin Payments (Dup. Pins)		53.31	
Histories		21.00	
Payts. for Journal Cuts		51.57	
Old Transfer Fees Paid		3.00	
Excess Remittances:			
Chi	.30		
Alpha (Refunded)	6.00	6.30	
TOTAL RECEIPTS			$2660.56
DISBURSEMENTS:			
Journal and Minutes		$1746.09	
Journal - Cuts and Half-Tones		180.50	
Grand Officer's Salary		200.00	
Grand Officers' Expense		363.52	
Payment for Pins		104.73	
Bank Charge - Old Acct.		1.00	
Bond Premiums		10.00	
Refund - Alpha Boule		6.00	
Floral - Archousa Minton		15.00	
Special Letters - Archon Minton		2.15	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS			$2628.99
Excess of Receipts Over Disbursements for the Period 8/25/46 to 8/15/47			$ 31.57

Washington, D. C.,
August 11, 1948.

To the Officers, Delegates
and Members,
Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity.

For the first time since I began service in the office of Grand Grammateus, I am happy to report that every subordinate boule is financial at the time this Grand Boule convenes and that means that we have 26 boules active both in spirit and in finance. This means that the reports and statistics which are a part of this report will not have to be changed later because of delinquencies. To you this may seem trivial but to me with more than a decade of experience in this office, it is an achievement.

Our membership at 475 is nearing the 500 mark and there is no doubt that during the coming biennium there will be added new members to the existing boules which with the addition of one or two new groups, will carry us past that figure. We must not lose sight of the fact that our losses by death will increase with the years and averages for past years will not be much of a guide if our average age continues at 55 where it is at the present time.

It is pleasing to note that two new boules, Alpha Delta at Cincinnati, Ohio and Alpha Epsilon at Dallas, Texas, have come into the fold and both have started off with an even dozen members which, in my opinion, comes within the best range of size for a new boule. Many of you will remember that in the early days of my incumbency I was kept constantly reminded that Sigma Pi Phi is not the type of fraternity that desires large and rapid expansion and I have learned to know from tradition and contact just what was meant. I went back through the records and found that the establishment of two new boules in a biennium was maximum with one exception. In that exceptional period there were four new groups organized and in that four were the only boules, two in number, which have become inactive. The Boule Journal has seen fit to comment editorially upon the failure to re-activate these two boules, Mu and Nu. May I say that much has been done to find out if this is possible not only by correspondence but by personal contacts and I can report again that there is no possibility of revival in either case and recommend that this Grand Boule instruct the Grand Grammateus to assign these names to the next groups to be taken in. A chain cannot be strong when links are missing.

SCHEDULE OF MEMBERSHIP, INITIATIONS, AND REMITTANCES

1947 Init.	1947 Members	Boule	1948 Init.	1948 Members	Total Remitted
	25	Alpha	4	26	$ 364.42
1	24	Beta		22	285.60
	21	Gamma	4	23	300.00
	18	Delta	2	19	369.00
2	30	Epsilon		30	405.81
	26	Zeta	1	28	339.96
1	18	Eta		17	232.38
5	25	Theta		24	412.42
	17	Iota		16	236.05
	23	Kappa		22	285.00
	12	Lambda	6	18	245.34
		Mu			
	1	Nu		1	30.69
	19	Xi		18	234.00
	5	Omicron		5	60.00
	11	Pi		12	144.69
	12	Rho	4	16	211.20
4	19	Sigma		20	277.44
3	21	Tau		21	306.27
	15	Upsilon	1	16	195.00
	23	Phi	2	23	297.60
2	15	Chi		16	211.50
	14	Psi		14	168.00
2	15	Alpha Alpha	1	15	207.00
1	18	Alpha Beta		17	252.28
	10	Alpha Gamma	2	12	151.50
		Alpha Delta	12	12	220.00
		Alpha Epsilon	12	12	205.00
21	437	T O T A L S	51	475	$6660.94

EXPENSE OF OFFICE OF GRAND GRAMMATEUS

Part-time Stenographic Service		
August 1946 to August 1947	$ 163.50	
August 1947 to August 1948	250.00	$413.50
Postage, Tel. & Tel.		44.70
Office Supplies, etc.		74.00
Printing and Stationery		96.75
Travel Expense		19.42
TOTAL EXPENSE		$ 648.37
Amount Received		$ 592.22
BALANCE		$ 56.15

Financial Report For The Period
August 15, 1947 to August 1, 1948

RECEIPTS:			
Grand Taxes:			
Past Due	$ 206.00		
Current (1948)	2784.00	$2990.00	
Initiation Fees		891.00	
Charter Fees		50.00	
Pin Payments (Dup. Pins)		36.60	
Payments for Journal Cuts		20.78	
Excess Remittance (Delta)		12.00	
TOTAL RECEIPTS			$4000.38
DISBURSEMENTS:			
Journal and Minutes		$1383.30	
Half-tones for Journal		253.77	
Grand Officers' Salaries		1050.00	
Grand Officers' Expense		478.46	
Payment for Pins		259.80	
Constitutions		62.24	
Bond Premium		5.00	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS			$3492.57
Excess of Receipts over Disbursements for the Period 8/15/47 to 8/1/48			$ 507.81
Balance Brought Forward From Last Fiscal Period:			
Balance at Beginning of Present Administration:		$ 737.22	
Balance from Operations for the Period 8/25/46 to 8/15/47		31.57	768.79
BALANCE ON HAND AT CLOSE OF BOOKS AUGUST 1, 1948			$1276.60

Recapitulation and Verification

Balance at Close of 1946 Grand Boule			$2967.48
RECEIPTS:			
From 8/25/46 to 8/15/47		$2660.56	
From 8/15/47 to 8/ 1/48		4000.38	$6660.94
TOTAL			$9628.42
DISBURSEMENTS:			
At the Grand Boule - 1946		$2230.26	
From 8/25/46 to 8/15/47		2628.99	
From 8/15/47 to 8/ 1/48		3492.57	$8351.82
BALANCE ON HAND AT CLOSE OF BOOKS AUGUST 1, 1948			$1276.60

VERIFICATION OF TRANSFER OF FUNDS TO GRAND THESAURISTES - B. A. ROSE

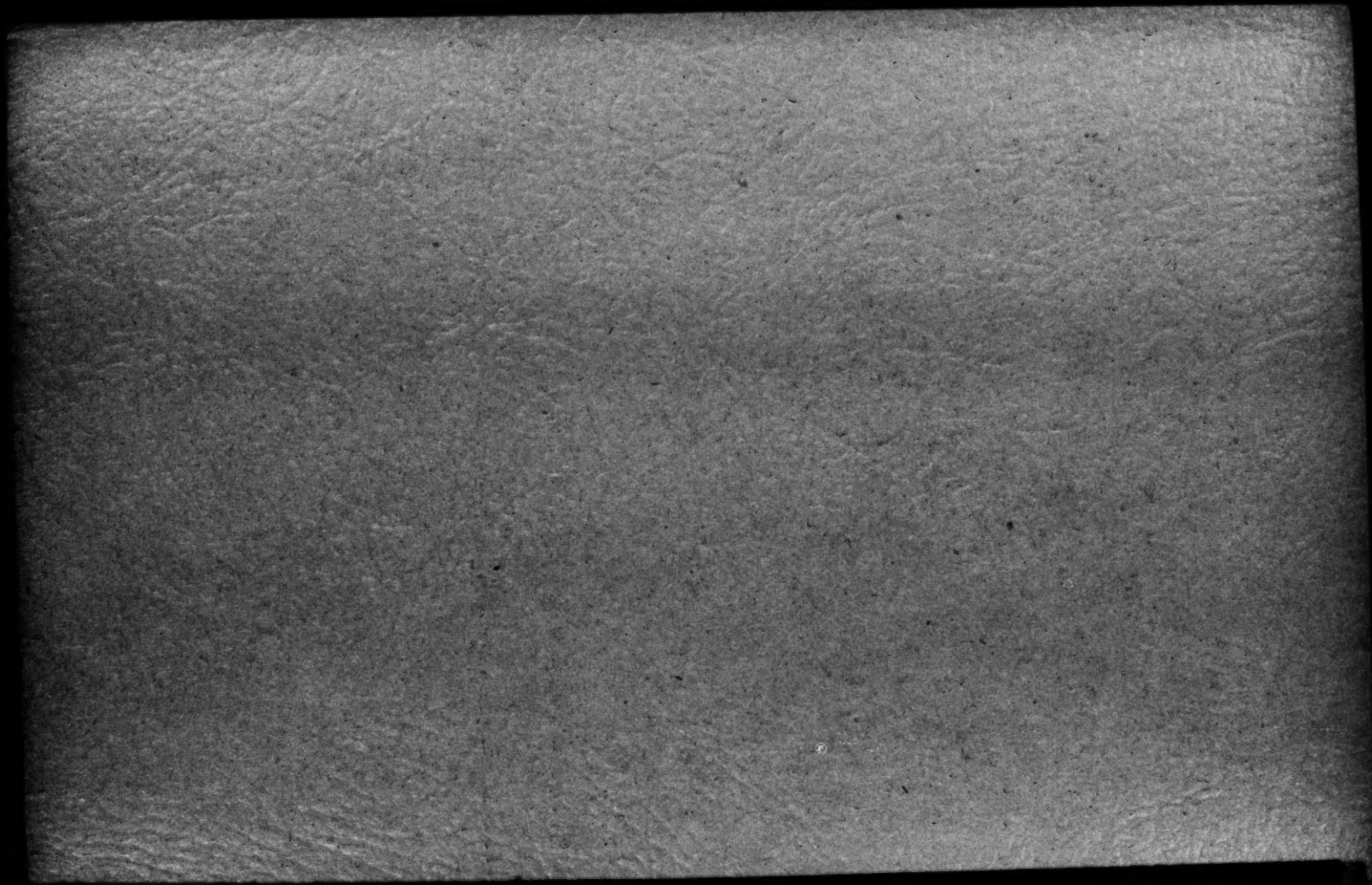
Balance on Hand as per Audit at 1946 Grand Boule		$2967.48
RECEIPTS:		
Reports #1 to #32 Incl.	$1912.80	
Less: Check of Rho Rtd. for Sig.	72.00	$1840.80
TOTAL CASH		$4808.28
DISBURSEMENTS:		
Paid at Grand Boule (War. 1 to 12)	$2230.26	
Paid Prior to Transfer of Funds (Warrants 13 to 30 Incl.)	1330.58	$3560.84
BALANCE TRANSFERRED TO GRAND THESAURISTES -- B. Andrew Rose		$1247.44

A GUIDING BUDGET SUGGESTED FOR 1947 AND 1948

EXPECTED INCOME:	1947	1948
Grand Taxes -- Past Due	$ 160.00	$ 200.00
Grand Taxes -- Current	2400.00	2500.00
Initiation Fees	300.00	750.00
Charter Fees	25.00	25.00
TOTAL	$2885.00	$3475.00
EXPECTED OUTGO:		
Grand Officers' Salaries	$ 625.00	$ 625.00
Expense - Grand Sire Archon	25.00	25.00
Expense - Grand Grammateus	300.00	350.00
Expense - Grand Thesauristes	10.00	10.00
Expense - Grand Grapter	140.00	100.00
Executive Committee	50.00	50.00
Journal and Minutes	2000.00	1300.00
Printing of Constitutions	75.00	
Bond Premiums	5.00	5.00
Pins for Initiates	75.00	180.00
Contingencies	25.00	25.00
Grand Boule Expenses		800.00
TOTAL	$3330.00	$3470.00

RECAPITULATION

Expected Income for 1947	$2885.00	
Expected Income for 1948	3475.00	
Cash in Hand August 1946	737.22	
TOTAL EXPENDABLE FUNDS		$7097.22
Expected Outgo for 1947	$3330.00	
Expected Outgo for 1948	3470.00	$6800.00
EXPECTED BALANCE AT CLOSE OF 1948 BIENNIUM		$ 297.22



[Sigma Pi Phi]

23-13-14

May 27, 1948

Mr. James H. Duckery
3844 North Smedley Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Duckery:

I am writing you at the authorization of the Grand Sire Archon. I understand that you are Grammateus of Alpha Boule. If not, will you kindly hand this letter to your successor.

I am going to speak at the Grand Boule at Wilberforce in August, and I want to prepare some factual data concerning the members of the Boule. I know this will cause you some trouble, and perhaps you cannot get the information with complete accuracy, but I shall be very glad if you will do your best to fill out the enclosed blank and return it to me at your very earliest convenience. I hope I am not causing too much trouble in this request.

Please accept my thanks for your cooperation and courtesy.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

(OVER)

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

This letter sent to:

James A. Cashin

Dalias F. Nicholas

C. M Roulhac

F. A. Gregory

Herbert Miller

J. A. Scott — copy to George B. Stafford 4048 W. Belle Place St. Louis 8, Mo. July 29, 1948

Thomas A. Webster

Cornelius L. Henderson

J. R. Porter

J. H. Thomas

Clarence A. Jones

Elmer Morris

I. T. Gilliam

Richard F. Jones

George F. David

Charles H. Garvin

E. L. Powell

H. Councill Trenholm

George W. Gore, Jr.

Whitney M. Young

S. Tanner Stafford

Wiley A. Hall

Stuart T. Davison

H. Hannibal Hull

ALPHA BOULE
SIGMA PI PHI FRATERNITY
PHILADELPHIA

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th St.
New York N. Y.

28-13-08

Dear Archon:

I am sending herewith the data requested with regard to Alpha Boule.

Fraternally.
James W. Dunbarry.
Grammateus.

P.S. I cannot personally vouch for the absolute reliability for the data with regard to incomes.

[Sigma Phi Phi]

BOULE DATE: 1948

Data on Alpha Boule. X

W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

ALPHA BOULE, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

INFORMATION SHEET

(Confidential--No Names Necessary)

1. How many members of your Boule are living? 26

   What are their approximate ages? Under 30 —
   30--60 23
   Over 60 3

2. Occupations of each member — Number

Minister	1
Lawyer	3
Physician	16
Dentist	1
Teacher	5
Business	—

3. Approximate annual income of members — Number

below $5,000.00	1
$5,000-10,000	18
10,000-25,000	7
over---25,000	

4. Members with living offspring:

Number of members with:	Children	Grandchildren
None	12	
1	5	
2	8	2
3	1	
4		
5		
over 5		

[Sigma Pi Phi]

FLINT-GOODRIDGE HOSPITAL
OF
DILLARD UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS 15, LA.

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT

June 5, 1948

23-13-03

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Enclosed is questionnaire from Alpha Alpha Boule. You will note that Alpha Alpha is honored by having one Archon who has two great grandchildren.

I am sure that your remarks along this line will be most interesting, and it is with deep regret that I find it impossible to attend the 22nd Bi-Annual Boule.

With kindest wishes, I remain

Yours very fraternally,

S. Tanner Stafford

S. TANNER STAFFORD
Grammateus
Alpha Alpha Boule

STS:d
enclosure

BOULE DATA: 1948

W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

ALPHA ALPHA BOULE, NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

INFORMATION SHEET
(Confidential - No Names Necessary)

1. How many members of your Boule are living? ALL 16

Their approximate ages: Under--30 0
30-----60 14
over --60 2

2. Occupation of each member — Number

Minister	3
Physician	6
Lawyer	
Dentist	1
Teacher	3
Business	
College Presidents	2
Hospital Administrator	1
YMCA Secretary	1

3. Approximate annual income of members

Number below $5,000	2
$5,00-10,000	12
$10,000-25,000	2
Over--$25,000	

4. Members with living offspring:

Number of members with:	Children	Grandchildren	Great Grandchildren
None	1	1	
1	3		
2	5	2	1
3	4		
4	1	4	
5	1		

Over --- 5

Received June 21, 1948 w.e.b.

BOULE DATA: 1948

W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

ALPHA BETA BOULE, ~~PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA~~ RICHMOND VIRGINIA

INFORMATION SHEET

(Confidential-No Names Necessary)

1. How many members of your Boule are living? 17

   Their approximate ages:
   - Under--30 ____
   - 30----60 15
   - Over -60 2

2. Occupation of each member — Number
   - Minister ____
   - Physician 4
   - Lawyer ____
   - DENTIST ____
   - Teacher 8
   - Business ____
   - College President ~~4~~
   - Social Work 1

3. Approximate annual income of members
   - Number below $5,000 2
   - $5,000-10,000 15
   - $10,000--25,000 ____
   - Over---$25,000 ____

4. Members with living offspring: Children — Grandchildren

Number of members with:	Children	Grandchildren
None	9	
1	2	1
2	3	
3	2	
4		
5	1	
Over ---56		

Yours Alpha Brothers

[Signs Pi Phi]

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

23-13-15

June 1, 1948

Mr. H. Hannibal Hull
1378 Burdett Avenue
Cincinnati, Ohio

Dear Mr. Hull:

I am writing you at the authorization of the Grand Sire Archon. I understand that you are Grammateus of Alpha Delta Boule. If not, will you kindly hand this letter to your successor.

I am going to speak at ehe Grand Boule at Wilberforce in August, and I want to prepare some factual data concerning the members of the Boule. I know this will cause you some trouble, and perhaps you cannot get the information with complete accuracy, but I shall be very glad if you will do your best to fill out the enclosed blank and return it to me at your earliest convenience. I hope I am not causing too much trouble in this request.

Please accept my thanks for your cooperation and courtesy.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm
Enclosure:

Dear Archon Du Bois -

Due to the serious illness of my father - it has caused a delay in getting this information to you. However I hope this will fill the bill.

Sincerely,

H. Hannibal Hull

[Sigma P. Phi]

838-13

Ray Eugene Clarke M. D.
Alpha Delta Boulé - Cincinnati

Archon Ray E. Clarke, surgeon and civic leader was educated at Prairie View State College, Langston University and Meharry Medical College. He served his internship and residency in surgery at Old City Hospital, Kansas City, Mo.

Besides enjoying a heavy practice, serving on the staffs of three of Cincinnati's leading hospitals; he is also instructor in surgery at the Cincinnati College of Medicine. He is a member of the National Medical Association, The Cincinnati Academy of Medicine, The American Medical Association and is chairman of the Executive Board of the Buckeye State Medical Dental and Pharmaceutical Association.

He is chairman of the Advisory Board of the Neighborhood House, an interracial settlement house recently organized in Cincinnati. He is also chairman of the Health Committee of the Negro Division of the Council of Social Agencies. He is a member of the Metropolitan Housing Authority and a member of the Board of Directors of the following organizations; The Hamilton County Chapter of American Red Cross; Boy's Clubs of Cincinnati, Incorporated; and The Cincinnati Community Chest. He is a Baptist and a member of Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity.

Alpha Delta Boule - Cincinnati

Theodore M. Berry, born November 8th, 1905 at Maysville, Kentucky

Son of Cora Parks Berry and Daniel Berry [Sigma Pi Phi]

Education: Stowe School
Woodward High School, 1924 (Senior Class Orator)
Univ. of Cincinnati College of Liberal Arts, 1928
(Winner of Jones Oratorical Prize)
Univ. of Cincinnati College of Law, 1931 (Winner of
Ohio Bar Association Corporation Law Prize).

Business Affiliations:

Director and Associate General Counsel - Dunbar Life Insurance Co.
Resident Counsel of Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Company
Associate Counsel United Transport Service Employees (CIO)
1939-47
Senior Partner - BERRY, MCClain & WHITE, ATTORNEYS

First Negro appointed to Prosecutor's office as Assistant Prosecuting Attorney 1939 to January 1943 in Hamilton County.

On leave in 1942 as Liaison Officer -Office of War Information, 1942, Washington, D. C.

Civic Activities

President of Cincinnati Branch NAACP 1932-1938;1943-46
Under his leadership Cinti Branch grew from a membership of 900 to over 8,000 members. Host to National NAACP Convention in 1946. Host to National Board of Directors in 1945 - first time Board meeting ever held out of New York City.
Presently, member of National Board of Directors of NAACP, and member of the National Legal Committee of NAACP

Secretary and Trustee of McCall Industrial School
Member of of Board of Management 9th St. YMCA 1936-40
" " " " " Division of Negro Welfare
" " " " " Social Hygiene Society
Member Improved Benevolent Order of Elks, Mason,
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity - Former Vice-President and General Counsel.
Member of Mt. Zion Methodist Church and Board of Trustees
Member of Board of Cincinnati Adult Education Council

Author: "Voting Trusts under Ohio Corporation Act", 1931
Employment Opportunities of Negro Workers in Cincinnati, 1931
Implications of the Classic Case - National Bar Journal
Member of Editorial Staff of Cinti Law Review, 1930-31

Hobbies: Horse-back riding, Swimming and golf

Married to the former Johnnie Mae Newton of Houston, Texas

2 daughters, Faith and Gail Berry, age 5 and 9.

[Sigma P. Phi]

B. F. CANN, M. D.
5223 Ward Street
612 West Ninth Street
Cincinnati, Ohio

Alpha Delta Boule - Cincinnati

BRAXTON F. CANN born in Somerset, Bermuda, November 4, 1900, received his preliminary education under Mrs. Ida Trott and at the Berkeley Institute.

B.A. Degree, Wilberforce University, 1924, and M.D. Degree from Howard University, Washington, D.C., 1930; interned at Provident Hospital, Baltimore, Maryland; has been practicing physician in Cincinnati, Ohio since 1931. Medical Clinician at the Cincinnati General Hospital, and University of Cincinnati Medical School. Member of the Staff of the Catherine Booth Hospital, Shoemaker Clinic, Jewish Hospital, and the Cincinnati Academy of Medicine, National Medical Association; is a 33rd Mason; Scottish Rite, and Alpha Phi Alpha.

Is married to the former Reber Simpkins of Shreveport, Louisiana, which union has blessed with five children, four daughters and a son.

Consuelo, the oldest daughter is married to a Bermudian, Arnold C. Williams; the second daughter, Gwendolyn, is a junior student at Bennett College; Johnnie Mae and Braxton, Jr., are students at Walnut Hills School, and Ruth attends the madisonville Public School.

Mrs. Cann is a former Social Worker, and is now quite active in church and civic organizations. She is the Grand Secretary of the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority.

Dr. Cann was very recently appointed by the Governor of Ohio, to the Board of Trustees of the College of Education and Industrial Arts at Wilberforce.

Dr. Cann is the brother of Mrs. Eunice McDermon of New York City, Dr. Eustace Cann and Dr. Millard Cann of Somerset, Bermuda.

BOULE DATA: 1948 [Sigma Pi Phi]

W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

DELTA
ALPHA BOULE, Cincinnati, Ohio

INFORMATION SHEET

(Confidential-No Names Necessary)

1. How many members of your Boule are living? 12

Their approximate ages: Under 30 0

30-----60 12

Over---60 —

2. Occupation of each member — Number

Minister	0
Physician	3
Lawyer	2
Dentist	3
Teacher	4
Business	—

3. Approximate annual income of members

Number below $5,000	2
$5,000-10,000	5
$10,000--25,000	5
Over --$25,000	—

4. Members with living offspring:

Number of members with:	Children	Grandchildren
None	9	
1	1	
2	1	
3		
4		
5	1	1
over 5		

[Sigma Pi Phi] X

W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

BOULE DATA: 1948

ALPHA GAMMA BOULE, ~~PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA~~ SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

INFORMATION SHEET

(Confidential-No Names Necessary)

1. How many members of your Boule are living? All 12

   Their approximate ages: Under--30 NONE
   30----60 ten
   Over -60 two

2. Occupation of each member — Number

   Minister ____
   Physician Eight (8)
   Lawyer ____
   DENTIST three (3)
   Teacher ____
   Business ONE - Y.M.C.A. Director
   ~~Other~~ ____
   ____
   ____
   ____

3. Approximate annual income of members — Number

   Number below $5,000 ONE (1)
   $5,000-10,000 Five (5)
   $10,000--25,000 Four (4)
   Over---$25,000 two (2)

4. Members with living offspring: Children — Grandchildren

   Number of members with: None 5 ____
   1 2 ____
   2 3 ____
   3 2 ____
   4 ____ ____
   5 ____ ____
   Over ---56 ____ ____

S.T. Davison, 2838 Pine Street.

Beta BOULE DATE: 1948

[Sigma P. Phi]

W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

BETA BOULE, ~~PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA~~ Chicago, ILLINOIS

INFORMATION SHEET

(Confidential--No Names Necessary)

1. How many members of your Boule are living? 22

   What are their approximate ages? Under 30 1
   30--60 14
   Over 60 1

2. Occupations of each member — Number

   Minister — None
   Lawyer — 6
   Physician — 7
   Dentist — 2
   Teacher — 1
   Business — 2 (1 Chemist)
   Unknown — 3

3. Approximate annual income of members

   Number below $5,000.00 — 9
   $5,000-10,000 — 5
   10,000-25,000 — 6
   over---25,000 — 2

4. Members with living offspring:

Number of members with:	Children	Grandchildren
None	9	17
1	4	4
2	2	1
3	4	
4		
5		
over 5	1	

Beta Boule
James B Cushing
Secretary.

[Sigma P. Phi]

Tennessee

Agricultural and Industrial State College

Nashville, Tennessee

June 5
1948

Office of the Dean

23-13-05

Dr W E B DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr DuBois:

I am enclosing herewith the questionnaire which you sent for data concerning Chi Boule of Nashville.

I trust this information will serve your purpose.

Yours very truly,

George W Gore, Jr

GWG:g
Encl

[Sigma P. Phi]

BOULE DATE: 1948

W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

CHI BOULE, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

INFORMATION SHEET

(Confidential-No Names Necessary)

1. How many members of your Boule are living? 16

Their approximate ages:

Under --30	0
30------60	14
Over----60	2

2. Occupation of each member

Minister	2
Physician	2
Lawyer	
Dentist	
College Teacher	7
Business	1
College President	2
College Dean	2

3. Approximate annual income of members

Number below $5,000	4
$5,000--10,000	11
$10,000-25,000	1
Over---$25,000	

4. Members with living offspring:

Number of members with:	CHILDREN	GRANDCHILDREN
None	3	13
1	2	1
2	4	2
3	6	
4	1	
5---Over - 5 ----		

BOULE DATA 1948

[Sigma Pi Phi]

W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

DELTA BOULE, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

INFORMATION SHEET
(Confidential--No Names Necessary)

1. How many mambers of your Boule are living? 17

What are their approximate ages? Under 30 ____

30-60 7

Over 60 10

2. Occupations of each member — Number

Physician	6
Minister	3
Lawyer	0
Dentist	2
Teacher	~~4~~ 3
Business	~~4~~ 3

3. Approximate annual income of members

Number below $5,000.00	3
$5,000-10,000	2
10,000-25,000	9
over--25,000	3

4. Members with living offspring:

Number of members with:	Children	Grandchildren
None	6 (3)	
1	1	
2	5	3
3	2	2
4	2	2
5	2	2
over 5		

C M Roulhac, M.D.
Delta Boule
Memphis, Tenn. 6-21-48
545 Miss. Blvd.

C. M. Roulhac M.D.
Gram. & Delta Boule
Memphis Tenn

[Sigma Pi Phi, Epsilon]

Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity

EPSILON BOULE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

4015 Massachusetts Ave., S. E.
June 7, 1948

22-13-06

Archon W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Archon DuBois:

The data you requested in your letter of May 27 to Epsilon are on the attached sheets. They are quite accurate for our thirty Archons.

We are glad to be able to help and look forward to seeing you in Wilberforce.

Fraternally yours,

F. A. Gregory

F. A. Gregory, Grammateus

L. L. [Sigma P. Phi]

WASH., D.C.

INFORMATION SHEET

EPSILON BOULE

1. How many members of your Boule are living? 30

   What are their approximate ages? Under 30 0

   30-60 16

   Over 60 14

2. Occupations of each member — Number 30

Physician	13
Minister	1
Lawyer	5
Dentist	1
Teacher	5
Business Man	2
Engineer	1
Government Worker	1
Social Service Worker	1

3. Approximate annual income of members

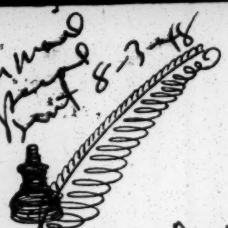
Number below $5,000.00	1
$5,000-10,000	13
10,000-25,000	15
over--25,000	1

4. Members with living offspring:

Number of members with:	Children	Grandchildren
None	12	19
1	7	6
2	4	3
3	4	1
4	1	1
5	1	
over 5	1	

Grand.

132-13



Archon Stafford for duty and
was sure to fulfill promise if
at area. Sincerely, Jessie

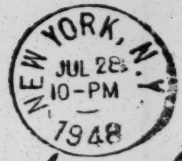
Dear Dr. DuBois —

The card referring to material for the Barle has just reached me. (I have been out of town.)

Archon W. H. Huffman is now grammateus but he is also out of St. Louis.

Archon Geo. B. Stafford — 4048 W. Belle Place, St. Louis (8), Mo. is acting grammateus. Evidently your request was mislaid in the general rush of the office. I suggest you

L. Sigma Pi Phi, Eta Boule]



GRAND
STA L

Postcard

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois

20 W. 40th St.

New York (18), N.Y.

23-13-07

[Sigma Pi Phi, Eta Boule]

23-13-13

July 29, 1948

Mr. George B. Stafford
Mr. W. H. Huffman
4048 West Belle Place
St. Louis 8, Missouri

Dear Mr. Huffman:

Since May 27, I have been trying to secure some data concerning the members of Eta Boule which I need in connection with the address I am going to make at the Grand Boule in Wilberforce next month. Although I have sent four communications to that chapter, it was not until today that I received any kind of reply. When it came it was merely to tell me to get in touch with you, since things had been in a sort of flux in change of personnel with Eta. Mr. J. A. Scott, finally, sent me a card suggesting that you could furnish me the data I need, and that you were acting grammateus in the absence of Mr. Huffman and that I should contact you.

For your information, I am enclosing a copy of the letter sent to each of the Grammatei, and the blank which I am asking you to please fill in and return to me immediately. Time is so short, and your Boule is the only one that has failed to respond. I am sure that I can count upon your cooperation in this matter. For your convenience, I am enclosing return postage.

With thanks for your courtesy and cooperation, I remain

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

Enclosures

BOULE DATA: 1948 [Sigma P. Phi]

W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

St. Louis, Mo.

ETA BOULE, ~~PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA~~

8-4-48

INFORMATION SHEET

(Confidential-No Names Necessary)

1. How many members of your Boule are living? 16

   Their approximate ages: Under 30 ____
   30-----60 10
   Over---60 6

2. Occupation of each member

	Number
Minister	1
Physician	1
Lawyer	1
Dentist	1
Teacher	10
Business	
Retired	2

3. Approximate annual income of members

Number below $5,000	4
$5,000--10,000	8
$10,000-25,000	2
over--25,000	

4. Members with living offspring:

Number of members with:	Children	Grandchildren
None	6	6
1	1	2
2	9	2
3		
4		
5		
Over 5		

George B. Stafford 4048 Wells Pl.

[Sigma Pi Phi, Gamma Boule]

August 3, 1948

SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. Dallas F. Nicholas
14 East Pleasant Street
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Mr. Nicholas:

On May 27, I wrote you concerning some data about the members of your Boule. I stated that I was in great need of this material and would like to have you send it at your earliest convenience, since I needed it in connection with the Grand Boule meeting in Wilberforce, Ohio, August 11-13. Receiving no reply from you, I again wrote you on June 17, July 6, and again on July 21. But to all of my several queries I have had no response.

The time is just about up now and unless you will do me the courtesy to let me have the data I hoped you would send me by the end of this week, Friday at the very latest, it will be too late and I shall be unable to use it. I am, therefore, writing you once again and enclosing a form which was sent to you originally to be filled in. I do hope that you will do me the courtesy to complete this form immediately and return it by airmail special at once.

With thanks in advance for your courtesy and cooperation, I remain

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

Enclosure

United Nations

Lake Success, New York. Fieldstone 7-1100

Executive Office of the Secretary-General

[Sigma P. Phi]
Gamma Boule

Boule

22-38-30

August 6, 1948

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. Ralph V. Cook
2028 McCulloh Street,
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Mr. Cook:

I am writing to you as a last resort for some much needed information. I have sent at least five communications to Grammateus Nicholas, since May 27, asking his cooperation in filling in the enclosed blank which I am sending to you, but not one of my letters has ever been acknowledged.

This material is necessary in connection with the meeting of the Grand Boule in Wilberforce, Ohio. If you possibly can, please rush this data to me so that it will reach my office by Monday noon, August 9, at the very latest.

With sincere thanks for your courtesy and cooperation, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:S

Enclosure

[Sigma Pi Phi - Iota Boule]

TYler 7-2794

6119 30th Street

CORNELIUS L. HENDERSON

REGISTERED CIVIL ENGINEER

Detroit, Mich. June 21st 1948

Dear Archon Dubois:-

Sorry to have delayed you but it was difficult to get the information regarding income. Hoping to see you at Wilberforce

Fraternally Yours

Cornelius L. Henderson

23-13-02

BOULE DATA: 1948

W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

IOTA BOULE, ~~PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA~~ Detroit Mich

INFORMATION SHEET

(Confidential-No Names Necessary)

1. How many members of your Boule are living? 16

   Their approximate ages: Under 30 None
   30-----60 10
   Over---60 6

2. Occupation of each member — Number

   Minister None
   Physician 7
   Lawyer 3
   Dentist 2
   Teacher 1
   Business 1
   Pharmacist 1
   Engineer 1

3. Approximate annual income of members — Number

   Number below $5,000 1
   $5,000-10,000 8
   $10,000--25,000 7
   Over --$25,000 None

4. Members with living offspring:

Number of members with:	Children	Grandchildren
None	4	9
1	4	4
2	1	
3	4	1
4	0	
5	1	
over 5	2	2

BOULE DATA: 1948

W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Rec'd 4-28-48

KAPPA BOULE, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

INFORMATION SHEET

(Confidential-No Names Necessary)

1. How many members of your Boule are living? 22

   Their approximate ages: Under 30 ____
   30-----60 17
   Over---60 5

2. Occupation of each member

	Number
Minister	4
Physician	2
Lawyer	1
Dentist	1
Teacher	10
Business	4

3. Approximate annual income of members

Number below $5,000	6
$5,000-10,000	10
$10,000--25,000	3
Over --$25,000	3

4. Members with living offspring:

Number of members with:	Children	Grandchildren
None	7	~~4~~
1	4	4
2	6	9
3	3	9
4		
5		
over 5		

Dr. J. R. Portis
Johnson Ave.
Atlanta, Ga.

In abeyance. in delay at solving Georgia Knot
JR Porter

23a-13

[Sigma Pi Phi]

REPORT OF L. D. MILTON -- TREASURER

CONCLAVE ACCOUNT - KAPPA BOULE'

RECEIPTS

ARCHER, S. H.	$ 45.00
BELL, W. A.	45.00
BROOKS, R. N.	45.00
BUTLER, H. R., Jr.	45.00
CATER, C. C.	45.00
DAVAGE, M. S.	37.50
DUBOIS, W. E. B.	45.00
FOUNTAIN, W. A., Sr.	42.00
FOUNTAIN, W. A., Jr.	45.00
HARRELD, W. K.	45.00
HOPE, JOHN, II	25.00
JONES, DAVID D.	45.00
JOHNSON, CHAS. H.	45.00
KING, WILLIS J.	45.00
MARTIN, E. M.	45.00
MCCOY, A. B.	45.00
MILTON, L. D.	45.00
SLATER, THOS. H.	48.75
WALDEN, A. T.	25.00
WASHINGTON, F. B.	25.00
WHITTAKER J. P.	45.00
YATES. C. R.	45.00
CONCLAVE FEES: Collected by F. B. Washington	778.90
TOTAL RECEIPTS	$ 1,702.15

30-14a -2

REPORT OF L. D. MILTON -- TREASURER

CONCLAVE ACCOUNT - KAPPA BOULE'

DISBURSEMENTS

TO:

Dr. Thomas H. Slater - Refund	$ 7.00
Dr. J. R. Porter - Printing	3.00
Foote & Davies - Supplies	19.50
Dr. J. R. Porter - Publicity	5.40
The Top Hat - Deposit for Dance	10.00
The Parish House - Deposit	5.00
W. D. Thomas - Music for Dinner Dance	50.00
Robinson Printing Company	14.00
James Fowler - Services at Stag	45.00
Mrs. Willie Daniels - Food, Dinner Dance	168.00
Mrs. Willie Daniels - Food, Barbecue	139.85
Mrs. Willie Daniels - Food, Card Party	52.00
Marion Hamilton - Music	11.00
Cash - To reimburse Mrs. Johnson (Dr. Porter)	24.00
Cash - Flowers (Dr. Porter)	8.00
T. S. Coles - Entertainers for Stag	29.00
Cash - For Parish House (Dr. Porter)	15.00
Kemper Harreld - Expense	11.50
Cash - For Placards (Dr. Porter)	4.75
Mrs. Eloise Milton,- For Ice Cream, etc	4.75
Mrs. Helen Martin - For Parish House	6.00
Mrs. Carrie Johnson - reimbursement	.29
The Top Hat - Balance for Dance	25.00
M. S. Davage - For Barbecue	15.00
L. D. Milton - Refreshments for Stag	40.00
L. D. Milton - Balance refreshments for Stag	1.85
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS	$ 714.89

TOTAL RECEIPTS	$ 1,702.15
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS	714.89
BALANCE, CASH ON HAND	$ 987.26

500
$500

BOULE DATA: 1948

W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Rec 6-26-48

LAMBDA BOULE, ~~PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA~~ Columbus, Ohio

INFORMATION SHEET

(Confidential-No Names Necessary)

1. How many members of your Boule are living? 18

Their approximate ages: Under --30 0

30------60 14

Over ----60 4

2. Occupation of each member — Number

Minister 2

Physician 4

LAWYER 3

Dentist 3

Teacher 4

Business 1

Social Work 1

3. Approximate annual income of members — Number

Number below $5,000 10

$5,000----$10,000 5

10,000-----25,000 3

Over ------25,000 0

4. Members with living offspring:

Number of members with :	Children	Grandchildren
None	4	
1	3	
2	8	
3	3	2
4		
5		
Over 5		

J. H. Thomas
712 Eldridge Ave.
Columbus 3, Ohio

BOULE DATA: 1948 ST. PAUL, MINN. [Sigma Pi Phi]

OMICRON

~~--OMICRON~~ BOULE, ~~PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA~~

W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New Yo

INFORMATION SHEET

(Confidential-No Names Necessary)

1. How many members of your Boule are living? 5

   Their approximate ages: Under 30 ____
   30-----60 2
   Over---60 3

2. Occupation of each member — Number

   Minister ____
   Physician 2
   Lawyer I
   Dentist I
   Teacher ____
   Business ____
   Pharmacist 4
   ____
   ____
   ____

3. Approximate annual income of members — Number

   Number below $5,000 2
   $5,000-10,000 3
   $10,000--25,000 ____
   Over --$25,000 ____

4. Members with living offspring:

Number of members with:	Children	Grandchildren
None	2	____
1	I	2
2	I	X
3	____	____
4	____	____
5	____	____
over 5	____	____

[Sigma P. Phi, Phi Boule]

The State Teachers College

At

Montgomery, Alabama

FOUNDED IN 1874

H. COUNCILL TRENHOLM, PRESIDENT

July 30, 1948

28-13-18

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
20 West 40th Street
New York 18 New York

Dear Archon DuBois:

I apologize for the great delay in completing the survey and preparing for return to you the enclosed questionnaire respecting the personnel of Phi Boule. Ths distributed location of our member-archons and my rather heavy travel schedule of the past month have contributed to this delay. I do hope that this information is reaching you in time to be included in your composite exhibits and your address.

Pleased to look forward to seeing you at Wilberforce August 11-13.

I am

Fraternally Yours

H. Councill Trenholm
Grammateus..PHI BOULE

[Sigma Pi Phi]

BOULE DATA: 1948

W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

ms 8-3-48

MONTGOMERY & TUSKEGEE ALABAMA
PHI BOULE, ~~PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA~~

INFORMATION SHEET

(Confidential--No Names Necessary)

1. How many members of your Boule are living? 23

Their approximate ages: Under 30 None
30 --- 60 20
Over 60 3

2. Occupation of each member

	Number
Minister	
Physician	6
Druggist-Pharmacist	
Lawyer	1
Dentist	1
Teacher	8
College Administration	6
Director-Teacher-Trainer In Voc. Rehab.	1

3. Approximate annual income of members

	Number
Number below $5,000	9
$ 5,000-10,000	12
$10,000-25,000	2
Over $25,000	

$. Members with living offspring:

Number of members with:	Children	Grandchildren
None	6	None
1	7	2
2	6	None
3	4	None
4		
5		
Over ------- 5		

23a-13

[Sigma Pi Phi; Pi Boule]

Boule

August 6, 1948

23-13-16

Dr. H. A. Powell
1516 Ringo Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Dr. Powell:

I am writing you as a last resort for some much needed information. I have sent at least five communications to Grammateus Gillam, to his Buffalo, New York, address asking his cooperation in filling in the enclosed blank which I am sending to you, but not one of my letters has ever been acknowledged.

This material is necessary in connection with the meeting of the Grand Boule in Wilberforce, Ohio. If you possibly can, please rush this data to me so that it will reach my office by Monday noon, August 9, at the very latest.

With sincere thanks for your courtesy and cooperation, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:S

BOULE DATA: 1948 [Sigma Pi Phi]

I. T. GILLAM, Buffalo, N.Y

H

W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

P. BOULE, ~~[illegible]~~ Little Rock, Arkansas

INFORMATION SHEET

(Confidential-No Names Necessary)

1. How many members of your Boule are living? 15

   Their approximate ages: Under --30 ____
   30------60 9
   Over ----60 6

2. Occupation of each member — Number

   Minister ____
   Physician 4
   LAWYER ____
   Dentist 4
   Teacher 7
   Business ____

3. Approximate annual income of members — Number

   Below $5,000 9
   $5,000----$10,000 6
   10,000-----25,000 ____
   Over ------25,000 ____

4. Members with living offspring:

Number of members with :	Children	Grandchildren
None	6	12
1	4	1
2	2	1
3	3	1
4	____	____
5	____	____
Over 5	____	____

I. T. Gillam, Gram.
1211 Pulaski St.
Little Rock, Arkansas

BOULE DATA: 1948

W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Psi BOULE, ~~PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA~~

INFORMATION SHEET

(Confidential-No Names Necessary)

1. How many members of your Boule are living? All 13

   Their approximate ages: Under--30 None
   30----60 11
   Over -60 2

2. Occupation of each member

	Number
Minister	None
Physician	4
Lawyer	None
DENTIST	None
Teacher	7
Business	2

3. Approximate annual income of members

	Number
Number below $5,000	8
$5,000-10,000	5
$10,000--25,000	
Over---$25,000	

4. Members with living offspring:

Number of members with:	Children	Grandchildren
None	3	
1	4	
2		7
3	3	
4	2	
5	1	
Over ---56		

[Sigma Pi Phi, Rho Boule]

Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity

Rho Boule

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

RICHARD F. JONES
GRAMMATEUS
~~1004 WYLIE AVENUE~~
PITTSBURGH, PA.
330 Bakewell Bldg.

July 23, 1948

23-13-09

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Archon:

Please forgive me for my delay in replying to your letter of June 1, 1948 with the information requested.

I have been bombarded with requests for a variety of facts and figures about the Archons, living and dead, of Rho Boule. Somehow, without rereading your letter, I confused your request with another, which required checking old Boule records, etc.

Please accept my apology.

Fraternally yours,

Richard F. Jones
Grammateus

RFJ:jhs

BOULE DATA: 1948 [Sigma Pi Phi] X

W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

RHO BOULE, ~~PHILADELPHIA~~ Pittsburgh, PENNSYLVANIA

INFORMATION SHEET

(Confidential-No Names Necessary)

1. How many members of your Boule are living? 16

Their approximate ages: Under 30 None

30-----60 12

Over---60 4

2. Occupation of each member — Number

Minister

Physician 8

Lawyer 3

Dentist 5

Teacher

Business

3. Approximate annual income of members — Number below $5,000 1

$5,000--10,000 6

$10,000-25,000 9

over--25,000

4. Members with living offspring:

Number of members with:	Children	Grandchildren
None	6	
1	3	2
2	4	2
3	3	
4		
5		
Over 5		

Richard F. Jones, Gramm.

[S. P. P. - Sigma Boule]

SIGMA BOULE

Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity

May 26, 1948

Dear Archon:

If you have never visited this section of the U.S.A., the occasion for doing so is presented this summer when the twenty-second Biennial Boule of Sigma Pi Phi convenes at scenic, historic Wilberforce. If you have been or are a frequent, or even an occasional visitor to these parts, the circumstances for your return are no less appropriate than during the week of August 11.

For you to whom this section is new, let us indicate a few of the facts and figures which are of interest and significance. For you to whom the section is familiar, let us awaken nostalgic memories.

Wilberforce is located in Greene County, Ohio, about midway between Columbus, the State's capital, and Cincinnati, the Queen City of the north. Either of these cities is a leisurely hour's driveway. U. S. Highway #42, an arterial north-south travel route, passes along the Eastern boundary of the campus where Boule activities will center. Cleveland, the northern terminal of U. S. Route #42, is 180 miles to the north. Laterally, from East to West, Pittsburgh is two hundred miles; Richmond, Indiana, is sixty.

Wilberforce is situated in the heart of one of Ohio's richest Farming regions. The types of agriculture carried on in these parts range all the way from general farming to highly specialized pursuits such as orcharding, dairying, poultry husbandry and fine cattle breeding.

Just fourteen miles in a westerly direction lies Dayton, the home of American aviation and Wright Field, Headquarters for United States Army Air Transport Command and Materiel. In Dayton, too, one finds the Paul Lawrence Dunbar Home - preserved as a shrine to immortalize the great American poet.

Xenia, the city which serves Wilberforce as railway and shopping center, is just three miles and a half on U. S. Route #42. It is located on the main lines of the Pennsylvania Railway between New York and St. Louis and between Cleveland and Cincinnati. Some of the best trains of the Pennsylvania Lines, the Jeffersonian and the Spirit of St. Louis, discharge and receive passengers at Xenia who are bound to or away from Wilberforce. Half-hourly bus service is maintained. The College Station Wagon will also meet trains on notice of arrival being given to the Committee.

Springfield, sixteen miles north on U. S. Highway #68, and Dayton are way-stations for travelers on the New York Central Lines. Hourly bus service, Greyhound, is maintained between these points and Xenia. These trains will be met for those desiring transportation.

For the air-minded, Vandalia Airport at Dayton is the most convenient center. This port is a station for both TWA and Pan American flights from every point of the compass. Transportation to and from the College will be provided on notification.

As to Wilberforce: The story of her reason for being what and where she is situated is too familiar, perhaps, to warrant repeating here. Suffice it to say, that nature has been most kind in lavishing her gifts of flora, of rolling hills, of pleasant valleys, and rippling streams. The College - her halls and broad acres complete a setting which is a delight to the eye and a source of satisfaction and inspiration to the spirit.

It is to these surroundings and this setting that the Archons and Archonsae of Sigma wish to welcome you. No pains have been spared, no detail overlooked in planning for your comfort and enjoyment.

23a-13

Very cordially yours,

SIGMA BOULE
by the Committee on
Information and Registration:
E. Champ Warrick, Chr.
Charles H. Wesley
D. T. Murray
James A. Byrd
George F. David, Gen'l. Chr.

[S.P.P. - Sigma Boule]

SIGMA BOULÉ

Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity

Box 31
WILBERFORCE, OHIO

NINETEENTH BIENNIAL CONVOCATION — MEMORANDUM NO. II

Dear Archon:

You may have noted in our first letter we made the error of referring to the coming Convocation as the Twenty-second. It is in fact the Nineteenth, as you well know. If, however, you could share intimately in our thinking in reference to the event, you would readily understand how the mistake was made. Our plans are suited for a decade or more in advance of the times, as you will see when you arrive here.

Reservations

It will facilitate our efforts to insure your comfort while in Sigmaland if you will let us in on your plans for attending in advance of your arrival. A Registration Card is attached hereto as a convenience for you in doing just that. Please execute the Card in every detail.

In making up your party for the Conclave, we suggest that you will have regard for the constitutional provision set forth in Article XV;

> "Attendance at social functions officially under the supervision of the Grand Boule or any local Boule, shall be restricted to Archons, their wives, their unmarried daughters, female guest of an unmarried Archon, widowed mothers, unmarried sons who shall not have reached their twenty-sixth birthday. Unmarried widows of deceased Archons, and their eligible children are eligible to be present at all social functions."

Costs

It is also desirable that you should know at this time the cost of attending the Boule, as we see it now. The following schedule should be helpful:

Each adult (21 years of age and above)	$25.00
Each youth (12 to 21 years of age)	17.00
Each child (under 12 years of age)	12.00

These prices include lodging, Tuesday, August 10, through Friday, August 13; meals beginning with the evening meal on Tuesday, August 10 through the breakfast meal Saturday, August 14. They include as well varied recreational activities arranged for the age and interest groups into which all those who attend will fall.

Functions

The diversions arranged for the Nineteenth Grand Convocation include:

1. Wednesday - Get-Acquainted Hour (Ladies), afternoon; Card Party (Ladies), Smoker (Men), evening.
2. Thursday - Garden Party (Ladies), afternoon; Formal Dance, evening.
3. Friday - Talent Hour (Kiddies), morning; Outing, (Everybody), afternoon; Supervised play for children: croquet, tennis, softball, badminton, free-play, continuous; tours will be arranged for those interested in whatever the locality has to offer. The Archousae of Sigma have organized a program for visitors which is little short of colossal.

Start packing the family formals, slacks, sportswear and occasional accessories so as to be ready to be among those present when Sigma Pi Phi comes to spend a "wee bit" of time with Sigma at Wilberforce, August 10 through 13. We will look for you and we'll be waiting. Don't fail us!

Cordially and fraternally yours,

COMMITTEE ON INFORMATION AND REGISTRATION

June 30, 1948.

Will attend Aug 10 to ~~through~~ Aug 14
Accommodation — Single room,
one person

[Sigma Pi Phi]
Sigma Boule

July 13, 1948

Sigma Boule
Committee on Information
and Registration
Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity
Box 31
Wilberforce, Ohio

Gentlemen:

I plan to attend the nineteenth biennial convocation of Sigma Boule, and will be in residence from August 10 to August 14. Will you please reserve the following accommodations for me -- one person:

SINGLE ROOM (for one person)

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

232-13

[Sigma Pi Phi; Sigma Boulè]

SIGMA BOULÈ
Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity

23-13-12

Card returned 7-20-48

Wilberforce, Ohio
July 16, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
20 West 40th St.,
New York, N.Y.

Your letter asking for reservations for the Grand Boule received. Please fill out and return the enclosed card. Evidently a card was not enclosed in the letter sent by the committee.

We regret that we cannot promise you a single room for one person owing to our limited housing space. However, we will do the very best we can to make your stay here one that you will remember. If we find it at all possible to comply with your request we will be very happy to do so. Please return the card immediately.

Fraternally,
Geo. F. David.
Committee on Reservation.

SIGMA BOULÈ

Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity

23-13-11

Wilberforce, Ohio
July 24, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
New York, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Dubois:

I have your registration card. In fairness to you we cannot promise definitely a single room to anyone. Our accommodations are limited and the registrations indicate that we must use all available space.

We will do our best to satisfy you if it is at all possible.

Fraternally,

Geo. F. David

Geo. F. David

[Sigma P. Phi]
Sigma Boule

August 30, 1948

Mr. George F. David
P. O. Box 31
Wilberforce, Ohio

Dear Mr. David:

Dr. DuBois has asked me to send you the enclosed material to be used with his speech data recently sent to you. This refers, of course, to the spe ch, THE TALENTED TENTH, which he delivered before the Grand Boule which met at Wilberforce August 11-13, 1948

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

P.S. You will notice that we have never been able to get any reply from the Baltimore chapter, this enclosed data includes material from the other reporting 24 chapters of Sigma Pi Phi.

List of tables

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BOULE DATA: 1948

W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dayton, Ohio

SIGMA BOULE, ~~PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA~~

INFORMATION SHEET

(Confidential-No Names Necessary)

1. How many members of your Boule are living? 20

   Their approximate ages: Under 30 ____

   30-----60 9

   Over---60 11

2. Occupation of each member — Number

   Minister 2

   Physician 5

   Lawyer 2

   Dentist 0

   Teacher 6

   Engineers ~~Business~~ 5

3. Approximate annual income of members

   Number below $5,000 4

   $5,000--10,000 16

   $10,000-25,000 ____

   over--25,000 ____

4. Members with living offspring: Children 16 Grandchildren # 5

   Number of members with:

	None	1	2	3	4	5	Over 5
Children	4	1	5	4	2		
Grandchildren		2	2	1			

83a-13

[Sigma. Pi Phi, Tau Boule]

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

June 1, 1948

Mr. Charles H. Garvin
2321 East 55th Street
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Mr. Garvin:

23-13-01

I am writing you at the authorization of the Grand Sire Archon. I understand that you are Grammateus of Tau Boule. If not, will you kindly hand this letter to your successor.

I am going to speak at the Grand Boule at Wilberforce in August, and I want to prepare some factual data concerning the members of the Boule. I know this will cause you some trouble, and perhaps you cannot get the information with complete accuracy, but I shall be very glad if you will do your best to fill out the enclosed blank and return it to me at your very earliest convenience. I hope I am not causing too much trouble in this request.

Please accept my thanks for your cooperation and courtesy.

Very sincerely yours,

W E B Du Bois

W. E. B. Du Bois

JUN 21 '48

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

Dear Dr. Du Bois
Sorry for
the delay
Best Wishes
Chas H Garvin

BOULE DATA: 1948

W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Cleveland, Ohio

TAU BOULE, ~~PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA~~

INFORMATION SHEET

(Confidential-No Names Necessary)

1. How many members of your Boule are living? 21

Their approximate ages: Under 30 0

30-----60 18

Over---60 3

2. Occupation of each member

	Number	
Minister	One ①	1
Physician	~~1~~ 7	7
Lawyer	~~2~~ Seven	7
Dentist	~~5~~ ⑤	5
Teacher	① ~~Two~~ One	1
Business	0	

Deceased ~~5~~ 3

3. Approximate annual income of members

Number below $5,000	5
$5,000--10,000	
$10,000-25,000	13
over--25,000	3

4. Members with living offspring:

Number of members with:	Children	Grandchildren
None	~~12~~	1
1	~~7~~	
2	~~2~~	
3	1	
4	0	
5	0	
Over 5	6	

[Sigma Pi Phi, Theta Boule]

June 3, 1948

Dr W.E.B. DuBois
20 W 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Archon DuBois.

23-13-04

Enclosed find the information you sent with partial replies on some items. I could not secure complete information on items 1, and none on item #3. Theta Boulé has suspended meetings until October, and I am not in a position to contact each member.

I trust this information serves your need,

Fraternally yours

Thomas A. Webster
Grammateus
Theta Boulé
Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity

BOULE DATA: 1948

W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

THETA BOULE, Kansas City, Missouri

INFORMATION SHEET

(Confidential-No Names Necessary)

1. How many members of your Boule are living? 25

Their approximate ages: Under 30 none under 30

30-----60 majority in this age group 20

Over---60 ? do not know exact number. 5

2. Occupation of each member

	Number
Minister	0
Physician	10
Lawyer	1
Dentist	2
Teacher	9
Business	
newspaper	1
Social work	1
retired	1

3. Approximate annual income of members

	Number
below $5,000	
$5,000-10,000	
$10,000--25,000	
Over --$25,000	

4. Members with living offspring:

Number of members with:	Children	Grandchildren
None		
1	9	3
2	3	1
3	3	3
4		
5		
over 5		

230-13

[Sigma Pi Phi]

BOULE DATA: 1948

W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Charleston, W. Va

UPSILON BOULE, ~~PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA~~

INFORMATION SHEET

(Confidential-No Names Necessary)

1. How many members of your Boule are living? 16

Their approximate ages: Under 30 ____
30-----60 11
Over---60 5

2. Occupation of each member — Number

Minister	____
Physician	4
Lawyer	1
Dentist	2
Teacher	6
Insurance Business	1
Government	1
Architect	1
	____

3. Approximate annual income of members

Number below $5,000	1
$5,000--10,000	12
$10,000-25,000	3
over--25,000	____

4. Members with living offspring:

Number of members with:	Children	Grandchildren
None	5	14
1	5	1
2	4	1
3	1	____
4	0	____
5	1	____
Over 5	____	____

E. L. Parrell
Grammateus
Upsilon Boule

[Sigma Phi Phi]

SIGMA PI PHI
XI CHAPTER

OFFICE OF GRAMMATEUS
408 Stimson Building
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 11

June 16, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Archon:

Enclosed you will find the completed form in regard to the Boule member of Xi chapter.

Hope to see you at the Grand Boule meeting this summer.

Fraternally,

Clarence A. Jones

Clarence A. Jones,
Grammateus

CAJ/mb
Enc:1

23a-13

BOULE DATA: 1948 [Sigma Pi Phi]

W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Xi BOULE, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

INFORMATION SHEET

(Confidential-No Names Necessary)

1. How many members of your Boule are living? 19

   Their approximate ages: Under --30 None
   30------60 8
   Over ----60 11

2. Occupation of each member

	Number
Minister	2
Physician	8
LAWYER	3
Dentist	3
Teacher	None
Business	3

3. Approximate annual income of members

Number below $5,000	None
$5,000----$10,000	9
10,000-----25,000	9
Over ------25,000	1

4. Members with living offspring:

Number of members with :	Children	Grandchildren
None	9	15
1	1	1
2	5	2
3	4	None
4	None	None
5	None	1
Over 5	None	None

[Sigma Phi Phi, Zeta Boule]

405 Carlton Ave.,
Brooklyn, N.Y.
March 12, 1948

Dear Archon:

Zeta Boule will hold its next meeting at The Alumni House, 604 High Street, Newark, New Jersey, Friday, March 19th. Host-----Archon J. Leroy Jordan.

Since the refreshments are being served by a Caterer, we will have to start serving promptly at 9:30.

Two very important letters have been received from The Grand Sire Archon.

Yours fraternally,

H. T. Miller

Herbert T. Miller
Grammateus

Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity

Zeta Boule'

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

558 Decatur Street
Brooklyn, New York
March 24, 1948

23-28-5

Dear Archon:

George F. David, Grapter Megistos, has requested that I have Zeta's news in his office at Wilberforce by April 1st.

May I therefore request that you send me--IMMEDIATELY--any news about yourself, or any archon, so that Zeta may MAKE the next issue of The Boule Journal.

Fraternally yours,

H. T. Miller

Herbert T. Miller
Grammateus

Should like to have story of your 80th Anniversary Testimonial Dinner which I enjoyed so much.
Please send photo -- I shall call your Secy for information

Miller

Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity

Zeta Boule'

NEW YORK. NEW YORK

230-13

558 Decatur Street
Brooklyn, New York
April 9, 1948

Dear Archon:

The April meeting of Zeta Boule will be held on Friday April 16th, 9 P.M.,at the Harlem Branch YMCA, 180 West 135th Street, New York City, with Archon Henry K. Craft serving as host.

Interesting correspondence has come in from Grand Sire Archon Carroll, as well as the Grand Grammateus.

We shall anticipate your presence. Please use the enclosed card denoting your intention.

Fraternally yours,

H. T. Mullen

Herbert T. Mullen
Grammateus

Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity

Zeta Boule'

NEW YORK. NEW YORK

558 Decatur Street
Brooklyn, New York
November 10, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Archon:

By vote of Zeta Boule at its last meeting, this note is sent suggesting that if it is at all possible — in view of a number of outstanding accounts which are payable at this time -- that Archons will take care of their share of the 1948 budget of Zeta just as soon as it is possible.

The balance due on your share is $30.00.

Hoping that you will accept this note in the spirit in which it is sent, I am

Yours fraternally,

H. T. Miller

HERBERT T. MILLER
Grammateus

HTM/pjh

Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity

Zeta Boule'

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Apr 15, 43
#15

Boule

558 Decatur Street
Brooklyn, New York

November 11, 1948

Dear Archon:

The next regular meeting of Zeta Boule will be held at the Provident Professional Men's Club at 671 Lafayette Avenue, between Marcy and Tompkins Avenues in Brooklyn, New York - - 9:00 P. M. on Friday, November 19th.

Archon John S. Brown will serve as host.

Your attendance is anticipated. Please denote your intention on the enclosed card.

Yours fraternally,

Herbert T. Miller
Grammateus

830-13

Tell me about the #30 "balance" I sent last Dec. Bill presented - the last June 15, '47 for #15. Have received no bill for '48.

htm..jl
encl

[Sigma Pi Phi, Zeta Boule]

November 15, 1948

230-13

Mr. Herbert T. Miller
568 Decatur Street
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Mr. Miller: Please tell me about the $30.00 "balance." I have paid each bill as presented -- the last on June 15, 1947 for $15.00. I have received no bill for 1948.

Sincerely,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity
Zeta Boule'
NEW YORK. NEW YORK

November 16, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

My Dear Dr. DuBois:

The letter sent you was in reference to the fact that the dues for Zeta Boule for the year 1948 has been budgeted at $30.00 per member.

In the letter sent you, I should not have referred to a "balance". The amount due from you at this time, or by the end of the year, amounts to $30.00.

The budget for 1947 was $15.00 per member and your payment of this amount on June 15, 1947 covered that years budget.

Our 1948 budget is double that of the year 1947.

Yours fraternally,

H. T. Miller

Herbert T. Miller

HTM:jf

Copy

Dec. 9, 1948

Dear Mr. Miller:

The enclosed check is being sent for Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, in reply to your letter of November 16.

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

Enc. Check: $30.00

23C-13

[Sigma Pi Phi]

BOULE DATE: 1948

Zeta Boule, New York, N.Y.

W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

BOULE, [redacted], [redacted]

INFORMATION SHEET

(Confidential--No Names Necessary)

1. How many members of your Boule are living? 27

What are their approximate ages? Under 30 0

30--60 15

Over 60 12

2. Occupations of each member — Number

Minister 1

Lawyer 5 < 3 lawyers 2 judges

Physician 11

Dentist 3

Teacher 1

Business 1

Unknown 5

3. Approximate annual income of members — Number

below $5,000.00 1

$5,000-10,000 13

10,000-25,000 11

over---25,000 1

Unknown 1

4. Members with living offspring:

Number of members with:	Children	Grandchildren
None	9	13
1	9	3
2	6	
3	3	1
4	0	
5	0	1
over 5	0	

23c-13

[SIGMA PI PHI]

30-43-25

SIGMA PI PHI MEMBERS.

*James Anderson - 828 East 222nd Street, New York.

Dr. Walter N. Beekman - 780 Fulton Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dr. Richard Birnie - 632 Herkimer Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

John Brown - 255 West I3Ist Street, New York City.

Charles Burroughs - 630 East 227th Street, New York.

George W. Crawford - 42 Church Street, New Haven, Conn.

Augustus G. Dill - 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois - 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Rev. Edward Goins - 363 Orchard Street, New Haven, Conn.

Eugene M. Gregory - I72 North Eleventh Street, Newark, N. J.

Dr. Roland R. Johnson - 902 Lafayette Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dr. J. G. Trimble - 503 Vanderbilt Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dr. O. M. Waller - 762 Herkimer Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Rev. G. R. Waller - 80 King Street, Springfield, Mass.

D. Macon Webster - 35la Quincy Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dr. Marcus F. Wheatland - 84 John Street, Newport, R. I.

Rev. Robert D. Brown - 25 Orleans Street, Newark, N. J.

Dr.Frank L. Chambers - 457 Lenox Avenue, New York City.

J. Rosamond Johnson - 6 West I3Ist Street, New York City.

James W. Johnson - 23II Seventh Avenue, New York City.

Philip M. Thorne - 5I Chambers Street, New York City.

30-43-27

SIGMA PI PHI MEMBERS.

James Anderson - 828 East 222nd Street, New York.

Dr. Walter N. Beekman - 780 Fulton Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dr. Richard Birnie - 632 Herkimer Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

John Brown - 255 West I3Ist Street, New York City.

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J. Rosamond Johnson - 6 West I3Ist Street, New York City.

James W. Johnson - 23II Seventh Avenue, New York City.

Philip M. Thorne - 5I Chambers Street, New York City.

W-1

Reg for Info.
Walls folder

BENJAMIN FIELDING
COMMISSIONER

CITY OF NEW YORK
DEPARTMENT OF WELFARE
902 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

CHILDREN'S
1 East 104 Street
New York 29, N.Y.

January 13, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Director of Research, N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

23-24-42

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Under the caption, "Revolt on the Campus", I am attempting a story of the development of Fisk during the period 1925 to the present, with emphasis on the place of the strike of 1925 in the overall picture.

Mindful of the place of the tie in of your visit and alumni address of June 1924, I am asking whether or not you have the manuscript of, "Diuturni Silenti", and whether you will permit me to use it. If you do not have the manuscript, would you be so kind as to grant me a conference in which you would attempt to review the particular issues raised at that time.

Also, I would like to procure a complete text of the report to the United Nations on the Negro in the United States and would therefore appreciate information regarding the procuring of same.

Thanking you for your consideration of these requests, I am

Very sincerely yours,

J. Andrew Simmons
Ass't. Executive Director

JAS:my

anywhere a copy of this can be
got cost of having it typed.

23-24-43

January 14, 1948

Mr. J. Andrew Simmons, Ass't. Executive Director
CHILDREN'S CENTER
1 East 104th Street
New York 29, New York

Dear Mr. Simmons:

Thank you for your letter of January 13.

I have the article "Diuturni Silenti," and you may have a copy of it if you will pay the cost of having it typed.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

W-1

BENJAMIN FIELDING
COMMISSIONER

CITY OF NEW YORK
DEPARTMENT OF WELFARE
902 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

CHILDREN'S CENTER
1 East 104 Street
New York 29, N.Y.

File Smythe

January 19, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Director of Research, N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Many thanks for your letter.

I shall be glad to pay the cost of typing "Diuturni Silenti" and request that you have same done through your office with the bill submitted to me.

Very sincerely yours,

J. Andrew Simmons
Ass't. Executive Director

JAS:my

23-39-55

January 26, 1948

SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. J. Andrew Simmons, Assistant
Executive Director
Children's Center
1 East 104th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Simmons:

Enclosed is the article and one copy of Dr. DuBois DIUTURNI SILENTI, which you requested to have this office typed and send to you. The bill is attached.

Since we handled the matter directly, I paid Miss Murphy upon completion of the job and enclose her receipt for the sum of $10.50. Please make your check out to me to cover the sum.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

Enclosure

W-1

BENJAMIN FIELDING
COMMISSIONER

CITY OF NEW YORK
DEPARTMENT OF WELFARE
902 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

CHILDREN'S CENTER
1 East 104 Street
New York 29, N.Y.

January 30, 1948

23c-39

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
Department of Special Research
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Smythe:

Thank you for Dr. DuBois' "Diuturni Silenti." You will find check in the amount of $10.50 enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

J. Andrew Simmons
Ass't. Executive Director

JAS:my

Enclosure

H. L. SKINNER
Bldg. 38 Apt. 3 Univ. of Hou.
Houston, Texas

22-39-13

HOUSTON, TEXAS
NOV 15
6-PM
1948

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Professor W. E. Burghardt Du Bois
~~Atlanta University~~
~~Atlanta, Ga.~~
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

[Skinner]

11/10/48

Dear Professor

In reading your book, Black Folk, I fail to find any definate origin of the negro race.

Could you possibly clear this point as I am carefully seeking a full knowledge of the negro race.

Thanking you in advance I remain.

Yours Sincerely

Harry Shaw

Req Info.

November 22, 1948

Mr. H. L. Skinner
University of Houston
Bldg 38, Apt. 3
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Skinner:

Your card to Dr. DuBois has been turned over to me for reply. If you will consult the following volumes, I am sure that you will find an authoritative answer to the problem concerning the origin of the Negro race.

THE MYTH OF THE NEGRO PAST, Melville J. Herskovits, Harper & Brother, 1941

FROM SLAVERY TO FREEDOM: A HISTORY OF AMERICAN NEGROES, John Hope Franklin, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1947. See chapter I, especially of this text.

THE RACIAL HISTORY OF MAN, R. B. Dixon, New York, 1923.

HISTORY OF EGYPT, J. H. Breasted, New York, 1905.

AN ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD HISTORY, William L. Langer, Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1948.

In brief, the Negroid group among the three large racial strains on earth developed in the southern half of the Old World and its representatives stretched in an uninterrupted belt across Africa and southern Asia. There are two fundamental Negroid types today: the Negritos in parts of Africa and in Southeastern Asia; the Forest Negro or True Negro branch inhabiting central and western Africa and the Oceanic Negroes in the island world to the southeast of Asia (Papuans and Melanesians).

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

Reg Info

University of Notre Dame

Notre Dame, Indiana

Box 116
17 October 1948

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th St.
New York, N.Y.

22-39-17

My dear Mr. Du Bois:

At this time I am embarking on a study of the maritime slave trade to the British colonies of North America, which I hope will lead to some conclusion worth publishing.

I have not gone far enough to be able to ask any specific questions but I think that you, the senior student of this question, ought to know that I am at work on it, and I would like to think that you will be willing to give me some general advice before I fall into some trap which your long-range view has already spied out. Can you think of any errors of omission or commission that sage advice could protect me from? I would be grateful for any word from you.

Friends have advised me against this undertaking on the ground that for the next couple of years I will have to associate with some very unpleasant people (i.e., the slave traders) as revealed in their literary remains. I believe I can stomach that, however, for sake of a job that seems worth doing.

It is very unlikely that you have heard or read my name. I am just about your most recent co-alumnus, having received the Ph. D. from Harvard last June. I have contributed articles on race discrimination under the constitution to America and Inter-racial Review, and once had the honor of being unanimously endorsed in a state-wide election by the Negro press of Missouri.

Yours very truly,

Marshall Smelser

Marshall Smelser
Assistant Professor

21-63-22

November 4, 1948

Dr. Marshall Smelser
University of Notre Dame
Notre Dame, Indiana

Dear Dr. Smelser:

Answering your letter of October 17, may I say that I do not think of any advice that I can give you except possibly to remind you not to forget to consult the best recent work which is partially on your subject, and that is Eric Williams' CAPITALISM AND SLAVERY, published by The University of North Carolina Press.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Feb. 7 lecture [Society for Ethical Culture ....]

THE GROUPS OF

THE SOCIETY FOR ETHICAL CULTURE IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK

2 WEST 64TH STREET, NEW YORK

THE WORKERS FELLOWSHIP, INC.

SUSQUEHANNA 7-5200

December 17, 1948

Dear Mr. DuBois:

As I discussed with you over the phone today, we are most anxious to have you participate in our annual celebration of National Negro History Week on Monday evening, February 7th.

Last year was particularly successful, the program at that time including Mr. Paul Robeson, several young Negro musicians and others.

The program is expected to start at 8:30 P.M. and to conclude about 10:30 P.M. It will be held in the Society's auditorium (which seats some 1200) at 64th St. and Central Park West.

23-38-3

If agreeable to you, may I suggest that it would be fine if you could deliver about a 15 or 20 minute address on whatever phase of the evening's subject appeals most to you.

Your participation would help immeasurably to make the program the success which it deserves, and I certainly hope you find it possible to be with us that evening.

In order to expedite matters, I will appreciate your letting me know as soon as you conveniently can, if possible within the coming week, and also addressing your reply to me at my home, 310 Riverside Drive, New York 25.

Ever so many thanks again and

Cordially,

Milton Gould

Milton Gould
President

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th Street
New York

I should be glad to attend for
you ~~45 minutes~~ Thursday Oct 7 at
6 or 8 – Central Park West

December 20, 1948

23-3-8-37

Mr. Milton Gould, President
The Society for Ethical Culture
2 West 64th Street
New York, New York

My dear Sir:

I shall be glad to speak for you Monday, February 7, at 64th street and Central Park West.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

lecture 44.7

Lect. Comp

THE GROUPS OF

THE SOCIETY FOR ETHICAL CULTURE IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK

2 WEST 64TH STREET, NEW YORK

THE WORKERS FELLOWSHIP, INC.

SUSQUEHANNA 7-5200

December 27, 1948

23-38-35

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Ever so many thanks for your very kind acceptance of our invitation to appear on our special program celebrating National Negro History Week on Monday evening, February 7th.

In order to facilitate our publicity, I wonder if I could trouble you to just drop me an informal note of such biographical data as you feel might be helpful.

Many, many thanks again and

Cordially,

Milton Gould

Milton Gould

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18

SOCIETY OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
PRINCETON, N. J.

November 20, 1948

Mr. W.E.B. DuBois
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

23C-37-22

Our effort to establish a popular historical magazine embodying dignity, strict accuracy, human interest, and high literary quality has now reached a point where we are making a supreme effort to bring it before the public. In recent months we have taken the following steps:

1. Formed a working alliance with the American Association for State and Local History, which will cooperate with us in making and promoting the magazine.

2. Made plans, with the advice of Mr. Henry Luce of Time, Life, and Fortune, and of Mr. Harry Scherman, President of the Book-of-the-Month Club, to produce several trial issues of the magazine preparatory to its regular appearance. Mr. Daniel Longwell, managing editor of Life, has promised technical assistance.

3. Opened an editorial office at Columbia University.

4. Conducted negotiations with the Oklahoma University Press (Mr. Savoie Lottinville, Director) for the possible publication of the magazine by that organization.

5. Made arrangements with Mr. Henry Pringle and Mr. Roger Burlingame, assisted by Mr. Courtlandt Canby, to edit the trial issues, one of which we expect to print in regular illustrated format. Dr. Earle Newton, head of the Vermont Historical Society, and editor of the successful historical magazine Vermont Life, will assist these men.

6. Prepared a budget of $5,000 to cover costs of office, editorial work, travel, and printing of one trial issue. This is on a basis of strict economy.

We are now asking all friends of the venture, Fellows of this Society, if they will not contribute to our budget. We anticipate no further call for funds; this will be the last request made of you. If and when

stock is issued in the magazine company, your subscription will be counted toward an allotment. Select groups have already made subscriptions ranging from $50 to $500 each. We wish all to be represented, however, and shall welcome checks for $10, or $25, or a little less, or considerably more, according to your ability. A careful accounting of all moneys expended will always be accessible.

By united and energetic effort, we can push this undertaking to success. Offers of material assistance have come from various quarters. Once established, this magazine will be of inestimable value in the promotion of sound historical writing, in offering a market for a wide variety of historical materials, and in the education of the American people in many neglected aspects of their past. May we not count, once more, on your assistance? Checks should be sent to Dr. Rudolf A. Clemen, Princeton, N. J.

230-37-23

Sincerely yours,

Allan Nevins

President

P.S. Our best advisers tell us that this new magazine, if properly edited, is likely to be widely successful. We aim at an eventual circulation of 250,000. They also tell us that the immediate future is the right time to get going, and that postponement would be unfortunate. Our support is warm and enthusiastic, but we must have money enough to prepare a trial magazine that is original, vigorous, and expert. One-third of the modest sum (as magazine expenses go) absolutely needed has been contributed already by a few of our members. We must have the rest in hand by the end of the year or halt progress. It is impossible to enlist backers able to carry through actual publication and beyond until the magazine itself is created, given a personality and a format, and put in a form upon which investment, advertising and circulation can be based.

January 23, 1948

Dr. and Mrs. John Somerville
2104 South Harvard Boulevard
Los Angeles, California

23.29.21

Dear Doctors John and Vada:

I was very glad to hear from you and to know that my home is still open in Los Angeles. Of course, it would be more assuring if I had a note to this effect from Dr. Vada and Doris.

I speak in Los Angeles on Sunday, March 14, but I do not know where or for whom, as the appointment was made by people in San Francisco. If I find out, I will let you know. I hope to spend that week with you, and if during the week Mr. Kingsley things he needs another lecture, he can have it for $100.00, but that is not compulsory and you do not have to overwork yourselves on the matter.

Thank you for your kind letter.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

[Somerville, Nevada]

Dr. John Somervills

23-16-1

2104 S. Harvard Blvd.
Los Angeles, Calif.
Mar. 6, 1948

Dear Dr. Du Bois;

I received your letter, and I am glad to know that you are well, happy and in God's Country again, and will pay us a visit.

I called Mr. Kingsley, to remind him of your visit and he said that he was working on Something I dont know, what it is, and I dont think he does either (between me & you.)

23-16-5

We shall be looking for you on the 15th. Let us know the time, so that we may meet you. I know you like to travel on the "Daylight" but lately you fly around, so much that I wonder if the train isn't too slow for you.

Edith Loring King just returned from Oakland this morning, brought her beautiful daughter-in-law over to see me. Said she heard you were in San Francisco, but she didn't have time to get in touch with you. She lives across the street from me.

She loves your flattery - almost as much as I do, but be careful she tells everything she knows.

Hope you are enjoying your trip and do try to enjoy Los Angeles.

Sincerely — Vada

March 10, 1948

Dr. John Sommerville
2104 South Harvard Boulevard
Los Angeles, California

Dear Dr. Sommerville:

According to Dr. DuBois' schedule he was due in Los Angeles on March 12. Consequently, I had sent his mail to your address. Today I had a wire from him saying he would remain in San Francisco until March 15. If you think it advisable, taking into consideration the date this letter reaches you, I would appreciate your sending his first class mail to:

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
The Palace Hotel
San Francisco 19, California

However, you might write or wire him as to just exactly what to do, considering the time element.

I hope this will not inconvenience you too much. Please accept my thanks for your courtesy and cooperat on.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

March 26, 1948

Dr's

Dear Dr. and Mrs. Somerville:

23-16-6

I arrived in Albuquerque safely although there was no one to meet me and for the night I was quite lost in a hotel which they did not find. However, I was rescued the next day and housed in a very nice hotel and had a lecture before some seven hundred people. Then I flew to San Antonio where I stayed at the home of a physician. The next day I came to Prairie View. I shall stop here until April 7.

I want to thank you as usual for your very kind hospitality. I appreciated it and am always sorry to leave. I shall let you hear from me when I reach home. Letters say that Mrs. Du Bois is still comfortable, Yolande is well and granddaughter is home for her Easter holiday.

With love to you both and greetings to Doris.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

May 12, 1948

Dr. and Mrs. John Sommerville
2104 South Harvard Boulevard
Los Angeles, California

Dear Doctors John and Vada:

I have told my granddaughter, DuBois, to write to you. I don't know whether she has or not yet; and if she has, I have no idea what sort of an epistle you may have received. I hope, of course, that you will not feel at all under obligation to carry out the suggestion you made concerning her possible visit to California. But if you are still brave enough to consider it, I thought I would write you about certain facts.

23-16-7

She will be out of school early in June, and I think could come West, say June 15, 20th, or later. Something would depend on how long you wound want to be bothered with her. I am going to be at Wilberforce at the Grand Boule and perhaps her coming and stay could be so arranged that she could come East with you and meet me at Wilberforce. Then I could take her home.

I do not think that she would be troublesome. She has pretty good manners and is as terribly neat and clean as her mother and grandmother. I am sure she would be glad to make herself useful. But what I want especially is that she should see something of the life of colored people ina great modern city from the point of view of someone who knows and understands conditions.

Let me hear from you and do be frank about the whole matter. I know that often we voice ideas which sound pleasant at the time; but when we come to think it over we see many reasons why they cannot be carried out. I know you will not hesitate to say so if it is true in this case.

I am quite well and have been doing considerable lecturing since I saw you. I spoke at the University of New Mexico, as I think I told you. Then I spent two weeks in Texas, lecturing once; spoke in Atlanta, and then came North and got at my work in the office. Since that I have lectured at Baltimore and Cleveland.

The latter part of May I am going to Chicago, when the Rosenwald Fund is wound up. Gunnar Myrdal, the author of the great study, and myself are going to be the two chief speakers.

I hope this will find both of you in good health. Mrs. Du Bois continues about the same--comfortable but pretty helpless. I remember always my very pleasant visits to your beautiful home.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Mr. George F. David, Editor
Boule for

May 12, 1948

23-16-9

Zilla Simmerville

2104 S. Harvard Blvd.
Los Angeles Calif.
May 19, 1948

Dear Dr. Du Bois;

We received your letter regarding Du Bois' visit with us. You know that we shall be delighted to have her, and will do all we can to make her stay a happy one. I received a letter from her sometime before yours came and I have already answered and invited her to come. You need not fear that she will be any trouble to us. (She couldn't be worse than some grand parents I know.) I shall endeavor to show her some of the worthwhile things that women are doing out here in the west. By the way how old is Du Bois

She must be 13-14 or 15?

We are glad to know that you are going to Ohio to the Boule'. Du Bois can return with us and meet you there, as suggested. Anytime in June is alright for her to come, just let us know.

Remember me to Mrs Du Bois and Yolande, when you see them.

Sincerely,

Vada Somerville.

23-16-10

June 14, 1948

Dr. and Mrs. John Sommerville
2104 South Harvard Boulevard
Los Angeles, California

23-16-8

My dear Friends:

We have arranged for DuBois's trip. She will leave here on the TWA, flight No. 95, at noon, Standard Time, June 28. She will stop over in Chicago with friends until June 30. Then, at 2:50 P.M. on June 30, on the same flight No. 95, she will leave Chicago, arriving in Los Angeles at 8:10 P.M. Standard time, June 30, that is, 9:10 P.M. Daylight saving Time.

I have not made any ticket arrangements for her return. If you are able to endure her until you come back to Wilberforce I will meet you all there, and before that if you will let me know. I will send funds for her ticket either then or at any other time.

Please remember that when you come East, my apartment in New York will be at your disposal for as long as you wish to occupy it. I do hope that our experiment will prove a happy occasion for all of us.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Sacramento

2104 S. Harvard Blvd.
Los Angeles Calif.
Sept. 28, 1948

Dear Dr. Du Bois

We are very shocked over the action of the N.A.A.C.P. Board. and have been very busy - getting friends to do something about it. John A. has sent articles to all of our local papers - and to many of the national. Some of them will print the Articles, as you will see by the one enclosed. It is outrageous, for that gang to get - away with this - and they must not.

Roy Wilkens is here now, and we are going to wear him out, - and send him back to New York. They cannot hope to succeed with a drive for members

23-16-2

until they do some explaining to the people. The national meeting is supposed to convene in Los Angeles next year but Los Angeles, is not so easy as that.

23-16-3

We do want to go about this fight in the right way, and get results so will depend on the organization of which Miss Graham is interested in. Whatever, she wishes us to do she can depend on us, to do it.

You know how we feel about you and will stand by you. Locally We are raising sand, and N— generally.

Sincerely

Vada Somerville

December 16, 1948

Dr. John Sommerville
2104 South Harvard Boulevard
Los Angeles, California

23-16-1

My dear Dr. Vada and Dr. John:

Thank you so much for your interest in my affairs. I have been slow in writing because I was not quite certain as to how things were going. But everything is turning out very well, so far as I can see just now. I tried to avoid having this controversy become personel or develope into a fight for me to retain this position. It will be impossible for me to stay under any circumstances. As it has now developed, there is going to be, I think, an endowment which will give me enough support, so that my time hereafter can be devoted almost exclusively to writing. I shall be quite content. I shall probably move to new offices this month. When all this is settled, I will write you more in detail.

And by the way, who is this Alexander Sommerville whom you are apparently living with, and what has become of my friend Dr. John? Let me hear from you.

Mrs. Du Bois is getting on as usual with nor particular change, and the rest of the family is all right. I shall spend Christmas with them. The fruit and nuts came this morning in fine condition many thanks.

Merry Christmas and Happy New Year to both of you.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

[Southern Conference Educational Fund Inc.]

32-35-4

A Declaration OF Civil Rights

This Declaration was approved at a Conference on Civil Rights at Madison Hall, University of Virginia, November 20, 1948, and formally adopted the same day at Monticello, Virginia.

A Declaration of Civil Rights

We make the following declaration as Americans deeply committed to our form of government and our way of life:

It is useful at any time to re-examine day-to-day practices in the light of professed beliefs. Such an examination seems especially appropriate today, because: Many fellow citizens, especially in our Southern States, are unashamedly advocating ideas of racism and white supremacy contrary to American democracy; Truth and justice are not bounded or divided by parallels of latitude — this is one country and one people, governed under one constitution; A rapidly changing world requires a new analysis of the meaning of equality and freedom adequate for new conditions; Finally, the United States today is bidding for world leadership. Practice at home of what we advocate abroad is the only road to effective leadership.

With these ideas in mind, we, the undersigned citizens of the Southern States and of the United States, have taken a fresh look at our American heritage of freedom and equality for all, and how it works out in actual practice. We present here our findings and conclusions in all sincerity, hopeful that our efforts may stimulate others to undertake a similar discipline.

We *still* believe all men are created equal, and are endowed as men with certain rights which each must respect and guard to the other.

We take these rights to include equality before the law, and freedom from any discrimination bolstered by law; a right to vote; freedom of expression; an unrestricted access to all institutions supported by taxes for the public welfare, schools and hospitals not excepted; equal pay for equal work, and equal opportunity to receive training and to gain employment; and the right of unsegregated transportation, housing and assembly.

For many of our citizens enjoyment of these rights is denied and abridged by laws and conventions contrary to justice, and to the aims and purposes of this republic. We recognize the habitual and cultivated prejudices upon which such discriminations are sustained; we recognize the need of protections in law, and in the enforcement of law, to these rights, in our day.

While we are gratified at what progress has been made, past achievements should serve as an incentive to greater progress and not as an excuse for our failure to meet present obligations.

This nation was founded with the declaration that all men are created equal and are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights.

We are proud that these words were given to the world by a Southerner, Thomas Jefferson.

Closely associated with the idea of equality and the political democracy built upon it is another concept basic to American culture, the idea of the brotherhood of all mankind. It was given to us many centuries ago in the Hebrew-Christian tradition — "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

We understand the historic conditions that gave rise to our present plight. However, those conditions long ago ceased to exist, although their effects endure.

Discrimination inevitably means lower living standards for those who discriminate as well as for those who are victims of discrimination. Although the South is one of the richest regions in the United States in natural resources, the average citizen in a Southern State has an income forty percent lower than that of a citizen in a non-Southern state.

Today we are bound by economic, political and ethical demands to abolish segregation and discrimination against racial, religious, and national groups.

To bring American ideals and deeds into closer harmony, we offer the following proposals:

I. For Voluntary Individual Action: To speak out against discrimination when it is confronted in a particular case; to guard against prejudice in thought, word, and deed; to cultivate the habit of thinking of all persons as individuals, rather than as members of a group.

II. For Voluntary Group Action: (By educational, religious, fraternal, labor, business, professional, civic, and other groups.) To inform and educate their members as to present inequities and injustices, and to secure their consent and approval of changes in constitutions, by-laws and practices needed to establish these rights.

III. For Legislation: (a) Repeal of existing laws in violation of these principles, notably all laws that force public distinction based on color, religion, or national origin. (b) Passage of new legislation at federal, State and local levels to serve as a shield to the civil rights of the citizens, including the rights outlined above.

Adopted at Monticello, Virginia November 20, 1948

The above Declaration was endorsed by 200 citizens of the Southern States, including:

ALABAMA

A. D. BEITTEL, *President,* Talledega College
OLIVER C. COX, *Prof. of Sociology,* Tuskegee Institute
ALTON LAWRENCE, *Rep. M.M. & S.W.U.-C.I.O.,* Bessemer
TOM LUDWIG, *Mgr., Farmers Union Fertilizer Cooperative,* Andalusia
AUBREY WILLIAMS, *Publisher, Southern Farmer,* Montgomery
REV. DAN WHITSETT, First Methodist Church Sylacauga

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JOHN BROSS, *Head, Dept. of Bible,* College of the Ozarks, Clarksville
ALBERT H. CARTER, *Prof. of English,* University of Arkansas, Fayetteville
WESLEY DAVIS, *Instructor,* University of Arkansas, Fayetteville
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DEE POTTS, *Danforth Graduate Fellow,* University of Arkansas
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JAMES J. MARSHALL, *Attorney,* Miami
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HELEN POPE, *Social Worker,* Augusta
CHARLES E. SHERMAN, *Student Religious Worker,* Atlanta

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REV. LEON R. ROBINSON, Second Baptist Church, St. Louis
REV. LEE C. SHEPPARD, First Baptist Church, Columbia

Please clip and mail to: SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
808 Perdido Street. New Orleans, La.

We invite you to add your name to the group that has endorsed this Declaration.

☐ You may add my name to the Declaration.
☐ Send me without charge _____ copies of the Declaration.
☐ I enclose $_____ as my contribution to help with the distribution of the Declaration.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

TITLE_____
(For identification only)

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Rev. Charles M. Jones, Presbyterian Church, Chapel Hill

Henry Kamphoefner, *Dean, School of Design,* State College, Raleigh

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Cortez A. M. Ewing, *Prof. of Government,* University of Oklahoma, Norman

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Rebecca Reid, *Retired, Natl. Secy. for Colleges of YWCA,* Sumter

Mrs. A. W. Simkins, Columbia

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Fyke Farmer, *Attorney,* Nashville

George Harper, *Secy., Natl. Methodist Youth Fellowship,* Nashville

H. N. Hatley, *Tennessee Farmers Union,* Greeneville

Myles Horton, *Director, Highland Folk School,* Monteagle

Larry Larsen, *Regional Director, FTA-CIO,* Memphis

Robert M. Metcalf, M.D., Pleasant Hill

Jennings Perry, *Formerly Editor, The Nashville Tennessean,* Nashville

C. C. Reed, *Business Agent, Carpenters Union,* Knoxville

Ronald Slayton, *Assoc. Prof. of Arts and Crafts,* University of Tenn., Knoxville

Rev. Eugene Smathers, *Pastor,* Calvary Church, Big Lick

Alva W. Taylor, *Formerly Prof. of Religion,* Vanderbilt University, Nashville

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Regina Boyd, El Paso

Rabbi Henry Cohen, Galveston

Rev. Fred E. Cole, University Community Church, Austin

C. Frank Council, Corpus Christi

Rev. Sherwood Davis, *Pastor,* Los Angeles Heights Methodist Church, San Antonio

Margaret Fisher, *Student Religious Worker,* Dallas

Dr. John C. Granbery, *Editor, The Emancipator,* San Antonio

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Alex D. Krieger, *Prof. of Archaeology,* University of Texas, Austin

Arthur Mandell, *Attorney,* Houston

Rev. H. M. Ratliff, Mission

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Lulu White, *Exec. Secy., NAACP,* Houston

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Rev. B. F. Bunn, First Baptist Church, Charlottesville

Edward S. Cardoza, Richmond

Frank Daniel, M.D., Charlottesville

Oscar H. Darter, *Prof.,* Mary Washington College of Univ. of Virginia

Virgina Durr, Alexandria

Frank W. Finger, *Assoc. Prof. of Psychology,* University of Virginia, Charlottesville

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Oliver W. Hill, *Attorney,* Richmond

Joseph B. Hunter, *Assoc. Prof. of Religion,* Lynchburg College

L. P. Jackson, *Prof. of History,* Virginia State College, Petersburg

Brownie Lee Jones, *Director, Southern School for Workers,* Richmond

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Mr. & Mrs. Jack P. Marash, Richmond

L. F. Palmer, *Prof.,* Hampton Institute

Rev. Marvin G. Palmerlee, First Unitarian Church, Richmond

Marvin Caplan, *Editor, Southern Jewish Outlook,* Richmond

Mrs. A. H. Straus, *Exec. Secy., Richmond Public Forum*

Rev. Malcolm R. Sutherland, Thomas Jefferson Unitarian Church, Charlottesville

Charles C. Webber, *President, Virginia CIO Council,* Richmond

Rev. Oscar B. Wooldridge, Jr., *Gen. Secy., YMCA,* University of Virginia

Titles are given for identification only

The Southern Conference Educational Fund is a non-partisan, non-profit educational agency concerned with the elimination of discrimination and segregation based on race, religion, and nationality in the Southern States. *OFFICERS:* Aubrey Williams, President; Helen Fuller, Vice-President; Benjamin E. Mays, Vice-President; Alva W. Taylor, Secretary-Treasurer; James A. Dombrowski, Director.

New York Committee

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23-16

In consideration of your organization's work in the 13 Southern states, I am glad to attach:

My gift of $..... Date.....

My pledge of $.....

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Kindly make checks payable to SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE. (If contribution is to be deducted from income tax, make checks payable to Southern Conference Educational Fund.)

21

Southern Conference for Human Welfare

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February 4, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

A lie, said Mark Twain, can travel around the world while the truth is putting on its shoes.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare gained a new respect for Mark Twain when the Thomas-Rankin Committee's report was issued- and widely publicized - last June.

Knowing that you respect the truth, even when it comes belatedly, we felt sure you would be interested in Professor Walter Gellhorn's brilliant "report on a report" in the current Harvard Law Review. After dispassionately examining the House Un-American Committee's attack on the Southern Conference, the noted jurist finds it "a document which discredits its authors rather than the organization it sought to destroy".

The Thomas-Rankin attack makes doubly hard the work of the Southern Conference against segregation, discrimination, poverty and poll taxes. But the Southern Conference is making inroads on these evils. Southern Conference-sponsored mass meetings, according to Life magazine, defeated the Florida white primary bill. Other such meetings, the length of Dixie, are breaking the ancient precedent of Jim Crow seating. Tens of thousands are being encouraged to cast their first ballot.

The only answer to double hardship is redoubled effort. We want to count you with us now --- more than ever.

Many southern states have primaries early in 1948. We must get the voting records of candidates before the people and help them register. Important tests are at hand of the right of minorities to travel freely and enroll in colleges.

These are American (not Un-American) tasks. This is your fight. Read the report. Then help buy the truth some new shoes. Make them seven-league boots!

Sincerely yours,

Ruth Field

Mrs. Marshall Field

National Office • 808 Perdido Street • New Orleans 12, Louisiana

2-16

[SOUTH. NEGRO YOUTH CONG., JAN. 3, 1948]

SOUTHERN NEGRO YOUTH CONGRESS
Executive Board Meeting
Birmingham - January 3, 1948

SUMMARY OF MINUTES

Those present were: Board Members: Edward K. Weaver, President, Vivian Hampton, Nashville, Frank Hutchings, Macon, Maenetta Steele, Fairfield, Ala., Louis E. Burnham and Florence A. Castile. Club Leaders: John A. Moore, Tuskegee, Elnora J. Smith, Fairfield, Ala., Clifton Lacy, Irma Croswell, W.E. Jenkins, Harvey Long, James F. Lacy, all of Boothton, Ala.; Charles Langford, Marvel, Ala. By proxy: Arlington Sands, Miami, Fla.

23-16

The meeting opened at 10:30 A.M. with prayer. Edward K. Weaver presided. First item on the agenda was the report of the executive secretary. The report dealt with the general political climate in which SNYC functions today, the increased threat of war, the danger of universal military training, the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations, the fight for the right to vote, the third party and the legislative program of SNYC.

On proper motion, the report was received by the Board. The following proposals were acted upon favorably:

MOVED: That SNYC initiate monthly polls of youth opinion to sample sentiment regarding the candidates and issues in the 1948 election. PASSED.

MOVED: That SNYC sponsor a series of essay contests, forums, and mass meetings regarding candidates and issues in the 1948 elections. PASSED.

MOVED: That SNYC reaffirm its policy of political non-partisanship in connection with the 1948 elections. PASSED.

MOVED: That officers of SNYC be permitted to act freely on behalf of candidates of their choice, providing such actions be taken as individuals and not in the name of the SNYC. PASSED.

MOVED: That in associating the name of SNYC with various committees, movements and causes, officers be instructed to act in accordance with decisions of the Board as recorded in minutes of its meetings and with the aims of SNYC as stated in the constitution. PASSED.

Vivian Hampton presented to the Board five questions which had been composed by the Nashville club in connection with Attorney General Clark's listing of SNYC as "subversive". The questions are as follows:

1. On what grounds was the SNYC branded as Communistic?

2. Was the accusation made on the basis of individuals because of their connection with subversive organizations, and if so who are these individuals?

3. What procedure was followed by the government in making the list? Were the listed groups notified that their names would appear?

4. What further action will be taken by the national office to clear the name of SNYC, other than the release sent out on December 8, 1947?

5. Could the local clubs have some information that is more specific than the December 8 release? How many local SNYC groups exist and how closely related are they to the national organization?

The consensus of the Board regarding these questions, expressed by proper motion, was as follows:

1. There is no way to know on what specific grounds the Attorney General acted, since there has been no communication from his office to the SNYC regarding this matter. It can only be assumed, therefore, that SNYC is being smeared because of its militant policy, its criticism of UMT, the Truman Doctrine in Greece, and other policies of the Administration, as well as its refusal to exclude Communists or members of any other political party who adhere to SNYC program, from membership in the organization.

2. The political beliefs or affiliations of individual members or leaders of SNYC is a matter of their individual concern. All that is required is that, in their actions on behalf of SNYC, they do not violate the non-partisan policy of the organization, the decisions of its executive board, or the provisions of its constitution. Two members of SNYC who served as full-time officials up to our last south-wide conference in 1946 - James E. Jackson, Jr., and Esther Cooper Jackson - are members of the Communist Party. This membership in no way impeded the sacrificial and pioneering work which they did in building SNYC from its beginning and in its most critical period, for which they were signally honored by the delegates at the last convention at the time of their resignation. It in no way caused the slightest deviation from policies of SNYC's highest governing body, the executive board, cpmposed of 33 youth leaders in all parts of the South. It in no way disqualifies Mrs. Jackson from present membership on our executive board, which position she holds by virtue of her status as an SNYC vice-president. It should be noted that the designation of Communists as "subversive" is an arbitrary

designation fostered by the House Un-American Committee and the Department of Justice, in distinct violation of several federal court rulings which have affirmed the legality of the Communist party as a political entity in the U.S. The SNYC reserves for itself the non-partisan right to criticize all parties, measures and men, depending on their deeds with regard to the aims which this organization is established to advance - freedom, equality, opportunity and justice for Negro youth. At the same time, it refuses to indulge in the present deliberately fostered anti-Communist hysteria, because it regards this hysteria as the means of dividing and weakening the whole progressive camp and destroying the support of all militant, democratic organizations. It takes this position, not because it is "pro-communist" or an "affiliate" or "committee" of the Communist party, as the Attorney General falsely charges, but because it believes it the duty of liberals, whatever their politics, to protect the traditional American right of minority political opinion; and believes the current red-baiting campaign of the government, if not stopped, will become a screen behind which the rights of labor, racial, religious and other minorities may be completely destroyed - unless they abjectly conform to the program of the government.

23-16

3. T he procedure of the government in making up the list was the procedure of the police state. No prior notice was given SNYC officials that the organization would be listed. No representative of the Department of Justice visited our office. No hearing was held. SNYC officers and members read the news for the first time in the same papers which carried the announcement to the whole country.

4. SNYC will increasingly impress its character as an independent, non-partisan, social-action youth movement on the youth of the South and the general population through intensifying the activities of is local clubs and expanding the dissemination of its literature. It will specifically foster widest possible distribution of its statement of December 8 and of the questions and answers initiated by the Nashville Club of SNYC.

5. More specific information concerning the organizational status of SNYC and the relationships between local clubs and national office are contained in the report of the organizational secretary.

After a discussion of Universal Military Training, it was properly MOVED: That SNYC oppose the current campaign for universal military training, and the Towe Bill (HR 4278) in the 80th Congress. PASSED.

MOVED: That SNYC support and endorse the call for a National Youth Assembly against UMT to be held in Washington, D.C., February 15 and 16; that the Board send one official representative of SNYC and urge all clubs to send representatives from their localities and campuses. PASSED.

SUMMARY OF MINUTES

The report of the organizational secretary dealt with the work of the clubs during 1947 and included suggestions for improving this work in the coming period. The report revealed that the present membership of SNYC is 4,968. A total of 609 members were recruited since the last board meeting in March, 1947. The need for making all the clubs and club leaders membership-conscious was stressed. It was pointed out that the most active club of SNYC during 1947, Miami, Florida, did not reflect this activity in membership growth. Forty-three functioning SNYC clubs were listed for 1947, distributed as follows: Alabama, 16; South Carolina, 10; Georgia, 4; Louisiana, 3; Tennessee, 3; North Carolina, 4; Washington, D.C., 1; Mississippi, 1.

The report emphasized the need for each club to undertake some activity in connection with voting and citizenship education. The need for increased cultural and social activities was also stressed.

In connection with the organizational secretary's report, the following actions were taken:

MOVED: That the board authorize setting up by the staff of a system of certificates and pins to be awarded SNYC members and club leaders for outstanding activity. PASSED.

MOVED: That a south-wide membership drive be conducted from January 15 to April 15, and that each club be requested to sponsor a membership campaign for a specific time during this period. PASSED.

MOVED: That each club be urged to concentrate in the coming months on registering the maximum number of young voters, using the SNYC Manual on Citizenship Education as a guide for classes. PASSED.

The following pledges for new memberships were made by persons in attendance:

John Moore, Tuskegee Institute - 30
Vivian Hampton, Nashville - 10
Maenetta Steele & Elnora Smith, Fairfield, Ala. - 50
Alabama State Teachers College - 100

The President reported on the participation of the SNYC delegation in the World Youth Festival in Prague, Czechoslovakia, last summer. Based on the report, the following recommendations were adopted by the Board:

1. That SNYC establish more direct contact with youth organizations in other nations, conduct analyses of their work, send representatives to their meetings.

2. That SNYC investigate travel exchanges with foreign youth, and participation of Negro youth in reconstruction in other lands.

3. That SNYC participate in a movement being launched to call a U.S. - Canadian conference in defense of the needs and rights of working youth.

4. That SNYC assume greater responsibility for disseminating information concerning Negro youth to the World Federation of Democratic Youth and its constituent organizations throughout the world.

5. That SNYC authorize its officials to express, through special messages, its solidarity with youth of Latin America, Spain, South Africa, Indonesia, Viet-Nam, and other areas in which youth still struggle under the yolk of imperialism and fascism.

23-16

6. That, if possible, SNYC send a representative to the forthcoming Latin-American youth conference to be held in Chile.

7. That SNYC organize campaigns to send money and materials for relief. And that SNYC initiate a broad program of correspondence between Negro youth and youth in other lands.

Following a report on proposals for an official printed publication, the following actions were taken:

MOVED: That SNYC publish a monthly paper, to be entitled YOUNG SOUTH. That the first issue be distributed free to the membership, and that a drive be launched immediately to secure subscriptions at $1.00 a year. The publication will sell for 10¢ a copy, and the first issue will be for February, 1948. PASSED.

MOVED: That Edward K. Weaver serve as editor of YOUNG SOUTH. PASSED.

After a discussion of plans for the next all-southern Negro youth conference, the following actions were taken:

MOVED: That the next all-Southern Negro Youth Conference be held in Birmingham, Alabama, in the form of a <u>Southern Youth Legislature</u>. PASSED.

MOVED: That the dates of the Legislature be April 23,24 and 25, unless there is a major conflict with other scheduled events. PASSED.

MOVED: That the draft Call to the Conference be prepared by February 1 and sent for approval to the members of the executive and advisory boards, and the club presidents. PASSED.

MOVED: That Dr. Mordecai Johnson of Howard University be invited to serve as the keynote speaker. Other speakers mentioned were Dr. Benjamin Mays and Mr. Stetson Kennedy. PASSED.

MOVED: That Miss Lena Horne be invited to appear at one session of the Legislature. PASSED.

MOVED: That a major emphasis be placed on cultural activities at the Legislature. PASSED.

MOVED: That representatives of youth organizations in other countries be invited to attend the Legislature. PASSED.

In connection with the eleventh anniversary of SNYC which falls on February 14, 1948, the Board decided to ask all SNYC clubs to sponsor appropriate observations, with the purpose of winning new members and raising finances for the national office. Since the anniversary coincides with the culmination of Negro history week, and the birthdates of Lincoln and Douglass, it was proposed that Lincoln-Douglass buttons be secured for the occasion, if they are obtainable.

The treasurer reported that the financial statement for 1947 was still being prepared, and would be available shortly.

MOVED: That the treasurer's report for 1947 be prepared and mailed to all Board members with the minutes of this meeting. PASSED. (See financial statement attached.)

The executive secretary reported that two staff members, Arthur G. Price, Jr., and Mrs. Grace Tillman had resigned their posts as Special Projects Director and Louisiana State Secretary, respectively, since the last board meeting. Mr. Price left to find other employment, and Mrs. Tillman resigned because the national office could not continue the subsidy for maintenance of a Louisiana office. The resignations were accepted by the Board.

The secretary read a letter of resignation from Board member A. Romeo Horton of Morehouse College. It was MOVED that Mr. Horton's resignation be accepted. PASSED.

The secretary read a letter of resignation from Advisory Board member Dr. Rufus E. Clement. It was MOVED that Dr. Clement's resignation be accepted. PASSED.

In light of the resignations of Mrs. Tillman and Mr. Price, it was MOVED that the executive secretary be empowered to employ another staff member to assist with conference preparations, if the funds become available. PASSED.

In discussing the attendance at the meeting, the president expressed regret that more members could not attend. A telegram from Arlington Sands, explaining his difficulty in getting a plane reservation from Miami and pledging his support for decisions of the board was read. It was MOVED that Mr. Sand's proxy be added to the votes of the 6 board members present in order to constitute a quorum of 7. PASSED.

It was MOVED that the next Board meeting be held in Birmingham at the time of the Southern Youth Legislature. PASSED.

Respectfully submitted,

Vivian T. Hampton, Secretary

(SOUTH. NEGRO YOUTH CONG., FEB. 25, 1948)

23-16

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
ALL PUBLICATIONS
February 25, 1948

SOUTHERN NEGRO YOUTH CONGRESS
524 Masonic Temple Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

WALLACE LEADS FIELD IN YOUTH OPINION POLL

Negro Students Give 3rd Party Candidate 57% of Total Votes; Dewey 2nd; Truman Trails.

Birmingham, Ala. - If the 1948 election were held today and Southern Negro students had the deciding votes, Henry A. Wallace would be the next president of the United States by a substantial majority.

This result is shown in a poll of youth opinion conducted among Negro collegians by the Southern Negro Youth Congress during the month of January.

Almost 4,000 students of 11 colleges in seven Southern states gave the third-party standard bearer an absolute majority of 58% in a field of 6 candidates. New York's Governor Thomas Dewey ran a poor second with 16% of the votes cast, and President Truman trailed Dewey by 3 percentage points.

General Dwight D. Eisenhower won the favor of 9% of those polled, and Harold Stassen and Robert A. Taft, with 3 and 1% of the votes, respectively, also ran.

Everyone of the 112 Negro institutions of higher learning in the country was invited to take part in the Poll. Twenty colleges ordered more than 12,000 ballots, and the results here reported are based on the sampling in 11 schools which reported their findings.

Schools participating were: Talladega College, Talladega, Ala.; State Teachers College, Montgomery, Ala.; Miles College, Birmingham, Ala.; Florida A & M College, Tallahassee, Fla.; Albany State College, Albany, Ga.; Rust College, Holly Springs, Miss.; Alcorn College, Alcorn, Miss.; Jarvis Christian College, Hawkins, Texas; Tillotson College, Austin Texas; and Storer College, Harpers Ferry, W. Va.

Among the larger schools which received ballots but did not report results of the poll were: Tuskegee Institute, Ala.; Morehouse College, Atlanta; Fisk University, Nashville; Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N. C. and Virginia Union University, Richmond.

In only one school did Wallace fail to lead the field. That was Rust College in Holly Springs, Miss., which gave Dewey 58 out of 86 votes cast, for 77%.

In the other institutions, the Wallace margin varied from a plurality of 44% to a landslide majority of 80.6%. This latter margin was obtained at Texas' Jarvis Christian College with 166 out of 206 votes cast. Talladega College in Alabama also recorded am overwhelming Wallace semtiment, with the former Vice-president receiving 180 out of 235 votes cast, for 76%.

The leading question in the Poll and the response obtained in the schools listed are as follows:

"If you were voting today for President for which of the following men would you cast your vote?

CANDIDATE	NO. OF VOTES	% OF VOTES
WALLACE	2233	58%
DEWEY	607	16%
TRUMAN	506	13%
EISENHOWER	341	9%
STASSEN	96	3%
TAFT	43	1%
TOTAL	3826	100%

-- MORE--

23-16

The poll revealed no significant disparity between the votes of veteran and non-veteran, or male and female students.

A considerable number of students who did not vote for Wallace nevertheless, consider his candidacy a boon to the Negro, the poll disclosed. In reply to the question: "Do you think the candidacy of Henry Wallace will help or hurt in achieving the Negro's democratic aims in the 1948 elections?" 2,916 or 79% of those voting answered it would help. 713 or 20% felt it would hurt, while 1%, or 53 students were undecided.

The great strength of the Roosevelt tradition among Negroes was reflect in replies to the question: "If Franklin D. Roosevelt were running this year on a 3rd party ticket, would you vote for him?" 2,855, or 89% of the students said they would vote for Roosevelt, while 316, a bare 11% expressed opposition.

The Poll of Southern Youth Opinion is conducted as a monthly project by the Southern Negro Youth Congress. For February, student sentiment is being tested on the issue of Universal Military Training. The March subject will be segregation in higher education in the South.

--END--

SOUTHERN NEGRO YOUTH CONGRESS

524 MASONIC TEMPLE BUILDING • BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA. • PHONE 3-2448

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23-16

March 29, 1948

Dear Friend:

We are moving ahead with what promises to be the most successful conference in the history of the Southern Negro Youth Congress.

The sponsors list is almost completed, but we have been waiting to add your name.

Enclosed please find a wire. Please send collect your acceptance of sponsorship so that we may send the full list to the printer.

Sincerely yours,

Florence A. Castile

Florence A. Castile
Organizational Secretary

fp

Enclosure

[Enc.]

DOMESTIC SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram

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WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN, PRESIDENT

1206

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

SOUTHERN NEGRO YOUTH CONGRESS
524 Masonic Temple Bldg.
Birmingham, Alabama

You may include me among sponsors of Southern Youth Legislature.

23-16

A NEW CURTIS SERVICE

Telegraph your order for America's favorite magazines—HOLIDAY, 1 yr., $5 • the Post, 1 yr., $6 • LADIES' HOME JOURNAL, 1 yr., $3. All prices U. S. only. No charge for wire. Pay Western Union clerk for subscription or when billed by publisher.

Publisher will, on subscriber's request, refund full amount paid for copies not previously mailed. Prices subject to change without notice.

March 29, 1948

23-16

Miss Florence A. Castile
Southern Negro Youth Congress
524 Masonic Temple Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Miss Castile:

Your letter of March 29, to Mr. DuBois, concerning his sponsorship of Southern Youth Legislature has arrived during his absence from New York. Because he is moving about the country, I do not know whether I can reach him in time to be of service to you. However, I am forwarding you letter to his last address.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

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DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Make Fowler (check - see if we have it.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

June 11, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West Fortieth Street
New York 18, New York

23-16-11

Dear Dr. DuBois:

You will recall my promise at Chicago the other day to send you what information I could find on convictions of lynchers.

We have brought together the attached information from standard sources.

The penalties in most of these cases are so slight that they amount to a qualification merely of your statement, if I recall it aright, that there had been no convictions for the crime of lynching.

We have thought it important to keep the South aware of the fact that lynchers have been convicted. In the absence of any knowledge of any precedents, future juries will all too easily fail to convict.

All whom I talked with at the Chicago meeting greatly enjoyed your rich and earnest paper.

I am hesitant to set these scraps of information against what you have drawn together over these many years.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Enclosure

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

November 16, 1948

23-18-17

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
Department of Special Research
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

It is a pleasure to send you a copy of the October, 1948 New South, containing the Council's annual report.

We will look forward to getting your pamphlet, PROGRESS AND PORTENTS FOR THE NEGRO IN MEDICINE.

With cordial regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosure

SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY

114 EAST THIRTY SECOND STREET, NEW YORK, 16

Telephone: MU. 3-3855-6

January 8, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
% N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

First of all I want to thank you very much for the trouble you went to in reviewing Professor Henry Pratt Fairchild's book on race and nationality, since I know how busy you are.

23-38-54

Unfortunately I am now in an extremely difficult position about this review. I did not at all realize when I sent you the book just what its nature was or I would not have bothered you with it. Since I understand that you were away at the time my first letter about it was sent, it is possible that you did not see this letter and I am, therefore, sending you a copy of it herewith.

You see, this book actually does not fall within the scope of our magazine, "Soviet Russia Today" since we deal specifically with internal matters in the Soviet Union and questions connected with American-Soviet relations. I had thought that the one basis on which we might handle this book would be from its revelations about the status of the race and nationality problem in America, and that this might be used as a point of departure for making certain contrasts with regard to the situation in the Soviet Union.

Furthermore, since Professor Fairchild has been himself so good about writing articles for us, I had thought that it would be a way of expressing our gratitude to him by taking note of his book. I did not dream that his book would be of the nature that you indicate, nor that his own ideas on racial problems would be so questionable. I certainly would not have wanted you to treat the book in any but a perfectly honest way, and wholly appreciate your own reaction to it, but I am sure you will understand that under the circumstances, since the main question here is Professor Fairchild's own approach to the problem rather than a comparison of the situation in American to that in the Soviet Union, we really should never have considered reviewing the book in our magazine. I do hope that you will forgive me for having made this error and put you to this trouble.

However, I am sure that you will be able to place the review, possibly in Science and Society, in the new monthly of the combined New Masses and Mainstream, or in one of the liberal weeklies. I am, therefore, returning

the review to you, feeling sure that you will be able to make use of it in this way.

I do hope that I may be able to come back to you in the future when some appropriate book for us to handle comes along, or at any time when you might be in a position to write an article for us.

With apologies and very best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Jessica Smith

Jessica Smith, Editor

23-38-55

JS:A
uopwa-18
enc.

Soviet Russia Today ★

114 EAST THIRTY-SECOND STREET • NEW YORK 16 • MURRAY HILL 3-3855

Russia

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22-32

January 16, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

You are cordially invited to hear an eye-witness, off-the-record report on conditions in China, North Korea and Eastern Europe, and Soviet foreign policies in relation to these countries, by Miss Anna Louise Strong, noted author and correspondent, who has just returned to America after an extensive stay abroad.

The reception for Miss Strong will take place at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Zlatko Balokovic, 439 East 51st Street, on Sunday evening, February 8th, at 8 P. M.

Miss Strong spent most of the past two years in the Far East, living and travelling through North China and was the only American correspondent to visit North Korea. She returned home through the Soviet Union and visited several European countries on the way.

An exciting and informative evening is in store for all of us and I am sure you will want to be with us. Miss Strong will speak under the auspices of the magazine, SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY.

I look forward to having you with us at the Balokovic home the evening of February 8th. Kindly return the enclosed card letting me know I shall see you that evening.

Cordially,

Jessica Smith

Jessica Smith

[Enc.]

Dear Miss Smith:

I shall / shall not be with you for the talk by Miss Strong at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Zlatko Balokovic on Sunday evening, February 8th at 8 P.M.

name .....

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city ..... zone .....

22-32

Form 11-57

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JESSICA SMITH
SUITE 707
114 EAST 32 ST.
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

23-25-40

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DR E R ALEXANDER= FZ
234 WEST 139 ST NYK=

WILL YOU PLEASE EXPRESS TO DOCTOR DUBOIS MY DEEP APPRECIATION OF HIS DEVOTION OF HIS SPLENDID ABILITIES TO THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM AND THE RIGHTS OF MAN. STEADFAST FAITHFUL DURING MANY YEARS. REGRET THAT I CANNOT BE PRESENT AT ENTERTAINMENT IN HIS HONOR WITH BEST WISHES FOR A HAPPY EVENING=

MARY E SPENCE..
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

November 24, 1948

23-26-19

Miss Ann Spencer
1313 Pierce Street
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Ann Spencer:

It was very nice indeed to see you again Thank Mr. Spencer for his hospitality and extend to Mrs. Lomax Hill the assurances of my distinguished consideration. Also encourage the grandchild.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[c. April 30, 1948]

Mrs.Gilbert Spieldoch
'Doris Marx'
7301 Kingsbury Blvd.
St.Louis 5,Missouri

Reg Int'l

22-39-39

Dr.William Edward Burghart Du Bois
20 West 40th.,Street
New York,New York

Dear Dr.Du Bois:

A few months ago when I met you at the home of Mrs. L.S.Curtis,you very graciously offered to send me a copy of an African melody your great-grandmother used to sing. I would appre ciate the words and music as you have them. I will try to incor-porate this song into a story for children which will aim toward better inter-racial understanding.and hope to do justice to your kindness.

My work is appearing regularly in Jr.-The Modern Magazine for Boys and Girls. One of my stories about Mexico with Spanish words and phrases included has just been accepted. I am sending you an issue of this magazine which contains some of my verses with Spanish. I hope that you will like La Tejedora--The Weaver. The illustration by Mrs.Ray accompanies the book which I have completed.This book has received high commendation from statesmen and educators in Mexico and from educators in this country but is having a difficult time because it is written in poetry form. It would fill an important mission toward better inter-American understanding.

I am looking in book shops for a copy of 'The Souls of Black Folk (understand that it is out of print) If I find a copy would you autograph it for me?

I would appreciate a letter from you Dr.Du Bois if have the time.

Sincerely,

Doris Marx Spieldoch

Doris Marx Spieldoch
'Mrs.Gilbert'

Song-- Do bana coba,gene me,gene me!
Do bana coba,gene me,gene me!
Ben d' nuli,nuli,nuli,nuli,ben d' le.

I would appreciate your autograph with the song when you send it.

22-39-400

May 6, 1948

Mrs. Gilbert Spieldoch
7301 Kingsbury Boulevard
St. Louis 5, Missouri

My dear Mrs. Spieldoch:

Enclosed is a copy from my book, SOULD OF BLACK FOLK, in which the song and words of the African melody which you mentioned were published. As this book is out of print, you are quite at liberty to use the extract as you may wish.

Thank you for sending me the magazine, Jr.-The Modern [redacted]zine for Boys and Girls. I appreciate your interest.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

[Notes for letter]

May 4, 1948

FROM THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK

My grandfather's grandmother was seized by an evil Dutch trader tow centuries ago; and coming to the valleys of the Hudson and Housatonic, black, little, and lithe, she shivered and shrank in the harsh north winds, looked longingly at the hills, and often crooned a heathen melody to the child between her knees, thus:

see page 25 for song inserted here

F.C. McClurg

The child sang it to his children and they to their children's children, and so two hundred years it has travelled down to us and we sing it to our children, knowing as little as our fathers what its words may mean, but knowing well the meaning of its music.

April 22, 1948

Mr. Arthur Spingarn
36 West 44th Street
New York, New York

23-29 M

My dear Mr. Spingarn:

Will you kindly let me have your advice on three matters:

1. Why am I compelled to pay taxes for old age security? What return can I get for this, if any?

2. The Harlem colored paper, THE PEOPLE'S VOICE, owes me $210.00 for articles furnished; is there any use in trying to collect it, and if so, how should I go about it? I understand that Max Yergan is the real owner.

3. You advised me some years ago about buying bonds and I followed your advice. If I should want to buy two more bonds, what would your advice be today?

I shall appreciate your help very much in these matters.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

ARTHUR B. SPINGARN
COUNSELLOR AT LAW

36 WEST 44TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

April 26th, 1948.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,

20 West 40th Street,

New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:-

In reply to the three questions contained in your letter of April 22nd:

1. I assume that by "Old Age Security" you mean Social Security. Under the law, you are required to pay 1% of your salary so long as you are employed, even though you have passed the age of 65. Your obligation to pay Social Security under the law ceases upon your retirement or death.

   Upon your retirement from any employment, you then receive a monthly pension from the Government, which does not exceed $85.00 per month and is based upon your prior earnings from Jan. 1st, 1937 to the date of retirement.

   In the event you should die before retiring, your wife, if living, would be entitled to a monthly pension, based upon your prior earnings, as heretofore set forth.

2. As to your claim against The People's Voice, your only recourse would be to sue the Company or person who owns and publishes The People's Voice. The name of the owner and publisher of The People's Voice appears in the newspaper itself. For obvious reasons, I, as President of the N.A.A.C.P. am not the person to institute such a proceeding.

3. I am not a financial authority and I hesitate to give any financial advice. All I can say about U. S. Bonds is, that I personally am buying them.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur B. Spingarn

23-28-4

Civ R.

23-2-34

April 1, 1948

Mr. Joseph Starobin
39-83 48th Street
Long Island City 4, New York

Dear Mr. Starobin:

Your letter to Dr. DuBois, re the Magil matter, has come during his absence from New York. The Doctor is not due to return for sometime yet, but I shall bring your letter to his attention when he arrives.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Julius Rosenwald !!

April 20, 1948

The Manager
Stevens Hotel
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Sir:

Will you please reserve for me a room and bath for Thursday, May 27, and Friday, May 28? I should like, if possible, some outside air and view. I am attending the Rosenwald Fund exercises, and I believe they have made general reservations.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-25-8.

Happy Birthday

Congratulations to you
on your Birthday
and every good wish
for the coming year

Mr. & Mrs. John L. Stockton.

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IOI PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

February 18, 1948

Court Inn
Camden, South Carolina

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EUROPEAN ADDRESS

2, Eaton Gate, Sloane Square, London, S.W.1.

Dr. E. R. Alexander
234 West 139th Street
New York 30, New York

Dear Dr. Alexander:

I am very specially sorry that absence in the South will prevent my attendance at the Eightieth Birthday Anniversary Dinner in honor of Dr. DuBois.

I hold Dr. DuBois in very high regard as a highly distinguished scholar and American citizen. I feel grateful to him for all that he has done, not only for his own group in this country and Africa, but for the world at large. His books, his addresses, and his record of service in trying to secure first class citizenship, including civil rights, for all minority groups, will keep his memory green and cause his name to be honored as much a century from now as it is today.

I have not always agreed with Dr. DuBois, but I have found myself closer and closer to him as the years have passed, and find him today a mellow philosopher in whose friendship I rejoice. We have worked together closely on many projects,-such as the Encyclopedia of the Negro, the Committee on the Negro American in Defense Industries, the Committee on Africa, the War, and Peace Aims--in all of which his scholarship, breadth of view, and unselfish purpose have been conspicuous.

Should the opportunity occur I hope you will tell those gathered to do honor to Dr. DuBois under the auspices of Fisk University, where his early training was received, how truly I shall be with them in spirit on February 23rd. Were it possible Mrs. Stokes and I would consider it a privilege to be present.

Sincerely yours,

Anson Phelps Stokes

Anson Phelps Stokes
President Emeritus of the
Phelps-Stokes Fund

APS
RLH

Copy to Dr. DuBois

22-40

February 25, 1948

Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes
Lenox, Massachusetts

Dear Dr. Stokes:

Dr. DuBois, who is away on a lecture tour, has asked that the enclosed material be sent to you for your information.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:LM

Enclosure

ANSON PHELPS STOKES
LENOX, MASSACHUSETTS

The Court Inn
Camden, S. C.

March 2, 1948

W. E. B. DuBois, Director
Department of Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

22-39-01

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you very much for sending me a copy of your letter of February 22nd to Dr. McQuistion.

The first that I heard of this new Negro Encyclopedia project was about a week ago when Dr. Thompson, the editor of the Journal of Negro Education, sent me a copy of a letter that he had written to Dr. Patterson of Tuskegee Institute on the subject. Dr. Thompson wished to know what information I had about the project. At that time I had absolutely none, never having heard of it. I suggested that possibly it was merely a proposed enlargement of the old Negro Year Book to include some broader articles.

Since then, however, I have received a letter from Dr. Tobias in which he merely stated first, that he understood that a Tuskegee group hoped to finance a one volume encyclopedia dealing with Negro matters, and second, that he understood that no appropriations towards the project had been made by the General Education Board.

Of course, you are still Editor of the Encyclopedia of the Negro with Dr. Guy Johnson of the University of North Carolina as Associate Editor, and I am still Chairman of the Board, and the use of the title Encyclopedia of the Negro could be only with our consent, which would not, I believe, be given.

I asked Dr. Thompson to let me know as soon as he received further information and hope to hear from him soon.

I am asking Dr. ~~Thompson~~ Tobias to send to Dr. McQuisition a copy of the latest edition of our Encyclopedia of the Negro - Preparatory Volume - so that he may see the history, organization and scope of our project.

I was exceedingly sorry not to be in New York at the time that the public dinner was given in your honor. I hope you received a copy of the letter which I sent to the Committee in charge for you must know that I hold you in very high regard.

I am planning to pass through New York on my return home the first week in April and can be reached care of the Phelps-Stokes Fund. With kindest regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Anson Phelps Stokes

APS:mwl
Copy to: Phelps-Stokes Fund

March 4, 1948

Mr. Anson Phelps-Stokes
Lenox, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Stokes:

Your letter of March 2, has arrived during the absence of Dr. DuBois on a lecture tour to the West Coast. However, I am forwarding it to him.

I know he would be glad to see you when you pass through New York the first week in April, but he will be in Georgia at that time. He does not return to New York until the middle of the month.

Thank you for your courtesy.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

March 9, 1948

Mr. Anson Phelps Stokes
Court Inn
Camden, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Stokes:

Dr. DuBois has asked me to send you the enclosed. It is self explanatory.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

22-39

22-40-108

ANSON PHELPS STOKES
LENOX, MASSACHUSETTS

October 6, 1948

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I cannot let your separation from the active service of the NAACP pass without a word of appreciation for the magnificent work which you have rendered over the years in this and other capacities. You state the results while modestly restraining from mentioning your own part in the extremely interesting article in the current number of Phylon entitled "Race Relations in the United States 1917-1947." But I was sorry for the little slap at Booker Washington which I do not think justified. As I have always seen it, it was not an 'either or' with him as far as the different types of education were concerned, but the point of emphasis for his particular activity in his part of the south. I do not think that the Tuskegee ideal and the Atlanta University ideal, for instance, were in any way inconsistent.

You beat me to it in your 30-year study of race relations. Remember that I showed you a couple of years ago my Table of Dates for the 35th Anniversary Report of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, which was to cover the period from 1911 through 1946. My material has been in for over a year and a half, but owing to the great rush of office work and our small staff the other portions of the Report have not ~~yet~~ been completed until very recently. I hope that my Table of Dates in the volume which is to be called "Negro Status and Race Relations 1911-1946," may be of some service.

I of course know nothing at first hand about the difference of opinion between you and the Trustees of the NAACP. I imagine it is something like the case of my old friend, Gifford Pinchot, in connection with the Taft administration and the Ballinger case. Gifford was undoubtedly right in his insistence on the highest standards of conservation and in making sure that there was no letdown. On the other hand, as he himself wrote me -- and I have the letter on file -- the President was right in asking him to resign as part of an administration which he was criticizing. Perhaps it is a somewhat similar issue, although I don't know.

I am constantly gratified, as I see recognition such as the one by Gunnar Myrdal in his recent article, on "Social Trends in America," pay tribute to your extraordinary services to the cause of Negro advancement. It has been heroic work and although I have not agreed a hundred percent with your points of view I have agreed a hundred percent in admiring your devotion to the cause of the Negro and of American democracy, and have almost always agreed with the objectives which you have aimed at.

I notice that the Board in arranging for your retirement has duly expressed its appreciation of your services, and trust that it will arrange for some suitable pension.

Always sincerely yours,

Anson Phelps Stokes

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

22-40-107

October 21, 1948

Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes
Lenox, Massachusetts

My dear Dr. Stokes:

Thank you very much for your letter of October 6. I do not think that my mention of Mr. Washington in the Phylon article was in any sense a "slap." There were three statements of fact: First, what Charles Dudley Warner siad; secondly, that he was a supporter of Mr. Washington; and thirdly, that these two things made defense of higher education in 1900 difficult. It does not seem to me that there could be any question about these three matters and their relations.

I remember now your showing me your data concerning race relations, but I had forgotten it, when I wrote the Phylon article. I shall hope to see them in print in the future.

I do not think that my relations to the NAACP exactly parallel the Pinchot case. It is rather a case of concentration of power in the hands of the Secretary, which makes it impossible for a person with any independence of thought to work with him. Eventually, of course, this power must and will be curbed.

I thank you very much for your kind references to my work. I may say with regard to your last sentence, that no mention of a pension or other compensation has been made.

I trust that this will find you in good health.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD/lm

ANSON PHELPS STOKES
LENOX, MASSACHUSETTS

October 25, 1948

22-39-82

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Color and Democracy
National Association for the Advancement of
Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Let me thank you for your letter of October 21st. I am very glad to accept your explanation of the meaning of the reference to Booker Washington. I had inferred on first reading of the statement on page 240 that your reference to "the sort of public opinion" with which your viewpoint was confronted under Booker Washington's leadership was a serious criticism. I was evidently wrong in this. Of course I understand full well that you represented different points of view and in my judgment both points of view were important, one emphasizing industrial education in the deep south, the other emphasizing higher education. We are, in my judgment, better off today because both of you lived and wrote and each made a contribution not only to his own racial group but to all of us. Many thanks.

I am sorry that nothing has been done as yet assuring the pension from the NAACP. I plan on my own account to take this up with one or two friends in the organization.

Always sincerely yours,

Anson Phelps Stokes

January 6, 1948

Mrs. Stokes
Roosevelt School
Weehawken, New Jersey

Dear Mrs. Stokes:

I have just received your telephone message of January 3, in reference to your request concerning reading material on Africa and other places outside of the United States. I am sorry I was not in at the time.

If you will be good enough to let me know definitely what it is that you want or how we can assist you we shall be glad to do what we can to help.

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:lm

23C-45

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Smythe

File

January 22, 1948

Mr. Hugh Smythe
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, New York

230-45

Dear Mr. Smythe:

In reference to your letter of January 6, I wish to state I was seeking guidance in my reading on the early civilization and culture of the colored people in Africa. This material I expected to use in a study group meeting of the North Hudson branch of the A. A. U. W.

When I was unable to contact you and since I was pressed for time, I used material I had been collecting over a period of time.

I appreciate your writing me and I am sorry to have delayed my acknowledgment of your letter, but the new year has started out with many demands at school.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillie M. Stokes

Lillie M. Stokes
Principal

LMS/acs

Baltimore Home

May 27, 1948

Mr. Guy M. Stricklen
47 Burke Avenue
Towson 4, Maryland

My dear Sir:

Answering your letter of May 25, will you please proceed with improving the grounds at 2302 Montebello Terrace, Baltimore, in accordance with your letter.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

22-36

Baltimore Home

June 29, 1948

Mr. Guy M. Stricklen
47 Burke Avenue
Towson 4, Maryland

22-36

My dear Mr. Stricklen:

I have your letter and estimate of June 21. I regret to say that at present I do not feel able to afford so great an outlay for my lawn. Could you suggest anything at about $200.00 or less which would be of real advantage?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-25-18

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HOTEL ROOSEVELT 45 ST AND MADISON AVE=

WITH LONG LIFE WILL I SATISFY HIM PSALM 91 16 HAPPY BIRTHDAY=
PROFESSOR AND MRS H H STRONG.

Atlanta U

91 16.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[Students for Wallace - U Chicago]

23-29-22

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DR E B DUBOIS

NATIONAL ASSN FOR ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE=

Lecture copy

429P.

=UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO HOLDING SAVE THE PEACE RALLY APRIL SIXTEENTH AT 130PM UNDER LEADERSHIP STUDENTS FOR WALLACE YOU RECOMMENDED BY DOCTOR LUCHARD AS PRINCIPAL SPEAKER ONLY BRIEF TALK NECESSARY PLEASE ANSWER COLLECT=

=GEORGE COLLEY CHAIRMAN STUDENTS FOR WALLACE

130PM 5727.

THE COMPANY WILL AN[illegible] 5727 DORCHESTER. ONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

SWEDISH DELEGATION
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

United Nations

New York, February 2, 1948.

23-46-13

Mr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, N.Y.

Sir,

I beg to present my thanks for your letter of the 30th of January and the copy of "An Appeal to the World" which you were good enough to send to me.

I have not failed to forward your communication to Stockholm for due consideration.

Yours sincerely,

Gunnar Hägglöf

GUNNAR HÄGGLÖF
Permanent Representative of Sweden.

HAROLD COLBERT JONES MEMORIAL
COMMUNITY CENTER
PHONE C. H. 395
CHICAGO HEIGHTS, ILLINOIS

220 East 15th Street
Chicago Heights Illinois
September 19, 1948.

Dear Dr. Dubois,

You do not know me but I have been a disciple of yours for many years. My sister, the lamented Julia Sweet attended Atlanta University from 1909 to 1913, during part of your first tenure of office there. It was from her lips that my first knowledge of the scholarly Dr. Dubois came.

22-32-17

After graduating from public school in Augusta Georgia in 1915 , my parent's sent me to Haines Institute for my high school work, there the remarkable woman Lucy C. Laney was Principal, she was an early graduate of Atlanta University, and one thoroughly saturated in your philosophy of a liberal education for the Negro, I was only thirteen but the more I listened to this gifted woman, the more I believed in the ideas of Dubois. Vain attempts were made by me to understand your writings. but the thoughts contained therein were too deep for my little mind to comprehend. determined to know more 1920 found me journeying to Lincoln University Pennsylvania,(you had left Atlanta University and I had taken for my heroes John Tutt and A.C.Griggs teachers at Haines, who were graduates of Lincoln University Pennsylvania.

In 1924 my A.B. degree was given me, 1925 my marriage, 1926 my daughter's birth, 1928-1929 another year at Lincoln.

During your quarter of a century as guiding star of the "Crisis"your articles were read avidly by me. In 1933 my immediate family moved with me to Chicago. Since that time whenever you have spoken in Chicago I have been a member of your audience. Now, at 46 your books are being reread by me, the words have taken on new meaning for me , because now, I not only understand but feel what you are saying. Enclosed you will find my first attempt at writing Poetry, your criticism will be greatly appreciated and if my effort is worthy of publication let me know.

Henry Beauregard Sweet

September 30, 1948

22-32-8

Mr. Henry Beauregard Sweet
220 East 15th Street
Chicago Heights, Illinois

My dear Mr. Sweet:

Thank you for your kind letter of September 19. I appreciate all you say.

I am returning the poem you sent as I have no facilities for publication now.

The nice thing about writing poetry is, that whether the result is published or not, it always does the writer good.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD/lm

Enclosure:

Sweet Workers' Union
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23-2-48

C.T. 42/48

109 UNION HOUSE,
QUEEN VICTORIA STREET,
CAPE TOWN.

16th February, 1948.

Mr. Cedric Dover,
Fiske University,
Nashville,
TENNESSEE, U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Dover,

I have great pleasure in presenting, through you, my Union's sincere congratulations to Dr. Dubois on the celebration of his 80th birthday on February the 23rd.

We South Africans are particularly indebted to all those who, like Dr. Dubois, have contributed so greatly in the solution of race problems and the adjustments in race relations.

We in this country have still a long way to go before justice can be achieved for our Coloured peoples, and the struggle will be a long and bitter one.

Dr. Dubois' example and consistency, and his great contribution to the solution of these problems, will serve as an inspiring example to all of us.

May he live for many more years to carry on his good work!

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Pauline Podbrey.

PAULINE PODBREY,
SECRETARY.

[Tait]

$1.00

14-11 Paverne Blvd.
White Stone - L.I.
June 20, 1938

20 West 72 St.
New York City.

23-38-30

My dear Mr Du Bois,

I was present at town hall, when you gave your most excellent speech on a concrete American Foreign Policy.

My friend and I would like to know if it would be possible to obtain copies of your talk.

I am a student.

Sincerely yours,

Joan Tait

Request Miscellaneous
work folder

June 29, 1948

Miss Joan Tait
14-11 Parsons Boulevard
Whitestone, Long Island, New York

Dear Miss Tait:

Dr. DuBois wants you to know that he appreciates your letter of June 20 and thanks you for writing.

Since the speech has not been published, we shall have to type it and a copy of his address via WMCA, and made at Town Hall during the meeting of the Church Peace Union, can be had for a charge of $1.00.

With thanks for your interest and courtesy, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

Pleg for help

22-32-3

P.O Box 960,
Accra, Gold Coast,
West Africa.
5th June, 1948.

Dear sir,

I hope this letter will be an extreme surprise for you. But I hope you will not be surprised when I tell you that I have read your articles in the "Pan-Africa" and the "Chicago Defender". I also read in the r- local papers that you were the president of the Pan-Africa Confab held some months ago. Moreover I have read about you in the "Negro Makers of History" and I ~~know~~ am acquainted with many of your attainments both in the literary field and in the field of politics.

I am an African negro boy aged nineteen, from the Gold Coast, British West Africa. I am the third of my mother's six children. I have last January passed the University of London Matriculation Examination.

Now my main purpose of writing you this letter is some months ago I wrote some American negro ~~insti~~institutions for their prospectuses, and finding in the prospectuses sent me that conditions existing there will favour my ambitions I made up my mind if possible to enter one of them. I am especially interested in journalism and the social sciences. But as my father can't afford, owing to his scanty pay (he is a laundryman) and from the number of his dependants to pay my way through college in the U.S.A, I am therefore appealing to your mercy and to your generousity for such aid — financial or other — you can afford, which will help me through college in the States, for which I shall be very thankful.

Hoping that you will favourably consider my letter,

I am,

Your obedient ser

TETTEH TAW[illegible]AH

First fold here

BY AIR MAIL

AIR LETTER

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL

Dr W. E. B. DuBois

[redacted]

20 West 40th St
New York

Second fold here

Sender's name and address:-

Tettah Tawiah,
P.O. Box 960 Accra
Gold Coast, West Africa

Req for help (moved)

June 22, 1948

Mr. Tetteh Tawiah
P. O. Box 960
ACCRA
Gold Coast, West Africa

Dear Mr. Tawiah:

22-32-4

I am writing in reply to your letter of June 5 to Dr. DuBois. The Doctor was pleased to hear from you, and to learn that you and other youth of Africa are awakening and ambitious to secure training that will enable Africa to grow and develop and realize her richness as a great continent of this earth.

The Doctor, personally, is in no pos[redacted]ancially to come to America and attend college. However, we are going to suggest certain agencies here that are set up to subvent such cases as yours. If you write them you might be able to secure some help.

The Phelps-Stokes Fund, Dr. Channing Tobias, Director, 101 Park Avenue, New York, New York, U.S.A.

Dr. Horace Mann Bond, Lincoln University, Lincoln University, Pennsylvania.

U. S. Department of State, Student International Exchange, Washington, D.C.

International Student Commission, 2 West 45th Street, New York, New York

The Director, African Academy 459 West 140th Street, New York, New York

Council on African Affairs, 23 West 26th Street, New York, New York
(Write the Educational Director at this place)

Also, write to Dr. Ambrose Calli[redacted]r, U. S. Department of Education, Washington, D. C. Tell him that you would like to be advised concerning agencies that help African students who want to study in America. He has a lot of information that might be of help to you.

If we can be of further help, please let us know. Meanwhile, good luck to you in your efforts and best wishes for much success in your education.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:S

SARAH LAWRENCE COLLEGE
BRONXVILLE 8, NEW YORK

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

TELEPHONE
BRONXVILLE 2-0700

23-25-68

President and Mrs. Taylor regret that they will be unable to accept the kind invitation of Fisk University and its New York Alumni to attend the dinner in honor of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois on the occasion of his eightieth birthday, Monday, the twenty-third of February, at the Hotel Roosevelt. They extend their congratulations and best wishes to Dr. DuBois on this occasion.

[Teachers Union, Local 555, Harlem Committee]

Lectures

401 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, N.Y.
January 14, 1948

Dr. Hugh H. Smythe
National Association forthe
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40 Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Sir::

The Harlem Committee of the Teachers Union, C.I.O. which is composed of Negro and white teachers who work in Harlem, is sponsoring its annual program in celebration of Negro History Week in the auditorium of the 136th Street public library on February 19, 1948 at four o'clock in the afternoon.

Dr. DuBois suggested that perhaps you could be of assistance to us by bringing to the teachers and parents of the Harlem area, the significance of the petition presented by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to the United Nations and the further steps now being considered by the organization to secure the aid of the United Nations in solving the so-called American Negro problem.

Yours respectfully,

Helen Hill Green

Mrs. Clarence Green, Chairman
Harlem Committee, Teachers Union
Local 555, UPW, CIO

23C-45

January 16, 1948

Mrs. Clarence Green
401 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Green:

I have just received your letter of January 14. You may count upon me to appear Thursday, February 19, before the Harlem Teachers Union, Local 555, CIO, to speak on the United Nations Petition.

As I understand the matter, the petition has been printed and is now available to the public at a charge of fifty cents per copy. I would appreciate your informing your associates of this fact, since we are anxious that the document be distributed as widely as possible.

With thanks, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:lm

[Teacher's Union]

Lecture

Teachers Union

LOCAL 555, UPW - CIO - 13 ASTOR PLACE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y. - GRAMERCY 3-0470

Established 1916

President: Samuel Wallach; *Legislative Representative:* Rose V. Russell; *Secretary-Treasurer:* Samuel C. Greenfield; *Recording Secretary:* Abraham Lederman

Vice-Presidents

Eugene Jackson, *High Sch.*; Ella Ratner, *Jr. H.S.*; Leona Abrams, *Elem. Sch.*; Joseph Bressler, *College*; Norman Studer, *Private School*; Lillie B. Pope, *Voc. H.S.*

22-33-07

Feb. 21, 1948

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
409 Edgecombe Ave.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Du Bois,

Every year the Teachers Union takes stock of the educational world at its Annual Educational Conference. Eleven previous conferences have made teacher history because they have helped to supply perspective and give healthy direction to the whole field of education.

This distinguished tradition will be continued at the Twelfth Annual Educational Conference to be held by the Teachers Union on Saturday, April 17, at the Hotel Astor. The Conference theme will be SCHOOLS AND THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY. As in the past, some 2000 teachers, supervisors, public officials, and representatives of labor, parent and other civic organizations will come together in the morning forums, and for a luncheon meeting to exchange ideas and experiences, as well as to formulate educational policy and program.

One of the panels in the morning forum will be devoted to the question of Academic Freedom. We would be honored to have you address that panel along the lines of civil liberties in the United States today.

May we look forward to an early reply from you as to your participation on Saturday, April 17? We will be happy to send you further details as soon as we hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel Wallach

Samuel Wallach, President

SW:RR

Affiliated with: New York State Industrial Union Council, CIO; Greater New York Industrial Union Council, CIO; New York Women's Trade Union League; National Education Association

[TEACHERS Harlem Community UNION 1948]

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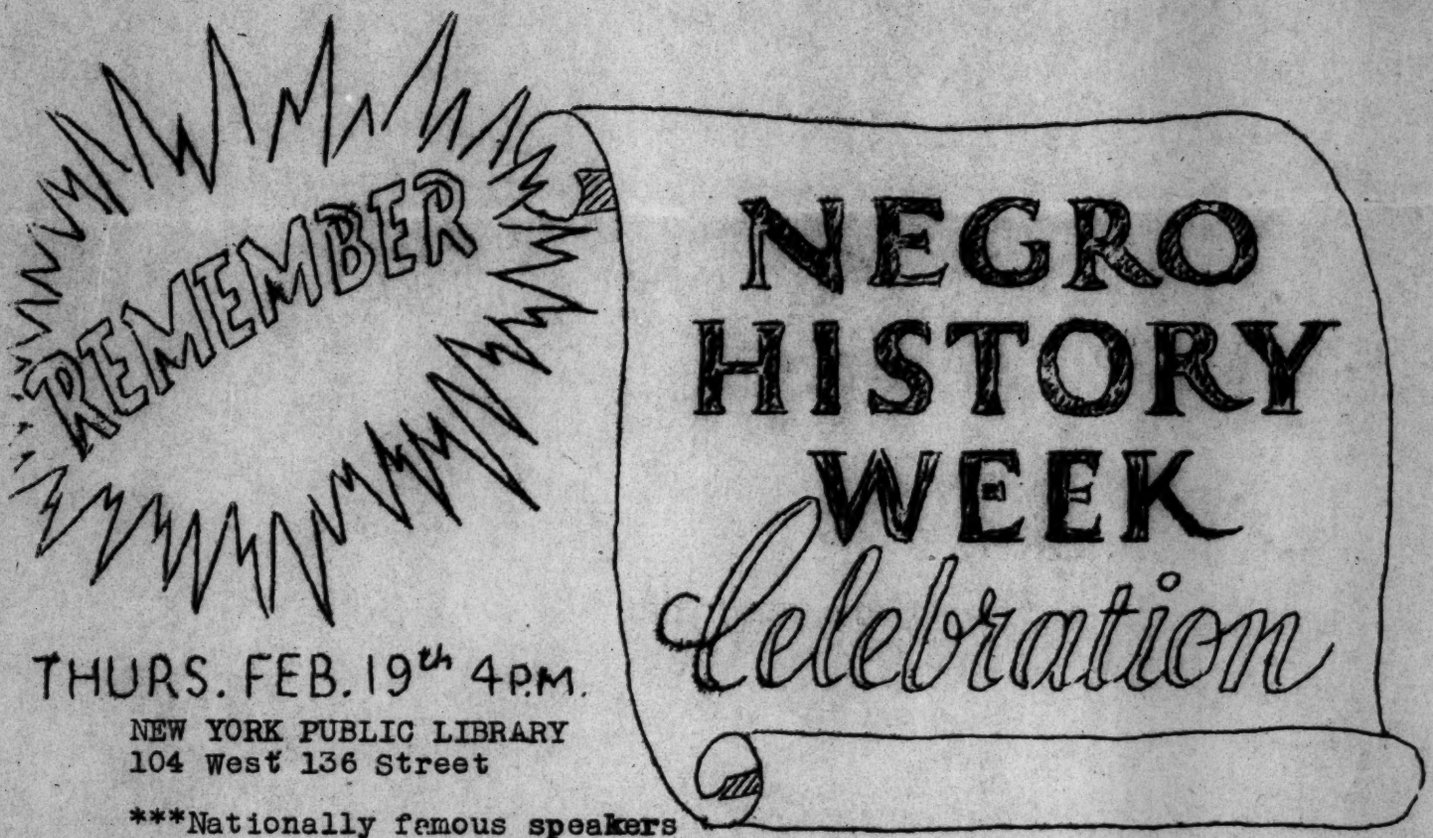
Ada B Jackson - Outstanding woman leader -
Why a Negro on the Board of
Education?
Dr Herbert Aptheker - Historian - Author
(autographed copies on sale)
Negro in our History
Dr Hugh H Smythe - Assistant to
Dr W.E.B. Du Bois
Petition of the N.A.A.C.P. to
the U.N.
Leroy Brodwith - Boy Tenor
Lorraine Ferguson Jones - Coloratura
Soprano
Girls of PS 136 - Group of Songs

Vol. 2/48

Auspices
Harlem Comm.
Teachers Union
CIO Loc. 555

[Harlem Community TEACHERS UNION]



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Harlem Committee Teachers Union

CIO LOCAL 555

Teachers Union

LOCAL 555, UPW-CIO — 13 ASTOR PLACE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y. — GRAMERCY 3-0470

Established 1916

President: Samuel Wallach; *Legislative Representative:* Rose V. Russell; *Secretary-Treasurer:* Samuel C. Greenfield; *Recording Secretary:* Abraham Lederman

Vice-Presidents

Eugene Jackson, *High Sch.*; Ella Ratner, *Jr. H.S.*; Leona Abrams, *Elem. Sch.*; Joseph Bressler, *College*; Norman Studer, *Private School*; Lillie B. Pope, *Voc. H.S.*

Feb 28, 1945

My dear Dr. Smythe,

Thank you so much for your talk at our Negro History Celebration on Feb 19.

We regret that the time was so short, the question of the petition to the U.N. merits full discussion.

Perhaps we can arrange another meeting in the future - and we promise to put you first on the program.

Sincerely,

Helen Green, chairman
Harlem Committee

83-20-76

Affiliated with: New York State Industrial Union Council, CIO; Greater New York Industrial Union Council, CIO; New York Women's Trade Union League; National Education Association

March 1, 1948

Miss Helen Green, Chairman
Teachers Union, Harlem Committee
13 Astor Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Miss Green:

Thank you for your letter of February 28. I want you to know that I understood your position at the Negro History Celebration on February 19.

With best wishes for continued success in your work, I am

Very sincerely ,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

[Teachers Union]

March 3, 1948

Mr. Samuel Wallach, President
TEACHERS UNION
13 Astor Place
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Wallach:

Your letter of February 21, to Dr. DuBois, has just reached this office. It arrived during the Doctors' absence on a lecture tour to the West Coast. I am forwarding the information to Dr. DuBois and will let you know his answer as soon as I hear from him. However, I think you should know that Dr. DuBois will be speaking in the Chicago area on April 17, so that he will hardly be in a position to appear on your panel.

With thanks for your interest, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

[Teachers' Union]

~~Loyalty~~ Education

EMERGENCY CONFERENCE

against

THE "MUNDT BILL" IN EDUCATION

Wednesday - July 14th - - - 3:00 P.M.
Hotel Commodore - - Parlor A

sponsored by

Teachers Union, Local 555, UPW-CIO
13 Astor Place New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Friend:

On June 28th, two days before the schools closed and most teachers left the city, the Board of Education filed with the State Commissioner of Education a brief which would destroy the political rights, the freedom of speech and action of the teaching profession.

In behalf of the Board of Education, its law secretary, Nicholas Bucci, asked the Commissioner to ban from the schools members of the Communist Party, "all those who for strategic reasons are unaffiliated," all those who "follow the Communist dictated party line."

The proposals are so sweeping that support of Henry Wallace and the New Party, membership in a Union, advocacy of a peaceful solution in our foreign relations, criticism of our policy in Palestine, Greece or Spain could be proscribed. In fact, advocacy of real intercultural education, concern for the economic welfare of the children, or even militancy in fighting for salary increases could be used as reasons for the dismissal of teachers.

The record of the Board in banning "Citizen Tom Paine," "Gentlemen's Agreement," "Focus," the magazine "The Nation," the film "The Brotherhood of Man," the fear and intimidation which already exist among teachers in the social science field, should remove any illusions on how the Board of Education would use the powers it seeks. This is the Mundt-Nixon Bill in the field of education.

If the Commissioner of Education gives approval to the Board's request, reactionary teaching and reactionary thought would sweep the school system. Millions of children would be helpless under the domination of "teachers in uniform." Free and public education would become reactionary education. We cannot allow our teachers to be "Coordinated" in the Nazi fashion, and the schools to become propaganda machines for war and reaction.

We urge you to attend, or send a delegate, to an Emergency Conference called by the Teachers Union on Wednesday, July 14th, at 3:00 P.M., in Parlor A of the Hotel Commodore.

Meanwhile, it is of the utmost importance to communicate with Commissioner Francis T. Spaulding, State Education Building, Albany, N.Y., urging him to reject the proposals of the Board of Education.

Sincerely yours,

Rose V. Russell

Rose V. Russell
Legislative Representative
Teachers Union, Local 555, UPW-CIO

RVR:ry
uopwa/16

220-5

I cannot attend the conference,
but I heartily sympathize with your
attitude & will support it in any way I
can

[Teachers' Union]

July 9, 1948

22-5-29

Miss Rose V. Russell
Teachers Union
13 Astor Place
New York, New York

Dear Miss Russell: I cannot attend the Emergency Conference, but I deeply sympathize with your attitude, and I will support it in any way I can.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

Lecture, 1949

Teachers Union

led Carey

LOCAL 555, UPW-CIO 206 WEST 15th STREET, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. WATKINS 4-5524

Established 1916

President: Abraham Lederman; *Legislative Representative:* Rose V. Russell; *Treasurer:* Samuel C. Greenfield; *Secretary:* Celia Lewis Zitron

Vice-Presidents

Anne Morganstern, *Elementary Schools;* Ella Ratner, *Junior High Schools;* Eugene Jackson, *High Schools;* Irving Glucksman, *Vocational High Schools;* Joseph Bressler, *Colleges;* Adele Lithauer, *Private Schools;* Samuel Wallach, *Organization*

22-33-40

December 12, 1948

Dr. William E. B. Du Bois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York City

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

The Harlem Committee of the Teachers Union is sponsoring a series of lectures on Negro history and culture to be given during the spring semester. The purpose of the series is to give teachers of Harlem an opportunity to gain some information on the background, achievements, and problems of the people in whose community they teach.

We are planning to inaugurate the series during Negro History Week on Thursday, February 10, 1949. The subject of this session is planned as "Africa, its cultural heritage and present problems".

We would be gratified if you would consent to be the lecturer for this session. We hope you will be able to come.

Yours very truly,

Bernard R. Kesselman

Bernard R. Kesselman
Chairman, the Harlem COmmittee

Affiliated with: New York State Industrial Union Council, CIO; Greater New York Industrial Union Council, CIO; New York Women's Trade Union League; National Education Association

[Teachers Union]

22-33-11

December 15, 1948

Mr. Bernard B. Kesselman
Teachers Union
206 West 15th Street
New York 11, New York

My dear Mr. Kesselman:

I have your kind invitation of December 10, and I sympathize of course with the series of lectures which you are planning. However, I regret to say that I have got to seriously curtail my lecture engagements and I could not undertake to speak on February 10.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Reg. Miscellaneous

55 Otter Rock Drive
Greenwich, Connecticut
3 September 1948

Dr. Irene Diggs — Refer to Smythe
NAACP
New York City

Dear Dr. Diggs -

There is scarcely a chance that you will remember our having met, but approximately a year ago I spent a most informative hour in your office discussing the effect of American racism upon our foreign relations in connection with a study which I was then preparing. Presuming upon that brief acquaintance, I am writing to you now for information which I need, and which I hope your organization might be able to provide.

23-20-69

Dr. Vilhjalmur Stefansson is at the present moment editing a monumental work to be known as the ENCYCLOPEDIA ARCTICA, a many volumed series which is intended to embrace all of the present knowledge of the North. He has asked me to prepare a long study on racism in the North to be included in the Encyclopedia. Although the chief objects of my concern are native-white man, and native-native discrimination, there are many other facets to the study among which is a record of the discrimination suffered by the Negro people when in these regions. Specifically, I am interested in any reports which you might have concerning the treatment of colored troops when building the Alcan Highway, the Canol Pipeline, or the Ft. Norman Maintenance Road during the recent war. Any other reports which you might have concerning the Negro in the Arctic, for example on whaling ships, would also be of great interest to me.

Do you think that it would be possible for you to put me in touch with such reports as you know of, or to put me on the trail of people who would know of them?

Hoping that this request will not cause you any great inconvenience, and thanking you for your consideration -

Sincerely yours,

John J. Teal Jr.

John J. Teal Jr.

23-20-65

September 7, 1948

Mr. John J. Teal, Jr.
55 Otter Rock Drive
Greenwich, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Teal:

Your letter of September 3, to Miss Irene Diggs, has been referred to me since Miss Diggs is no longer with the Association. In regard to your search for information concerning discrimination against Negroes in the Arctic regions I refer you to the following which may be of some help.

Mr. Joseph Evans, Adviser on Negro Affairs, War Department, Washington, D. C.

Mr. John Sengstacke, The Chicago Defender, 3435 Indiana Avenue, Chicago, Ill. His paper carried reports of such discrimination during the war and since. This same goes for the following two individuals.

Mr. P. L. Prattis, The Pittsburgh Courier, 2628 Center Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Mr. Carl Murphy, Afro-American Newspapers, Inc., 628 N. Eutaw Street, Baltimore, Maryland.

Mr. Warren Banner, National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York, New York. Dr. Banner is director of research for that organization.

Mr. A. G. Mezerik, 4 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York. Mr. Mezerik is a writer and journalist who made an extensive tour of Alaska and has some pertinent material on your subject.

Mr. Matthew Henson, 246 West 150th Street, New York, New York. Mr. Henson is the man who made the trip to the North Pole with Peary. He has made several trips to the North and knows intimately about your subject.

Mr. Truman Gibson, Jr., 3501 South Parkway, Chicago, Illinois. Mr. Gibson was Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War during the recent war and gave a report on discrimination against Negroes in Alaska. He can direct you to other data if you ask, aside from his own.

Mr. Ted Poston, The New York Post and Home News, New York, New York.

Mr. Walter White, 20 West 40th Street, New York, New York.

Mr. John M. Gandy, 3624½ South Lake Park Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. He can direct you to other individuals and sources.

I hope that you will find some help from this information. If we can be of further service, please feel free to write us.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON

17 November 1948

Mr. John J. Teal, Jr.
55 Otter Rock Drive
Greenwich, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Teal:

Earlier you inquired about data on Negro incidents and the participation in life in the far North. Reference is made to your services with Dr. Vilhjalmur Stefansson in compiling an Encyclopedia Arctica.

Permit me to offer three suggestions:

A. Professor Herbert M. Frisby, Frederick Douglas High School, Calhoun & Baker Streets, Baltimore 17, Maryland, has made a number of trips into the far North, particularly in the direction of Alaska. As a War Correspondent for the Baltimore Afro American newspapers, he has made numerous contacts with our soldiers on duty there and with the native population. Further, as a director of Science Education in the Baltimore school system, he has taken interest in securing pictures and specimens of the flora and fauna of the areas which he has penetrated. Contact with Mr. Frisby should be fruitful.

B. You should find it possible through local veterans' organizations to make contact with Negro soldiers who worked on the Alcan Highway.

C. If you can spend some weeks in research in Washington, we could probably arrange clearance for you to examine certain war records. However, it is not my opinion that you would find very much of racial detail.

The Department will be interested in your findings, and I hope that we may maintain contact as you proceed with this study.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES C. EVANS
Advisor to the
Secretary of Defense

23-20-23

THE TEXAS STATE UNIVERSITY FOR NEGROES
HOUSTON 4, TEXAS

OFFICE OF THE BUSINESS MANAGER

April 6, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Prairie View A & M College
Hempstead, Texas

23-29-30

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Enclosed you will find our check in the amount of $100.00 representing the fee for your lecture given on our campus on Sunday, April 4, 1948.

It was indeed a pleasure and an honor to have had you with us and we sincerely hope that at some date in the near future we may again be honored with your presence.

Yours very truly,

Lloyd Isaacs

Lloyd Isaacs,
Business Manager

LI/g

Enc: Check No. 353

[Enc.]

THE TEXAS STATE UNIVERSITY FOR NEGROES

HOUSTON, TEXAS

No. 353

THIS CHECK IS IN FULL PAYMENT OF THE FOLLOWING:

DATE	EXPLANATION	AMOUNT	DEDUCTIONS	NET AMOUNT
4-5-48	Lecture at Texas State University for Negroes, Sunday, April 4, 1948			
	Lecture Fee	100.00		100.00

23C-29-54

THIS VOUCHER IS NOT NEGOTIABLE — DETACH BEFORE CASHING CHECK

Encyclopedia Negro-letter Parent

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE PROBLEMS
INCIDENT TO THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES

BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

February 16, 1948

22-40-31

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
20 W. 40th Street,
New York 18, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter which I have just written to Dr. Stokes concerning the reported transfer of the Encyclopedia of the Negro Project from the Phelps-Stokes Fund to the General Education Board, with Dr. F. D. Patterson as general editor.

I would appreciate very much any information which you can give me on this matter. I might say quite frankly that I am in a mood to write an editorial comment on the matter if I can get sufficient and accurate information. If you can aid me, either on the record or off the record, I would appreciate hearing from you.

May I take this opportunity to add my congratulations to the many which I know you have received on the occasion of your eightieth birthday. I regret very much that I will not be able to attend the banquet in your honor because of previous commitments.

Sincerely yours,

Chas. H. Thompson
Editor

Enc.

February 17, 1948

Dr. Charles Thompson
Department of Education
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Thompson: Your letter to Dr. DuBois has come during his absence from New York on a lecture tour of New England. However, it will be brought to his attention immediately upon his return.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

hhs;s

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE PROBLEMS
INCIDENT TO THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES

BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

March 5, 1948

re: Encyclopedia of the Negro
Letters - Current

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe,
c/o Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, NAACP,
20 West 40th Street,
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Smythe:

This is to thank you for your note and the carbon copy of a letter which you sent to Dr. DuBois as a result of your talk with Mr. McCuistion. This letter explains how the rumor might have started.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Chas. H. Thompson

Chas. H. Thompson
Editor

230-30-4

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

May 12
19 48

22-37-72

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
Department of Special Research
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 5th requesting me to participate in a series of lectures which you are organizing for the New School.

I have noted the subject which you have suggested and think that it is timely and that I should be able to do it, although, at the present time a number of my ideas are not final.

I take it that you will write me later letting me know final details; and in this connection, I presume that sometime during November or early December would be best for me.

With kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Chas. H. Thompson
Dean

CHT/N

August 17, 1948

22-32

Dr. Charles H. Thompson, Dean
The Graduate School
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Dr. Thompson:

We are now preparing the lecture schedule for the course, The Negro in American History, which Dr. DuBois is directing for The New School during the Fall term, 1948-1949. In connection with your lecture you are scheduled to appear on Monday, November 15, at 8:30 P.M., and your topic is BOOKER T. WASHINGTON AND HIS TIMES.

Will you please let us know if this is correct. If not, please state the exact date and the subject you wish to discuss, so that we may make necessary adjustments. Since we are pushed for time in preparing the publicity on this course, we will appreciate an immediate reply.

With thanks for your courtesy and cooperation, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

New School Center

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

August 19, 1948

22-37-71

Dr. Hugh H. Smythe
Department of Special Research
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Smythe:

Thank you for your letter of August 17 concerning the topic and date of my lecture in the series being conducted by Dr. DuBois at the New School.

The topic and date indicated in your letter are perfectly agreeable to me. I take it that you will inform me later as to the place of the lecture; also I would like to know how long I would be expected to talk.

Yours very truly,

Chas. H. Thompson
Dean

CHT:T

22-32-20

October 7, 1948

Dr. Charles H. Thompson, Dean
The Graduate School
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Thompson:

I had you down for a lecture November 15, but I find that your subject would fit in more logically if you could make the date November 29. I hope this will not inconvenience you too much.

The hour is from 8:30 until 10:10. This gives opportunity for a lecture of three quarters of an hour, to an hour; discussion and then a word concerning literature. There are 17 to 20 Students.

Please let me hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

October 11
19 48

22-37-69

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
NAACP, Department of Special Research
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

This is in reply to your letter of October 7, 1948 in which you inquire as to whether or not it will be possible for me to change my lecture date from Novemebr 15th to November 29th.

In reply, may I state that I shall be very happy to make this change. I am so listing it on my calendar.

Very truly yours,

Chas. H. Thompson
Dean

CHT/N

March 2, 1948

Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson
Allendale School for Boys
Lake Villa, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Thompson:

We have recently had brought to our attentionGOD'S CHILDREN. We have been much impressed with it and feel that there are occasions when we could use it in our work. We would appreciate it very much if you could let us have one or two copies.

With thanks for your courtesy, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

830-45

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EDWARD L. BRADLEY, FOUNDER
RAYMOND A. THOMPSON, DIRECTOR
LAKE VILLA, ILLINOIS

LONG DISTANCE TELEPHONE
LAKE VILLA 2351

March 5/48

S48-C82

My dear Mr. Smythe,

Thank you very much for your letter regarding the booklet God's Children which was written by a group of our boys. We have had orders from many public libraries throughout the county. Langston Hughes asked that copies be sent to author friends of his, and we have received very interesting letters from them. We have also had a request from Mr. Rosey Pool in Amsterdam Holland who lectures in Great Britian etc. for copies. At the present time we are completely sold out, but within the next few weeks the boys will print additional copies in our print shop, and then we will certainly send you copies of it.

I wondered whether Mr. Du Bois saw the booklet

at the A.E.F. (Progressive Education Ass.) ~~meeting~~ meeting
where we had an exhibit of our school and sold
the poetry booklets. I heard him give a very signifi-
cant Speech at that Convention.

Thanks for your letter.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth E. Thompson

March 8, 1948

Miss Elizabeth E. Thompson
Allendale Farm
Lake Villa, Illinois

Dear Miss Thompson:

I have just received your letter of March 5, and want to thank you for writing. In regards to GOD'S CHILDREN, I believe that Dr. DuBois, saw the little volume last November at the educational meeting in Chicago. However, because of the shortage of time he did not have an opportunity to examint it thoroughly. Consequently, he will be glad to receive thecopies you plan to send when an additional supply has been printed.

I am glad the booklet is receiving such widespread publicity. Langston Hughes thinks very highly of it and has given it publicity in his various lectures.

With thanks for your interest, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

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WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

27-25-2

1201

(28)

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DL = Day Letter
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1948 FEB 23

N164 PD=NEW YORK NY 23 1220P

DR W E B DUBOIS=

:409 EDGECOMBE AVE APT 13H NYK=

WISHING YOU HAPPINESS ON YOUR BIRTHDAY AND ALL THROUGH THE YEAR LOVE=

:DOROTHY AND NOAH=

Mr & Mrs Noah Thompson Pastrana

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NEW YORK 30, NEW YORK

Scythe

March 15, 1948

23-02-24

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York City

Dear Dr. Dubois,

In respect to you, I am taking the liberty of sending you a press ticket to my recital on Sunday evening, April 4, 1948.

I hope that you will be able to be present. However, if you find it impossible to attend, will you kindly return this ticket, as the supply of press tickets is limited.

Most cordially yours,

Wallace Thompson

WALLACE THOMPSON

Enc.

March 22, 1948

23-20-25

Mr. Wallace Thompson
Box 806
180 West 135th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Thompson:

Thank you for your letter of March 15. The ticket to Dr. DuBois has been received. If he is unable to be present, he will have a representative on hand to give him a report of the performance.

With thanks for your courtesy, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

F de Jamaica

Lecture

43C-37-21

L. A. THOYWELL-HENRY, F.R.S.A., M.R.S.Litt., F.R.G.S.

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WHO'S WHO JAMAICA.

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Phone 24211

23-25-42

I shall ( ) be present at the Dinner for Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, February 23rd, 1948. Enclosed is check for ..... reservations for Dr. John Tinsley .....

Please return before February 14, 1948.

Make check payable to E. R. Alexander.

Illness in the family prevents me from being present.

SUBSCRIPTION $7.50

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2, Eaton Gate, Sloane Square, London, S.W.1.

22-40-42

February 24, 1948

Dr. William E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am taking advantage of the first time in my office in ten days to express my regret at not being able to attend the dinner in your honor last night and to pass on to you the tribute that I intended to have reach you yesterday. It is this:

The marvel of . DuBois is not that he has reached the ripe age of eighty, but that in spite of years he is today the most vigorously forthright and aggressive advocate of the rights of the darker peoples of the earth. I predict that when he reaches the century mark his head will still be held high, his beard will still be pointed, and he will still be smoking gold-tipped cigarettes!

My best wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

Channing H. Tobias

CHT
RLH

Channing H. Tobias
Director

WALLACE FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE OF TOMPKINS CO.

BOX 251, ITHACA, NEW YORK

March 20, 1948.

Dr. Dubois
c/o N.A.A.C.P.
20 W. 40th St.
N.Y. (18), N.Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois:

We have read in the newspapers that you have announced your support of Wallace's candidacy for president. It is always encouraging to find one more distinguished person who has joined the movement.

Here in Ithaca we have an active Wallace Committee, but we feel that we should bring in as many speakers from outside as possible. In particular, we should greatly appreciate your help in securing for us a prominent Negro to address an open meeting here in Ithaca. Since there are a Students for Wallace and a YPCA group on the Cornell campus, it would probably be possible to arrange two meetings for any speaker whom we procured--one meeting on the campus during the day, and one meeting down-town during the evening. There are also NAACP chapters here with which a speaker might meet. It is even possible that we could arrange for such a man to speak in Elmira and Binghamton, where there are Wallace groups with which we have contact.

It would be a great help to us and to the Wallace cause if you could assist us in getting a first-rate speaker here to address us all on some such subject as "Wallace and Civil Rights"--laying down the facts about Wallace's record and the records of the Republicans and Democrats.

Sincerely yours,

Henry F. Pommer

Henry F. Pommer
Executive Secretary

To save time, address reply
to my home:
209 Elmwood Avenue
Ithaca, N.Y.

[Tompkins Co [Wallace ... Committee]

Wallace

March 23, 1948

Mr. Henry F. Pommer
209 Elmwood Avenue
Ithaca, New York

Dear Mr. Pommer:

Thank you for your letter of March 20 to Dr. DuBois, which just arrived. Dr. DuBois is on a lecture tour in the far West and is not due to return to New York until late in April. However, I am forwarding your letter to him.

Because of the nature of your request, I am having a copy of your letter made and sent to: Wallace for President Headquarters, 39 Park Avenue, New York, New York. This is the National Headquarters for Mr. Wallace and I am sure they will be able to supply you with the speakers you desire. Rest assured, however, that Dr. DuBois will be glad to do whatever he can in regard to your request. Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

23C-32-34

File John Hope

Case

23-33-22

June 21, 1948

Mr. Ridgely Torrence
59 Morton Street
New York, New York

My dear Mr. Torrence:

I am sorry to be so late answering your request for information concerning the market for books among Negroes. It is extremely difficult, however, to give you any information of importance. The membership lists of the NAACP would not help and, moreover, it is against the policy of the office to let them go out. Advertisements in leading Negro newspapers would be important and through them good reviews. THE NORFOLK JOURNAL AND GUIDE, THEPITTSBURGH COURIER, andTHE AFRO-AMERICAN would be good vehicles.

In addition to this, you might have your publisher get in touch with the William B. Graham & Associates, Inc., whose address is: 55 West 42nd Street, New York City. Mr. Graham probably has the best scientific knowledge of the Negro market of any American business man. He has worked for a large number of industrialists like the Pabst Company and others. I am afraid he would not have much time to give to the matter but it would not hurt for your publisher to make contact with him. The Baptist Church, especially the Northern Baptist Convention, mainly white, and the National Baptist Convention, colored, ought to be informed of the issue of this book.

The chief difficulty with the Negro market is that Negroes are not aware when books are published in which they are interested. Some effort should be made to over-come this difficulty. I hope these suggestions may be of some use.

I congratulate you on finishing your great work.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

February 6, 1948

T.W.A. Airlines
Reservations Office
Airlines Terminal Building
42nd Street at Park Avenue
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Enclosed please find my check for $164.62 to cover the following reservation, made and confirmed by telephone on February 5-6.

Reservation for flight from New York, New York to San Francisco, Cal.

TWA flight No. 491, leaving Newark Airport February 24, 9:30 A.M., and arriving in St.Louis Missouri, at 3:35 P.M.

TWA flight No. 203, leaving St. Louis, Missouri, March 3, 5:10 A.M., and arriving in Los Angeles California, at 3:20 P.M.

United Airlines flight No. 565, leaving Los Angeles, California, March 3, 4:00 P.M., and arriving in San Francisco, California, at 6:10 P.M.

The entire trip is to be booked through TWA Airlines. I shall want transportation to and from airports in New York City, St. Louis, Missouri, and San Francisco, California.

Please return my ticket in the stamped, self-addressed envelope which is enclosed. With thanks for your help, I remain

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:hs

Enclosures

Receipt

TWA
TRANS WORLD AIRLINE

TRANSCONTINENTAL & WESTERN AIR, INC.

80 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.

Cable Address "TWAIR"

February 10, 1948

Doctor W.E.B. DuBois
20 West 40 Street
New York, New York

Dear Doctor DuBois

23c-29-57

Thank you for your letter of February 6 enclosing your check in the amount of $164.62 to cover payment for your reservations. We are enclosing our ticket number 153-62949 with reservations as follows:

Newark-St.Louis	Flight #491	2/24
St.Louis-LosAngeles	203	3/3
LosAngeles-SanFrancisco	565	3/3

As you will note from the front inside cover of this ticket. your flight 491 is scheduled to leave from Newark Airport at 9:30 AM. The limousine service for this flight is available from the Airlines Terminal, 80 E. 42 St., and will depart at 8:30 AM.

We trust these arrangements will meet with your approval and that you will have a thoroughly enjoyable trip.

Very truly yours,

Richard G. Wood

jgm
Enc.

Richard G. Wood
Traffic Representative

Registered

20 West 40th Street
Room ~~418~~ 402
NewYork 18, New York
June 10, 1948

Trans World Airline
Airlines Terminal
80 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

I am enclosing a check for $[illegible]1.70 to pay for the following reservation which I have just placed in the name of my granddaughter, Miss DuBois Williams.

Flight No. 95

Leaving New York 12:00 Noon, June 28
Arriving Chicago [illegible]2:00 P. M. June 28

Flight No. 95 (cont'd)

Leaving Chicago 2:50 P. M., June 30
Arriving Los Angeles 8:10 P.M. June 30

(All of the above are in Standard Time)

I shall want limousine service to the airport and shall see that my granddaughter is at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel at 12:00 noon, daylight saving time, June 28.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

Enclosure

23-23-2

[Trend Pubs. Corp.]

file Cedric Dover

July 7, 1948

Miss Talyarkan
Trend Publishing Corporation
515 Madison Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Miss Talyarkan:

This is sort of a shot in the dark, since you do not know me personally. Professor Dover, of Fisk University, wrote me that he heard you were planning to do some work on Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. He asked me to tell you that he would be glad to aid you in way that he could, since he has been collecting quite a lot of material on the subject.

I think he would appreciate your writing him and telling him something about what you are planning. His address is:

Professor Cedric Dover
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

With thanks for your courtesy, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

P. S. I am writing Mr. Dover and sending him a copy of this letter.

23-22-19

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JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

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NEWYORK NY MAR 22 1948

Reg to sponsor

DR W E B DUBOIS

KY

409 EDGECOMBE AVE NYK

72-31

YOU ARE INVITED TO EMERGENCY MEETING TO SELECT DELEGATION TO MAYOR URGING APPOINTMENT NEGRO TO COMING VACANCY ON BOARD OF EDUCATION SATURDAY MARCH 27 FOUR PM UNITED MUTUAL BUILDING 310 LENOX AVENUE PHONE REPLY SACRAMENTO 22720

REV BEN RICHARDSON REV CHARLES YOUNG
TRIGG AND ADA B JACKSON

1030P

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March 30, 1948

22-3/

Rev. C. Y. Trigg
Salem Methodist Church
Corner 7th Avenue at 130th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Trigg:

I have just received your wire of March 22 to Dr. DuBois, concerning the emergency meeting to select a delegation to the Mayor urging appointment of a Negro to the coming vacancy on the Board of Education. Dr. DuBois has been away from New York since February 24 and is not due to return until late in April. This will account for your not hearing form him. Please convey this information to the rest of the committee.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LW

FLEMING DEVEAUX TUCKER
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW
4066 POWELTON AVENUE
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

April 26. 1948

...ment near 19th and Master Sts.

DuBois Marks 80th Birthday

NEW YORK — Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, distinguished scholar, celebrated his 80th birthday yesterday. He was honored at a dinner sponsored by the Fisk University alumni at the Hotel Roosevelt. He told reporters in scholarly style "I am calm, and I must be, for I sit above time, and time conquers". Among his most recent efforts was the preparation and the compilation of an appeal for protection of Negro civil rights presented to the United Nations last year by the NAACP.

Dr W E B DuBois,
Baltimore Md
My dear Doctor:

23-25-1

May Mrs Tucker and I add our Congratulations and best wishes on this famous "80th". More power to the great and Valiant warrior for human rights. You are just as badly needed today as you were in those "Atlanta U" days. Much water has gone over the dam since then.

My kind regards to Mrs DuBois. Is Yolande living with you? If so regards to her also.

Sincerely Yours
Fleming Tucker

May 6, 1948

Mr. Fleming Deveaux Tucker
4066 Powelton Avenue
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

My dear Mr. Tucker:

I was very glad indeed to have your kind letter of April 26, and thank you for your kind words.

I mentioned you to Mrs. Du Bois, who has been bedridden for a couple of years, and she remembers you, and joins me in sending regards to the family.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

23.25.2

WEBD:lm

March 23, 1948

Dr. Lorenzo D. Turner
Roosevelt College
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Dow:

I recently gave your name to Long Island University. I was approached and asked to recommend someone in the field of English, and I thought of you immediately. I do not know what your plans are but hope you did not mind my recommending you.

Hello to Lois and Lorenzo. Tell Lois to write about the Turner family when she gets time.

Mabel and the baby Karen join me in regards to all of you.

As ever,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

F. D. PATTERSON, PRESIDENT

L. H. FOSTER, JR., TREASURER

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22-40-48

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

March 5, 1948

Encyclopedia Negra

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. BuBois:

I am pleased to send you a copy of the letter which was sent out over my signature to a few people regarding an encyclopedia on the Negro, along with the statement suggested by Mr. Edward Dodd, Jr. of Dodd, Mead & Company as to the possible scope and nature of this volume.

Apparently the information which has come to you is greatly misleading as no grant whatever has been made nor is there any assurance that any will be made. I am pleased, however, to be advised of your thinking in the matter. I am sure before anything more of significance is done an opportunity for a thorough discussion with you and others interested will be sought.

Very truly yours,

F. D. Patterson

President

h:enc.

Dictated by Dr. Patterson
but signed in his absence

[Twain (Mark) Society]

Rec'd 3-20

Mark Twain Society

Webster Groves, Missouri.

17th March, 1948.

23-35-2

Dear Dr. W.E.Burghardt DuBois:

It gives us great pleasure to inform you that your fellow members have unanimously elected you as

KNIGHT OF MARK TWAIN.

With all cordial good wishes

Yours faithfully

Cyril Clemens

If we went you our copy of SOULS OF BLACK FOLK, would you kindly inscribe it for our Society Library, in memory of Mark Twain?

Have you seen our biography of Mark Twain? If not, we'll take pleasure in sending you an inscribed copy.

[Twain (Mark) Society]

March 25, 1948

Mr. Cyril Clemens
Mark Twain Society
Webster Groves, Missouri

Dear Mr. Clemens:

Your letter of March 17, informing Dr. DuBois of his election to a "Knight of Mark Twain", has been received. Dr. DuBois is still in the West on a lecture but I am forwarding your letter to him.

If you will be good enough to send your copy of SOULS OF BLACK FOLK, I will be glad to have Dr. DuBois inscribe it for the Mark Twain Society Library. I will return it to you immediately after he has done this.

I believe Dr. DuBois has not seen the Society's biography of Mark Twain. Consequently, he would be pleased to receive and inscribed copy, I am sure.

With thanks for your courtesy, I am

Very sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

[Twain (Mark) Society]

Mark Twain Society
Webster Groves, Missouri.

28th. May, 1948.

Dear Dr. Burghardt DuBois:

We hope our letter reached you, informing you that your fellow members had unanimously elected you a

KNIGHT OF MARK TWAIN.

23-35-4

With all good wishes

Yours faithfully

Cyril Clemens.

If we sent on our copy of Souls of Black Folk would you kindly inscribe it in memory of Mark Twain for the Mark Twain Library. Please let us know.

[Twain (Mark) Society]

Mark Twain Society
Webster Groves, Missouri.

4 July, 1948..

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We sincerely hope you received the notification that your fellow members had unanimously elected you a KNIGHT OF MARK TWAIN.

We send you Souls of Black Folk and would be most grateful if you would inscribe it in memory of Mark Twain, for the Mark Twain Library.

With all cordial greetings

Yours faithfully

Cyril Clemens.

23-35-4

July 16, 1948

Mr. Cyril Clemens
Mark Twain Society
Webster Grove, Missouri

Dear Mr. Clemens:

Your letter of July 4, has been received. Dr. DuBois appreciates his election to be a Knight of the Mark Twain Society.

Under separate cover he has returned to you the autographed copy of THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK.

Very sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. DuBois

LM

[Twain (Mark) Society]

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
HUGH H. SMYTHE
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

July 16, 1948

23-35-5

Mr. Cyril Clemens
Mark Twain Society
Webster Grove, Missouri

Dear Mr. Clemens:

Your letter of July 4, has been received. Dr. DuBois appreciates his election to be a Knight of the Mark Twain Society.

Under separate cover he has returned to you the autographed copy of THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK.

Very sincerely yours,
Lillian Murphy

(Mrs.) Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. DuBois

LM

in reply
letter by WEBD
sent July 23, 1948

Dear Dr DuBois:

We are anxious to preserve your acceptance of Mark Twain Lighthouse in the Saint Andrews. Would you be so kind as to write an acceptance in the first person of this?

Always faithfully
Cyril Clemens

July 23, 1948

Mr. Cyril Clemens, President
The Mark Twain Society
Webster Grove, Missouri

Dear Mr. Clemens: I want you to know that I appreciate very much my election to be a Knight of the Mark Twain Society.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

22-39-83.

Reply INFO Ikenkeu B.C. Udokwu
Wilberforce University
Wilberforce,
Ohio.

Dear Dr. DuBois, Feb. 6 '48

I am a student from Nigeria, British West Africa. I came to America last Nov. 1947. I am aged 24. While in Africa I was very interested in Social Studies; and in spite of handicaps which often face a subject race, a great many of the friends I have in Africa joined me to form a Club for Social Studies. We were fortunate to have a series of your lectures and publications, and these formed the basis of our meditation and thinking. Now that I have the opportunity to come to America, I feel like sending you a word of appreciation for what you have been able to do for Mankind, especially

22-39-84.

-- 2.

the Negro Race. I am very proud of you, and it is my greatest wish to meet you personally. I hope this opportunity will not be denied me.

My chief interest here is Medical Research. This has been a result of my experiences in Africa under such unhealthy conditions as are beyond description. The greatest need in Africa is health education. I studied at Achimoter College, Gold Coast where I passed the Premedical Degree of the University of London, but could not gain an admission into any Medical College in England. Here in America I am faced with the same difficulty. I hope to graduate as a B.S. in

22-39-85

-- 3.

this college by June of this year. But the future looks dark before me since I have not been able to gain admission yet into any of the Medical Colleges. This has kept me unhappy for long now, and I am appealing to all lovers of humanity for help. This letter, therefore, is an appeal for your help.

It is my intention to Complete my Studies as quickly as I can and return back to Africa to help my people. The problem at home in Africa is a complex one. But we are happy that there are a great number of men who have taken the interest in African affairs to heart.

May your work be prospered, May more and more courage be

given you in the noble fight. Our prayers are behind you. The prayer of the suppressed, Subject races of the world will aid you.

I beg to hear from you soon.

Yours R.B. Ellis Roberts

February 18, 1948

Mr. Reuben Udokuri
Wilberforce University
Wilberforce, Ohio

Dear Mr. Udokuri:

Your letter to Dr. DuBois has come during his absence from New York on a lecture tour and he will not return until April. As you know, he would be very glad to help you with your problem, if there is anything that he can do, but he is deluged with work and cannot always find time to attend to the many demands made upon him. However, I shall bring your letter to his attention at the earliest possible moment, and you may rest assured that if there is anything that he can do to help you attain your goal, that he will aid you.

I suggest meantime, that you write to The Council on African Affairs, 23 West 26th Street, New York, N. Y., addressing your letter to Dr. W. A. Hunton. State your predicament and ask the Council for help in gaining admission to some medical school.

With best wishes for success, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

Reuben Udokwu
Wilberforce University
Wilberforce, Ohio
June 14. 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Str.
New York. 18, N.Y.

Req Recommendation

My Dear Dr. DuBois,

I wrote you last in February 1948, and a reply from your Research Assistant stated that you were on a lecture tour. I am a student from Nigeria, West Africa. While in Africa I attended a University where I passed the Premedical Examinations of the University of London. I came to America in November 1947, and registered at Wilberforce, I graduated with a B. S. in Spring of 1948.

22-32-8

My problem is that up till now I have not secured an admission in a Medical School yet. I made an application for admission to Howard University. My transcripts and the Results of the Medical Aptitude Test have been sent to the Office of the Registrar, but I have not heard yet from him.

My Dear Dr. DuBois, I am making an appeal to you for help. Will you kindly write a letter of recommendation to the Medical School, Howard University, Washington 1, D.C. The problem of health in Tropical Africa is so well known to deserve any special mention here. Un-aided by our British ~~God~~ overlords, many African Students have crossed the Atlantic on their own expenses to prepare themselves for a service to African people. Most of us here are with adequate fund. The British Government does not favor our coming to America, Consequently, African Students here can not get enough money from home. We depend entirely on the benevolent Spirit of the American public. And I appeal to you for help. Your great humanitarian spirit is very widely known.

and I hope you will extend your help to my aid.

I beg to remain,
Yours obediently
R. C. Udokwu.

22-32-9

Letter Recommendation

June 16, 1948

Mr. Reuben Udokwu
Wilberforce University
Wilberforce, Ohio

Dear Mr. Udokwu:

I am writing in reply to your letter of June 14 to Dr. DuBois.

22-32-10

The Doctor wants you to know that he understands and sympathizes with your position. Also, he is fully aware of the health conditions prevailing in tropical Africa. However, I am sure that you understand that, since the Doctor does not know you personally nor know anything at all about your work that he is in no position to send a letter of recommendation to Howard University in your behalf.

As a suggestion, it might be more profitable for you to get some of your former teachers there, and other individuals who know of you and your work, to write to the Medical School at Howard in your behalf.

With hopes for your success, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th. Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Mr 29, 1947

Reuben Chuba Udokwu.
Wilberforce University.
Wilberforce, Ohio
June 23, 1948.

Dusk of Dawn
Chuyo Alexander

My Dear Dr. DuBois,

I thank you for yours dated June 16, 1948 regarding my application to Howard University Medical School. I have taken up your advice in that matter.

Since my arrival here in this Country I have been taking particular interest in your effort towards the betterment of the Colored race in America. I have read some of your publications both in books and Newspapers. But there is something that disturbs my mind. I have heard it said in this country that your views about the improvement of the Colored race is diametrically opposed to that of Booker T. Washington. The main differences do not seem to be clear to me; and since I cannot rely on second-hand information, I shall be grateful if you put me in the right track.

The problem facing the American Colored man today is, to a certain extent, similar to that facing his African brother groaning under the yoke of Colonialism. It may be that the success of the American Negroes will serve as a clue to the success of the African. Any important pamphlets about the Activities of N.A.A.C.P. will be very

23-31-11

highly appreciated. I, myself, am a member of that Organization in this College.

I beg to remain
Yours truly,
Reuben Udokwu.

23-31-12

June 29, 1948

Mr. Reuben Chuka Udokwu
Wilberforce University
Wilberforce, Ohio

Dear Mr. Udokwu:

I am writing in reply to your letter of June 23 to Dr. DuBois. He thanks you for writing.

Relative to the position of Dr. DuBois compared or contrasted with that of Booker T. Washington, you will find a clear and definite answer to the question that is bothering you if you will consult Dr. DuBois' autobiography, DUSK OF DAWN, Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1940; THE CHICAGO DEFENDER, November 29, 1947 issue; and THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK, A.C. McClurg, 1903, chapter III. Also, consult the volume, WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS, edited by Rayford W. Logan, University of North Carolina Press, 1944, see the chapter by DuBois. From of all of these sources you will get first-hand information, since these are the words of Dr. DuBois.

Hoping you will find this of some help, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
A

HHS:s

February 18, 1948

Russia

The Consulate General
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
7 East 61st Street
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

Your invitation to Dr. W. E. B. DuBois to attend the showing of the films, THE FALL OF BERLIN and RUSSIAN BALLERINA, at Town Hall, February 24, has come during his absence from the city on a lecture tour. Unfortunately, the Doctor will be unable to enjoy this experience, as much as he would like to do so and appreciates the honor, for on that date he will be lecturing in St. Louis, Missouri.

The announcement will be brought to his attention, and thanking you for your courtesy on his behalf, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

[U.S.S.R.]

THE AMBASSADOR

OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

ALEXANDER S. PANUYSHKIN

REQUESTS THE PLEASURE OF THE

COMPANY OF

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

AT THE PREVIEW OF THE EXHIBITION

"THIRTY YEARS OF THE LAND OF SOVIETS"

TO BE HELD AT THE NEW YORK

MUSEUM OF SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY

RCA BUILDING, 30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA

ON THURSDAY, MARCH 4, 1948

FROM FIVE TO SEVEN O'CLOCK

RSVP
7 E. 61 ST.
N. Y. C. 21.

PRESENT THIS CARD
AT THE DOOR.

22-26

[USSR]

Russia

March 3, 1948

The Honorable Alexander S. Panuyshkin
Ambassador
USSR
7 East 61st Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Panuyshkin:

I know that Dr. DuBois would appreciate your invitation to see THIRTY YEARS OF THE LAND OF SOVIETS" on March 4. However, I regret to inform you that he is out of the city on a lecture tour and will be unable to attend.

Thank you for your courtesy.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:LM

22-32

[U.S.S.R.]

In Celebration of the Thirty-first Anniversary
of the Great October Revolution

The Ambassador
of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
requests the honor of your company
at a reception
on Sunday the seventh of November
from five until seven o'clock
at the Embassy

R.s.v.p.

Union Voice • *The Newspaper of Labor in the Distributive Industry*

13 ASTOR PLACE • NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • GRAMERCY 7-1430

IRVING BALDINGER
Editor

MURRAY LEVINE
Business Manager

Labor

23-31-15

February 12, 1948

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Department of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Sir:

I am enclosing a copy of the current issue of UNION VOICE which carries a story (back page) on the interview which you recently granted me.

I hope you will find the story interesting, and an accurate reflection of the information and views which you outlined to me.

In any event I would appreciate having your comments on this story, which I feel is one way of bringing our readers closer to a problem which affects all of us. Thanking you again, I am

Respectfully yours,

Dora Shaw

Dora Shaw

TMHA
Enc.

357

Union Voice is the official newspaper of • CIO Wholesale & Warehouse Workers Union Local 65 • CIO Department Store Employees Union Locals 1-S, 2, 3, 5, 1250 • CIO Display Union Local 144

February 25, 1948

Miss Dora Shaw
Union Voice
13 Astor Place
New York 3, New York

Dear Miss Shaw:

Thank you for your copy of the "Union Voice" containing your interview with Dr. Du Bois. Since he has been out of the city from February 14, with the exception of only one day in New York, he was only able to scan your report. However, he asked me to convey to you his appreciation for this accurate job of reporting.

He liked the photograph very much and would appreciate your passing along his compliments to the photographer.

I wonder, if it would be possible for you to send us one or two copies of this issue?

With thanks for your courtesy, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

230-31-19

March 2, 1948

Miss Dora Shaw
UNION VOICE
13 Astor Place
New York, New York

Dear Miss Shaw:

Thank you very much for your courtesy in sending us the additional copies containing your interview with Dr. DuBois.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

lecture

April 29, 1948

United Airlines
Airlines Terminal
42nd Street at Park Avenue
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Enclosed find check to cover the following reservation:

May 8 Flight No. 151 to Cleveland
Lv. N.Y. 11:45 A.M. Arr. 2:35 P.M.

May 10 Flight No. 502 to New York
Lv. Cleveland 12:25 P.M. Arr. 2:40 P.M.

Please [redacted] the ticket to me at the above address.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:s

Enclosure, check: $51.87

23C-48

[United Electrical Workers]

UNITED ELECTRICAL, RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS OF AMERICA

AFFILIATED WITH THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

ELEVEN EAST 51ST STREET • NEW YORK 22, N.Y. • PLAZA 3-1980

February 19, 1948

23-38-106

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 W. 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

On behalf of our Union, I want to thank you for your fine contribution to our national radio program during National Negro History Week. It occurred to us that you might like a recording of the program as a souvenir of your participation. Records containing the program are being sent to you under separate cover.

Sincerely yours,

A. J. Fitzgerald

ALBERT J. FITZGERALD
General President

AJF:K
uopwa
16/13

ALBERT J. FITZGERALD, General President; JULIUS EMSPAK, General Secretary-Treasurer; JAMES J. MATLES, Director of Organization
General Vice-Presidents: JAMES PRICE, PAUL E. SEYMOUR, LEO JANDREAU, JAMES McLEISH, C. S. JACKSON,
THOMAS FITZPATRICK, LEMUEL MARKLAND, WILLIAM SENTNER, JOHN T. GOJACK, ERNEST DeMAIO.

B 11-48 2M

[United Electrical Workers Union]

230 - 38 - 45

February 26, 1948

Mr. Albert J. Fitzgerald
General President
U E Union
11 East 51st Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Fitzgerald:

Dr. Du Bois thanks you for your courtesy in sending him the records of the radio program given by U E Union during Negro History Week. He was very glad to have them. Also, he wanted you to know that he enjoyed very much his appearance on your broadcast.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

February 26, 1948

Mr. Albert J. Fitzgerald, General

United Electrical workers (make folder)

UNITED ELECTRICAL, RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS OF AMERICA

AFFILIATED WITH THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

ELEVEN EAST 51ST STREET • NEW YORK 22, N.Y. • PLAZA 3-1960

ALBERT J. FITZGERALD
General President

JULIUS EMSPAK
General Secretary-Treasurer

JAMES J. MATLES
Director of Organization

•

General Vice-Presidents

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LEO JANDREAU
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C. S. JACKSON
STANLEY L. LONEY
LEMUEL MARKLAND
WILLIAM SENTNER
JOHN T. GOJACK
ERNEST DeMAIO

23-38-91

March 24, 1948

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

You may want to call the attention of your membership to the attached story which appears in the March 27th issue of our national union's weekly paper, the UE NEWS.

Sincerely,

BILL CAHN
Publicity

BC:PH
uopwa
16/13
ENCL.

[Enclosure]

Carey Followers Aid UAW Raiders

NEW YORK, March 23 — Plans for a series of raids upon a number of UE locals in Hartford, in the New York area and elsewhere were made at secret caucuses of UAW-CIO during the UAW's executive board meeting in Chicago early this month. A representative of the national office of the CIO was present while the secret caucus planned the anti-UE raids. The plans of the caucus were not revealed to the full executive board of the UAW, but the plotters were able to secure UAW board approval for the issuance of two UAW charters for which no formal application to the board had been made.

Upon learning of these facts the National Office of the UE immediately informed CIO President Murray of the plan, pointing out its threat to the organizational integrity of the CIO, and stressing particularly the reckless disregard of the schemers for the progress of important national wage negotiations now facing the UE, the Auto Workers and the Steelworkers.

The accuracy of the UE information was proved within a week, when the UAW, in cooperation with supporters of the Carey-Block faction within UE in Hartford, organized a secession movement and gave a UAW charter to the secessionist leaders. The secession movement in Hartford has centered around Local 265 at Royal Typewriter, Local 251 at the Niles-Bemont-Pond Co. and a number of small shops in the UE Amalgamated Local 281.

RAN INTO SNAG

The Hartford secession movement, obviously carefully planned by the UAW forces and the Carey-Block factionalists in the area, has already run into an unexpected snag in Local 281, where the Executive Board of the Local has rejected the UAW offer to come in with the other secessionists under an amalgamated UAW charter. In Locals 251 and 265, where the Carey-Block leadership of the locals managed to keep UE representatives away from membership and stewards meetings, the UAW raids proceeded more nearly according to plan.

The UE is taking the necessary legal and organizational steps to protect the interests of the membership in the funds and contracts of their local unions, and loyal UE members, who were taken by surprise by the sudden raid, are coming forward to defend the union.

The Hartford raid is being carried on under a smokescreen of hysterical red-baiting of the same sort that has long been a stock-in-trade of the Carey-Block group within the UE and of the present dominant leadership of the UAW. The issues raised by the raiders and secessionists against UE are that UE has refused to sign affidavits to go before the employers' Taft-Hartley Board, and that the UE has refused to make a fight against a third party and for the Marshall-Truman Doctrine its first order of business. The UAW leadership has been among the foremost in submission to the Taft-Hartley Act, in fighting the organization of a third party, and in seeking to rally labor support to the Truman Administration.

GET CAREY-BLOCK AID

The UAW raid in Hartford was preceded by an unsuccessful effort by UAW forces in Brooklyn to raid UE Local 475 at the Schrader Co. UAW forces and leaders of the Carey-Block minority group within the big Amalgamated Local 475 received a setback by the smashing defeat of the raid on the Schrader shop, which was attempted in the midst of contract negotiations, and are at present discussing when and how to carry out further attempts to disrupt the local.

Naturally, the UAW raiding forces are concentrating their attention on spots where the Carey-Block group provides them with a fifth column against the UE. The readiness of the Carey-Block forces to cooperate with the raiders and their participation with them

(Continued on page 7)

BLOW AGAINST DISCRIMINATION in all Dayton, Ohio plants was struck when UE Local 768 won reinstatement of Hezekiah Smith, who was discharged unjustly from the Ohmer Register Corp. on grounds calculated to stir up race hate in the plant. (L. to r.) Local 768 Bus. Rep. K. M. Kirkendall, Smith and Mrs. Smith.

Local 768 Chalks Up Victory In Fight for Job Security

DAYTON, O., March 22 —An important victory in the protection of job security and the battle against discrimination has been won here by UE Local 768.

After a four month battle, the union won reinstatement and repairing of personal damage to Hezekiah Smith, an employee of the Ohmer Register Corp. since 1943, who was suddenly discharged without notice on last Oct. 31.

Brother Smith, a highly respected leader of his church and community and a newly elected steward of his division of the shop, was discharged for "alleged statements of moral misconduct" in the plant—a charge which would have discredited his name for the remainder of his life and which could have led to antagonistic racial feeling in the plant. Smith's seniority and work record, his wife and children, his reputation as a church leader and as Chaplain of his Masonic Lodge, were all disregarded by the company.

UE Local 768 immediately filed a grievance in Brother Smith's defense. The company refused to settle this grievance at every step. The union then submitted the case to arbitration.

The result of the arbitration hearing, in which the UE Local's Bus. Rep. K. M. Kirkendall and the Shop Committee represented Brother Smith, was an award that this was an "unjust discharge" and an order that Smith be immediately reinstated, given full seniority credit and reimbursed for his loss in pay.

In commenting on this victory, UE Rep. Kirkendall stated that is was not only a victory for the protection of job security but a decision aiding the protection of civil rights in all Dayton plants.

Negotiators Hit GE Poverty Pensions

NEW YORK, March 23— National negotiations with the General Electric Co. in New York on wage and contract issues are being continued with the company, despite its record-breaking $95,000,000 in profits after taxes, maintaining its resistance to a wage increase.

Although GE continues to indicate its reluctance to paying its employees the wages they need to live on, the company indicated in its report of last year's record-breaking profits that union exposure of company propaganda to belittle profits has smoked out the company in one respect. The latest report of profits was accompanied by a company admission that in 1947 GE made a net profit after taxes, of 15 percent on investment. The company arrived at this figure by adding everything but the kitchen sink into what it calls "investment." A figure for rate of profit based upon any customary or business-like method of computing profit on investment would show the company's rate of profit at about double the figure the company admits.

ASK PENSION INCREASE

UE negotiators this week resumed their arguments on the Union demands for an adequate pension of at least $120 a month for GE pensioners. They assailed as miserably inadequate the much-touted GE readjustment in pensions for retired GE workers in the lowest pension brackets, and the company admitted that the cost of the pension readjustment from here on out will cost the company a total of only $300,000. That is not an annual, but an overall figure.

In pressing their demand for a decent retirement system for ordinary workers in GE, the UE negotiators pointed out that present GE pensions average only a few pennies over $12 a week, INCLUDING IN THE AVERAGE THE TREMENDOUS PENSIONS PAID TO COMPANY OFFICIALS. (GE President Charles E. Wilson will upon retirement receive a pension of $60,000 a year, or approximately $1200 a week.)

WORKER GETS $6 A WK.

Under the present GE retirement system a worker paid at the rate of common laborer, would receive after 25 years service if he retires within the next year or two, a pension of $312 a year, or $6 a week. A toolmaker retiring with 25 years service would receive $481 a year from GE, or $9.20 a week.

The Union is fighting for a retirement system that will yield benefit enough to workers to keep them off the relief rolls and out of county poorhouses after they have spent a lifetime at work rolling up millions in profits for GE.

March 25, 1948

Mr. William Cahn
Publicity Director
United Electrical
Workers of America
11 East 51st Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Cahn:

Your letter to Dr. DuBois, of March 24, with its enclosure has been received. I know the Doctor will appreciate your calling his attention th the Hezekiah Smith story in the U .E. NEWS. I shall be sure to bring this to his attention as soon as he returns late next month from a lecture tour of the West.

With thanks for your courtesy, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

230 - 38 - 37

UNITED ELECTRICAL, RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS OF AMERICA

AFFILIATED WITH THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

ELEVEN EAST 51ST STREET • NEW YORK 22, N. Y. • PLAZA 3-1960

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General President

JULIUS EMSPAK
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JAMES J. MATLES
Director of Organization

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General Vice-Presidents
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STANLEY L. LONEY
LEMUEL MARKLAND
WILLIAM SENTNER
JOHN T. GOJACK
ERNEST DeMAIO

23-19-1

June 17, 1948

Dr. W. E. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Enclosed is a copy of our latest publication, "Frankly, Sir, I Need More Money!", which was not attached to our original letter.

We do appreciate your writing to us and bringing to our attention this oversight.

Very truly yours,

Julius Emspak

JULIUS EMSPAK
General Secretary-Treasurer

JE:fc
uopwa
16-13
ENCL. booklet

UNITED ELECTRICAL, RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS OF AMERICA

AFFILIATED WITH THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

ELEVEN EAST 51st STREET • NEW YORK 22, N. Y. • PLAZA 3-1980

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STANLEY L. LONEY
LEMUEL MARKLAND
WILLIAM SENTNER
JOHN T. GOJACK
ERNEST DeMAIO

23-19

July 27, 1948

Dear Friend:

We would like to call your attention to one of the most important series of nation-wide broadcasts that the UE has sponsored.

The well-known commentator, Arthur Gaeth, has left for Europe to interview plain citizens of seven countries and to report their views to his American Broadcasting Company audiences on the UE's Monday night coast-to-coast program.

Mr. Gaeth will broadcast direct from Paris August 2, from Rome August 9, from Athens August 16, from Tel Aviv August 23, from Prague August 30, from Berlin September 6, and from London September 13. He will report what the "man in the street" has to say about war and peace, aid from America, and other vital subjects.

We want to call your attention also to a recent UE publication, What Do You Read?, listing and describing some of our most popular publications which are available.

Sincerely yours,

Julius Emspak

JULIUS EMSPAK
General Secretary-Treasurer

UE ON THE AIR --- MONDAY NIGHTS --- A B C

10 P.M. Eastern Time
9 P.M. Central Time
8 P.M. Mountain Time
9 P.M. Pacific Time

JE:PH
uopwa
16/13

264 C-6-48

UNITED ELECTRICAL, RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS OF AMERICA

AFFILIATED WITH THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

ELEVEN EAST 51ST STREET • NEW YORK 22, N.Y. • PLAZA 3-1960

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JAMES McLEISH
C. S. JACKSON
STANLEY L. LONEY
LEMUEL MARKLAND
JOSEPH O. POGUE
JOHN T. GOJACK
ERNEST DeMAIO

23-19

December 14, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Because I feel sure that a previous letter addressed to you by our Union may have failed to come to your attention, I am writing you again about a matter which I believe you will agree warrants your immediate consideration.

Enclosed is a brochure containing the conclusions of a personal investigation by Prof. Vern Countryman of the Yale University Law School into a recent situation which developed in Evansville, Ind.

We believe these actions in Evansville constitute a real threat not only to independent labor unions in the nation but to the democratic institutions of the nation itself.

We would like you to study this material. We believe you will find yourself concerned about what has come to be known as the "Evansville Formula," and will want to sign the enclosed statement, which has already been signed by many people in all walks of life - educators, scientists, artists, writers, clergymen.

We plan to use this statement with its many signers to call the Evansville happenings to the attention of people throughout the land.

Sincerely yours,

Albert J. Fitzgerald

ALBERT J. FITZGERALD
General President

ENCL.
uopwa 16/33

264 E-11-48

Pay for article

phone STAte 2362

UNITED FARM EQUIPMENT & METAL WORKERS OF AMERICA

AFFILIATED WITH THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

INTERNATIONAL OFFICE • 188 WEST RANDOLPH STREET • CHICAGO 1, ILLINOIS

GRANT W. OAKES
President

JOHN SHAFFER • AJAY MARTIN
Vice Presidents

GERALD FIELDE
Sec'y-Treasurer

MILT BURNS
Director of Organization

POPE HUFF • KATHERINE HALL
Executive Board Members-At-Large

January 15 1948

Dr W E B DuBois
National AACP
20 West 40th Street
New York N Y

23-18-11

Dear Dr DuBois

We enclose herewith our check for twenty-five dollars ($25.00) in connection with your preparation of a special article for our international union publication, FE News, as requested in our behalf by Mr Ishmael Flory.

We appreciate your consideration in doing this for our union, and regret that the honorarium is not more in keeping with your stature in the fight for progress.

Sincerely

Forrest Emerson

FORREST EMERSON
Publicity Director

FE:mt
uopwa/24/cio

January 21, 1948

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY: RUSH

Mr. Forrest Emerson
United Farm Equipment & Metal Workers of America
188 West Randolph Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

Dear Mr. Emerson:

I am heartily sorry that there has been some delay in getting Dr. DuBois' article to you. Actually the dereliction is due to a mix-up here in the office, since the Doctor had done the article several days ago and was under the impression that you had received it long ago. As you no doubt know, Dr. DuBois is very precise and punctual and this defection can in no way be attributed to any shortcoming on his part. I hope, however, that you will in no way consider this incident as customary, since we try always to carry through our commitments with exactness and meet whatever deadline is assigned.

With sincere regrets but with thanks for your courtesy and understanding, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:

Enclosure: article

23-18

[U.K.]

1084/28

UNITED KINGDOM DELEGATION

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE TRANSMISSION OF INFORMATION UNDER ARTICLE 73(e) OF THE CHARTER

Following is the text of a statement prepared for delivery by Mr. G.H. Adams, United Kingdom Alternate Delegate in Committee IV

This text should not be used in any way by press or radio before delivery.

It should be checked against delivery for possible alterations and additions.

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Report of Special Committee on the Transmission of Information under Article 73(e) of the Charter

Statement by the United Kingdom Representative to Committee IV

The extremely helpful intervention by the distinguished representative for New Zealand made two points very clear:-

(a) In the first place he drew attention to the fact that the representative of the U.S.S.R., not unnaturally supported by Poland, the Ukraine and Yugoslavia, is attempting to induce the Assembly to re-write the Charter by Resolution for political ends.

(b) The second point the New Zealand representative made was that quite apart from this the general remarks ~~of~~ made by previous speakers in this debate fall into two classes:-
   (i) helpful and constructive suggestions put forward by most of the representatives who have spoken in the debate.
   (ii) the criticisms made by the U.S.S.R. supported by the Slav bloc which take the form of malicious and unfounded charges against the administration by the United Kingdom of certain non-self-governing territories.

2. As regards the first category it will have become clear from what was said in Geneva and what I said here the other day that my Government cannot agree in every respect with the remarks of these representatives. Nevertheless we appreciate the helpful and constructive spirit in which they have been made and in particular I would like to refer to the reasoned speeches of the representatives of Egypt, Iraq and the Philippines. If the Committee will follow the lead given by these representatives it would save a great deal of time and it might avoid repeating views which have been made known on a number of occasions during the past two or three years and it will enable the General Assembly to consider the four resolutions before us with the minimum of delay, so as to set in motion the machinery for dealing with this information in the coming year.

3. Turning to the line taken by the Slav bloc I have already referred to the fact that their remarks involve an attempt to re-write the Charter for political reasons and to introduce into Chapter XI a structure of supervision and control which will not be found there. As to this proposed supervision and control I repeat that we who live in non-self-governing territories do not at all want it, most certainly not on the political side. We who have political differences with our metropolitan power - I speak of course only for British territories - prefer to settle these ~~differences with our metropolitan p~~

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differences for ourselves and so to remove the obstacles to complete self-government, rather than having too many cooks spoil the broth. The U.S.S.R. resolution is, of course, quite unacceptable to the other members of this Committee, who I am sure are at least as anxious as the representatives of the U.S.S.R. to defend and maintain the inviolability of the Charter.

4. As regards the attacks which have been made on United Kingdom administration, these again fall into two categories:-

(a) Certain remarks have been made about constitutional development in some of the African territories. As this Committee will be aware my Government is not required to transmit information on political or constitutional developments. My Government has not transmitted any such information and does not intend to do so. Nevertheless we make no secret of the great constitutional progress which has been made in non-self-governing territories particularly since the war and any one who is interested may see accounts of this in documents which my Government has transmitted to the United Nations library and which are available in published form elsewhere. But it has already been made clear and I must repeat it again that my Government is not prepared to discuss these developments in this or any other organs of the United Nations.

(b) Certain detailed criticisms were made by representatives of the Slav bloc on economic, social and educational conditions in the non-self-governing territories. There is little new in these remarks and they were almost all made at Geneva where they were answered by the United Kingdom representative and any member of this Committee who is interested will find the answers set out in the summary records. I do not therefore propose to weary this Committee by going over this ground again.

5. I should however like to turn now to a consideration of the remarks made by the representatives of Poland, the U.S.S.R., the Ukraine and Yugoslavia in so far as they concern general economic policy in the non-self-governing territories. These remarks seem to me to be based on the assumption that all administering authorities, all countries responsible for the progress, advancement and welfare of dependent peoples, are inherently wicked; that they cannot be trusted to deal fairly with the peoples of the territories for which they are responsible; and conversely that only countries which are not responsible for colonies are pure in soul and possess the qualities of honesty, humanity and solicitude required of administering authorities; and that, in consequence, non-colonial powers have a sacred duty of watching with a jealous and suspicious eye all the activities of colonial powers which are bound to be

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dishonest and nothing more than a cloak for exploitation.

6. Mr. Chairman, my reason, my sentiment, my knowledge and my experience tell me that this assumption is false. There may have been a time when "colonialism" - I use a word which is frequently heard nowadays - was synonomous with exploitation. There undoubtedly was such a time. But today we are living in the twentieth century. Speaking for the peoples of the British Colonial Empire at any rate - and if I speak for them, it is because I am qualified to do so; I have no desire to impute dishonourable motives to any other colonial power but I have of course no pretention to speak on behalf of people in other colonial empires; speaking therefore on behalf of the peoples of the British colonial empire I reject categorically the notion that the outlook for us is one of grim relentless struggle for freedom against reactionary colonial oppressors.

7. Of course we are anxious for self-government. Of course we often feel - and never hesitate to give expression to such feeling - that the Metropolitan Government perhaps on occasions errs on the side of caution in the rate at which responsibility for the control of our affairs is devolved upon us. Of course we express dissatisfaction with conditions, economic, social, educational and so forth, in our countries just as people do in other countries whether sovereign or otherwise where speech is free and criticism of authority permitted. If my distinguished colleagues were to read some of the articles that appear in colonial newspapers, particularly in the West Indies and in West Africa they would find violent attacks upon British administration. I should not however like them to be misled as to the true motives of such criticism; let us keep a sense of proportion and perspective. Where is there a sovereign country in the world, worthy of the name of true democracy, whose peoples do not continually aspire to higher standards of administration and social service? We in the British colonial empire are far from believing that our present system of government is perfect. Many of us are deeply conscious of the enormous tasks we still have to tackle, of the vast obstacles of under-development, illiteracy and other social evils which have somehow to be overcome. But of one thing I can assure this Committee. We do not look upon the British Government as a ruthless exploiter. It is true that in the past, in the early days of colonial settlement, European and other companies derived great material benefit from their activities in the colonies without contributing sufficient, or in some case, anything to the welfare and development of the territories. But this is a thing of the past and in recent years the British tax payer has been called upon to contribute considerable sums for the social and economic development of the colonies in the interest of the colonial peoples. We do not regard the ties that link us with the British Crown as an intolerable yoke. Far from it. Even when we are most critical of British colonial administration we do not forget that the central

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purpose of British colonial policy, as it has been enunciated by successive British Governments, is to guide the colonial territories to responsible self-government within the Commonwealth in conditions that will ensure to the peoples concerned both a fair standard of living and freedom from oppression from any quarter. We are convinced of the good faith of Great Britain and have no cause to be otherwise. Why then should mistrust of her as a Colonial power, or for that matter of the other administering powers, be allowed to vitiate so much of the work of the United Nations, as Mr. Chairman, I am bound to say I feel to be the case after hearing some of the speeches that have been made here.

8. Frankly, Mr. Chairman, the impression that some of these speeches have made upon me is not one of solicitude for the peoples of the non-self-governing territories, but simply one of desire to attack administering powers at all costs.

9. I should like if I may to make some remarks about the ground nuts scheme which was referred to by the distinguished representative for the Ukraine and others. It has been suggested that this scheme will not benefit the indigenous population but on the contrary will lead to disruption and instability of their social and economic life and cause considerable displacement of the population; that the scheme will lead to concentration of millions of acres of arable land in the hands of non-indigenous population, organisations and corporations and that the objectives of the scheme are an intensified exploitation of the manpower and natural resources of the territories concerned in the interests of the British Commonwealth and Western Europe rather than the economic advancement and emancipation of the indigenous population. Now, Mr. Chairman, what does all this amount to.

10. The background to the groundnuts' scheme is very briefly as follows. The present world population is nearly 2,300 millions. The great majority of the world's population is far from adequately fed, and a large proportion exists on little more than a starvation basis. Since 1939, world population has increased by 125 millions; yet the area under food production has decreased by several million acres. These facts alone show that, unless truly gigantic efforts are made, the world will face widespread famine. The East African groundnuts' scheme is a courageous experiment to increase food production. The aim is to clear and bring under cultivation a total of 3½ million acres, that is some 5,000 square miles of virgin bushland. Now I stress these words "virgin bushland", because it is sometimes thought that in the development of the scheme the African is being deprived of land. The truth is that almost all the land selected for the groundnut growing areas is virtually uninhabited, because of the absence of surface water. Moreover, about three quarters of the groundnut area is infested with tsetse. What is happening is that a concerted attack is being made on this tsetse infested thorn bush desert, with modern machinery backed by a modern planning organisation. As Mr. Bevin has said in the

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General Assembly; "we are not expropriating the Africans; we are expropriating thorn bush and tsetse."

11. The distinguished representatives from Eastern Europe who have referred to this scheme do not appear to recognise what should, I think, be apparent to any impartial observer; namely that it is only by the technique of the groundnuts" scheme that 3¼ million acres of waste land can be brought into cultivation.

12. The fact that it is intended to develop cereals as a rotation crop with groundnuts, to a point when we hope that, in a few years, two or three thousand tons of grain will be available for local consumption if need be, has apparently escaped the notice of the representatives from Eatern Europe. They do not apparently see the potentially enormous value of the scheme to Africa as a trial of methods and machinery for the clearing of bush and cultivation of land which, if successful, could be extended to other areas where life is now hardly possible above the barest subsistence level. Moreover, the distinguished representatives from Eastern Europe do not appear to have given any weight to the fact that the Overseas Resources Development Act passed by the United King dom Parliament in 1947, which set up the Corporation controlling the groundnuts scheme, specifically requires the Corporation to have particular regard to the interests of the local inhabitants and to consult with the local colonial governments, thus providing for the safeguarding of the interests of the local peoples.

13. Nor has there been any reference in the remarks to which I am referring to the long term objectives of the scheme. But the White Paper presented to Parliament last year contained a statement as to the ultimate aim of the project which is so important that I should like to quote it. It reads as follows:-

> "His Majesty's Government recognise that it would be objectionable to place the management and development of large areas of these African territories under the permanent control of an organisation from outside the territories. Their intention is therefore to arrange with the Governments concerned that the undertaking should be transferred to them at a time and on terms to be agreed in the light of experience of the workings of the project. This is envisaged as a step towards the more distant goal of transferring the control of the undertaking to the people themselves, possibly on some co-operative basis which would ensure continuance of the full benefits of large scale mechanics and scientific production..."

In view of this formal statement to the British Parliament, I find it hard to see what justification there is for the

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that the scheme will lead to the "concentration of millions of acres of the arable land in the hands of non-indigenous population, organisations and corporations", as claimed by the U.S.S.R. representative on the Trusteeship Council. I notice that no proofs are adduced in support of this gloomy prophecy.

14. No reference has been made to the social welfare side of the scheme. Mr. Chairman, I should like the Committee to know that my Government is not aiming at a migrant labour force. We aim to buid model villages where the workers will live with their families, which they will regard as their homes. Remember too, that with such a highly mechanised project, practically all the workers will eventually be skilled workers. And the ultimate stage of African management and operation of the project will depend on skilled and trained African staff. A trained anthropologist has therefore been appointed as Director of Education and Social Welfare to the scheme. The task to be tackled is that of educating some 60,000 permanently settled Africans springing from more than thirty different tribes and speaking a variety of different languages. The educational task alone is enormous, but the British Government is tackling it in collaboration with UNESCO and there is also much work being done on the medical and health side, in itself a great and good experiment, where the emphasis is on the prevention of disease.

15. Criticisms have also been made that local producers are compelled to concentrate on export crops. But I would draw attention to the objectives of our colonial agricultural policy which are, in the actual words of the British Colonial Secretary's report to Parliament:-

"First to increase the production of food crops for local consumption so that the territories concerned may enjoy a higher standard of living and at the same time be independent of imports; and secondly to promote the increased production of export crops thereby increasing the revenue of the territories themselves and contributing to European and world needs."

Members of the Committee will note no doubt that the increase of local food production is placed first in this list, that the increased production of export crops is placed second with reference to the increasing of the revenues of the territories themselves and that the contribution which these exports can make to European and world needs are placed last.

16. All these things to which I have referred have already been made public; I have said nothing that is new, nothing that is not already in print, but since the distinguished representatives from Eastern Europe either have not or will not read what is available

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for them to read I must of necessity refer to these matters here. I might add in this connection that the representative of the Ukraine, who denied that any information had been transmitted in respect to British Guiana had clearly not taken the trouble to study the Secretary-General's summary of this information in Document A/566 of 14th July, 1948. Mr. Chairman, in the light of these facts I find it difficult to see how the charge of economic exploitation can be sustained. Such criticism shows either a distressing ignorance of, or else a disturbing disregard for, the true facts of the situation. I think the answer must be that it is not meant to be a constructive suggestions but propaganda that is determined to find fault with the administering powers at all costs and on whatever pretext. I believe too, and I think that this Committee should be aware that the great majority of the inhabitants of colonial territories share my impression that the attacks of the distinguished representatives of the Slav bloc against the administering powers must be judged for what they really are, namely attempts to undermine, for reasons not connected with the welfare of the colonial peoples the selves, the influence of the administering powers in the territories for which they are ultimately responsible. I can assure this Committee that we in the British West Indies are not misled by these attacks. Nor are we alone in this. I recently had an opportunity of meeting the unofficial members of the British African Legislative Councils who have recently finished their conference in London. They too are fully alive to the transparent motives behind these continual attacks of the Soviet Union and its satellites against the administering powers. I think I can say the same of the peoples of other parts of the British colonial empire. We are <u>not</u> fools. We are quite capable of thinking for ourselves and seeing through these devices.

17. The representative of Poland did refer to one matter which was not raised at Geneva and I should therefore like to take this opportunity of replying to him very briefly. He referred to "the heroic struggle of the people of Malaya" in their attempt to secure independence. I should just like to remind the Committee of some of the facts which of course I have no doubt the distinguished representatives for Poland and the U.S.S.R. are fully aware. The total population of Malaya, including Singapore, according to the 1947 census is just under six millions. The Malayan Communist Party consisting of a very small proportion of the Chinese community only is endeavouring against the wishes of the vast majority of the population to establish a Communist state in Malaya. To achieve this end it is engaging in a wholesale campaign of murder, wouding and kidnapping directed primarily against law abiding Chinese who refused to co-operate with the terrorists. The number of Chinese actively engaged in this terrorism is approximately half of one per cent of the total population and the terrorist campaign is not in any sense a genuine popular movement. As if to emphasize this leaders of the

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Malay and Indian communities have gone out of their way in the Legislative Councils and elsewhere to express their desire to co-operate with the Government in bringing these disturbances to an end and the non-Communist section of the Chinese community has also given emple evidence of its wish to assist the Government. For example a particularly influential Chinese, Tan Kah Kee, has recently made statements to this effect. Moreover, the Malayan Indian Congress has decided to call off its opposition to the Government for the duration of these disturbances. It is also significant that since the Communist Party was driven underground there has beena complate absence of strikes in the Federation and Singapore and there have indeed been signs particularly in Singapore, that the trade unions have welcomed the opportunity of reorganising themselves into bodies free from Communist influence. Legislative councils of both the Malayan Federation and of Singapore include influential representatives of the workers" organisations of all communities and without exception they have been loud in their support of the measures being taken by Government to put an end to this terrorism.

18. Mr. Chairman, there is one point I should like to make in conclusion. More than once the representatives of the United Kingdom have stated that their Government and the colonial peoples are proud of their record in guiding colonial peoples to a higher way of life, towards the goal of self-government. There is no spirit of compacency in this: only an earnest endeavour to strive continually forward. I should like to assure this committee that it is not a mere point of rhetoric when it is claimed that the British colonial peoples share in willing partnership in this great work and in the tremendous tasks before us. At home in Barbados we often criticise the British Government openly, in an outright, forthright manner. We shall go on doing so whenever we want to. For freedom of speech is a fundamental human right that is cherished through the whole of the British Colonial Empire. But I and my fellows firmly believe that the British Government is deeply and sincerely anxious to help the peoples of the non-self-governing territories for which it is responsible along the road to ultimate self-government. That has been their aim in the past: that is, we have no doubt, their policy today in respect of the colonies, protectorates, and trust territories for which they are responsible. I believe they are inferior to no Power in their treatment of dependent peoples. Let us not forget that other countries which are classed as non-Administering Powers are in fact faced with "colonial" problems in the broad sense of the word i.e. the problem of dealing with communities within their borders of differing stages of political, economic, social and cultural development. Such committees exist in all continents of the world: the only difference is that they are not termed "colonies" because, geographically, they live in the metropolitan area. The Soviet Union is an example of what I have in mind. But there we have the iron curtain: there is no Article 73 (e) of the Charter to throw light upon conditions. If the iron curtain could be raised my Government, at any rate,

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would not fear comparison between the conditions in the British Colonial Empire and those in the Soviet Union.

19. Mr. Chairman, I would like to say one word in conclusion. In Barbados, and I beleive in many parts of the British and other colonial empires, we have necessarily derived many of our fundamental beliefs and our spiritual heritage from Europe, which in its turn derived them from Greece and Rome and ancient Isr eal, and thus to some extent from the immemorial East. We may be backward in some respects, but one notion which we hold particularly dear, because as it seems to us it is at the root of all real progress, is respect for human beings as human beings and not as cogs in a vast bureaucratic machine. Looking eastward from our island we observe with alarm and even with horror that these basic beliefs are in danger of extinction in a large part of the European continent and that in other parts they sometimes seem to burn less brightly than they did. The immense apparatus of the Servile State, the army of functionaries, the secret police, the squat towers of the concentration camps, all this seems to menace our present liberties and our hopes of greater liberty to come. It may not be so, and if free men realise the danger and unite without disputing over inessentials it will not be so. Much depends indeed on whether the real democracies can develop and extend their present liberal policies. But this I do know, that if the system of the so called 'peoples democracies' w hich is really the system of totalitarian despotism, triumphs in the world as a whole, a dark night of the spirit will descend on mankind compared to which the condition of my forbears in the old colonial days will be something to which my unfortunate grandchildren will look back with regret and even with hopeless longing.

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UNITED KINGDOM DELEGATION

REPORT OF THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Following is the text of a statement to be delivered by Mr. G.H. Adams, United Kingdom Alternate Delegate in Committee IV.

This text should not be used in any way by press or radio before delivery.

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Report of the Trusteeship Council to the General Assembly

Statement of the United Kingdom Delegate to

COMMITTEE IV

Mr. Chairman, I have sought this opportunity of making certain observations with regard to the Report of the Trusteeship Council to the General Assembly on behalf of my Delegation. I should however like to say at the outset that although there are matters of substance both in the Report and in the remarks of several of the delegates with which my Delegation do not agree, it is <u>not</u> our desire to re-open the discussion in detail on all those matters in this Committee, nor our intention to propose any amendments to the Report. The United Kingdom Government is, of course, studying the conclusions in the Report in so far as they affect the trust-territories under its administration, and any action that may be taken on them will be notified in its next Annual Reports, in accordance with the requirements of the relevant Trsuteeship Agreements.

2. Besides referring to certain observations which have been made by those distinguished representatives who have preceded me, I feel obliged to make certain <u>general</u> observations in this Committee because my Delegation think that a serious, indeed a critical stage, has been reached in the development of the Trusteeship Council as a principal organ of the United Nations.

3. My. colleagues will, I think, all be aware of the reference to the Trusteeship Council in the speech made by Mr. Bevin during the General Debate. Mr. Bevin's words are so important that I should like to quote some of them. He said:-

> "The Trusteeship Council is in danger of degenerating into a platform for political propaganda, which will not serve the interests of the inhabitants of trust territories, and caanot do anything alse but undermine the t trusteeship system itself. I hope that no right-thinking person can possibly want this to happen, and if I speak bluntly it is in order to clear up these misunderstandings which, if allowed to persist, will effectively prevent the United Nations from carrying out the great task entrusted to the Trusteeship Council of assisting the Administering Authorities in bringing the peoples in trust territories to a stage where they can stand and govern themselves."

Now I should like to dwell for a moment on this theme: coming as I do from a dependent territory, I think this Committee may perhaps be interested to hear my views.

4. In the first place, I cannot share the optimism shown by some distinguished representatives with regard to the spirit pre-

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valent in the Council. After reading all the available evidence I must say quite frankly that it seems crystal clear to me that the Trusteeship Council is going to degenerate into a platform for political propaganda, and that unless the Council can rid itself of certain false notions, as well as break away from certain dangerous tendencies which, to our way of thinking at least, have already begun to mar its work, it will undoubtedly prove itself unequal to the responsibilities placed upon it by the Charter.

5. Mr. Chairman, if you will pardon my digression, I should like to say something more on this point. When the League of Nations was established thirty years ago we Colonial peoples, like the rest of mankind, shared the hope that a new era in international relations would begin. Again, when the United Nations came into being we hoped that the unhappy experiences of the League of Nations would not be repeated. But, Mr. Chairman, as the months pass, and as we read the accounts of what goes on in the various organs of the United Nations we are inclined to become disillusioned - even somewhat cynical - as to the practical contributions the United Nations seems to be capable of making to the advancement and welfare of Trust Territory peoples. It seems to me that their affairs are being discussed within the context of power politics (and more particularly rival ideologies), and that in the clash of these extraneous interests, their own real interests tend to be overlooked. If this tendency, which is already apparent in the Trusteeship Council, continues to manifest itself, the United Nations should not be surprised if they should one day forfeit the respect and the co-operation of the inhabitants of dependent territories.

6. This applied particularly to the Trust Territories. I feel that it would be a pity, a great pity, if the Trusteeship Council became merely another sounding board for propaganda less concerned with the welfare of Trust Territory inhabitants than with tactical moves in political campaigns waged in Europe and elsewhere. Were that to happen the Council will assuredly one day find its competence called into question by those very people whose interests it is intended to promote.

7. In the second place, Mr. Chairman, there is, it must be confessed, a real lack of knowledge of conditions in Trust Territories, as well as a quite extraordinary degree of misunderstanding - sometimes no doubt perfectly genuine, but sometimes clearly deliberate - about them. There even seems to be a suspicion in some quarters that the words of the Charter are a novel doctrine which a reactionary Administering Authority is continually seeking to evade. I need not repeat here that so far as the United Kingdom is concerned this is untrue. They are words which have often been used by British statesmen and colonial administrators long before any Trusteeship Agreements were drawn up: They have steadily been

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implemented by the British Government before the United Nations were thought of. Indeed were it not for the opposition of one Great Power on the Security Council (for reasons which have no true bearing on the merits of the case) the youngest independent member of the British Commonwealth of Nations would be sitting with us here as a concrete example of this continuous evolution within the Commonwealth.

8. Mere lack of knowledge on the part of some critics of British colonial administration can always be remedied where there is a genuine desire to get at the truth. But what I fear we must contend with at times is something more than mere lack of knowledge; I am afraid we have to contend with ill-founded unconstructive criticism uttered from ulterior motives, as seems to be the case in one part of the Report before us.

9. Unfortunately there is more behind such a document than mere inaccuracy and I think it disappointing that a negative attitude of this kind should have wasted so much of the time of the Trusteeship Council. Indeed, when I read it I find difficulty in subscribing to the view on page 95 of the English text of the Secretary-General's Report on the work of the Organisation for 1947-48, namely that "the deliberations of the Trusteeship Council have led to constructive and co-operative efforts by all members towards attaining the basic objectives of the trusteeship system."

10. Mr. Chairman, my Delegation feels that the time has come when we here really must make our choice between whether we are prepared to see the Trusteeship Council degenerate into a platform for political plemics, or whether we wish to make it work. As a colonial representative, this is my feeling in the matter. The international trusteeship system is a fine conception, in the light of its particular historical growth that is, out of the old mandates system. It has its part to play, and a most import ant part at that, in bringing the peoples in Trust Territories to a stage where they can fend for themselves. We feel therefore, that it would be a grave disappointment to the hopes of the world if it had to be admitted that the international trusteeship system had failed; if it had to be admitted that it had been undermined because of political propaganda which had not true bearing upon the interests of the peoples for whom it was designed. This indeed would be "colonial exploitation in the interests of the Metropolitan Power" of a very cynical kind. It is therefore our sincere hope that such a fat will not overtake the Trusteeship Council; and I can say that it is the earnest desire of the Government I represent here today that the Council should work in a spirit of harmony; should be able to attain its objectives; should not fail in its high tasks; and should not be shorn of the fruitful, promising results that its first two sessions encouragednthe world to expect of it.

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11. But if it is to succeed, as the United Kingdom Government ardently hope it will, then there must be co-operation within it. I have observed that repeated appeals for co-operation were made at the last session of the Trusteeship Council. But co-operation cannot be merely one-sided. The Administering Authorities must not be the only ones who are called upon to co-operate with the Trusteeship Council. Why, for instance, should it be assumed they would not welcome constructive criticism and suggestions? Obviously they would. But let those criticisms and suggestions be constructive, pertinent, and based on proper knowledge of the facts. They will then command the respect of the Administering Authorities and of the peoples in Trust Territories alike. Then ot should be possible to reach a more practical, a more constructive approach to the problems with which the Administering Authorities are faced.

12. The old Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations was, I believe, a sound, useful constructive body. It was so, I suggest, because it avoided a doctrinaire, ideological approach to the problem of mandated territories, and because it consisted of experts who knew their subject thoroughly. The Charter of the United Nations stipulates, too, that the representatives of the various Governments on the Trusteeship Council should be "specially qualified persons". I feel that if this provision of the Charter and the principle of the constructive approach to Trust Territory proble,s were faithfully observed by every country represented on the Council, we mightn in future reports avoid the passing of ex-cathedra doctrinaire judgments on many important problems to whose solution the Administering Authorities bring years of experience and endeavour. We might also avoid the not inappropriate question as to why judgment should have been delivered on detailed matters of administration in Ruanda-Urundi and Tanganyika before the Trusteeship Council had had the benefit of hearing what their Visiting Mission to those territories had to say.

13. Mr. Chairman, I have said before that I do not wish to re-open detailed discussion on matters in the Report with which my Delegation do not agree. The proper forum for such discussion is the organ responsible for this Reportn namely the Trusteeship Council itself. The distinguished representatives of India and Denmark have, however, made some general observations regarding administrative union, racial discrimination and tribal organisation which, speaking in all modesty can hardly have been intended not to apply to the Trust Territories under United Kingdom administration. At the risk therefore, of greatly exceeding the time limit for speeches suggested by the distinguished representative for the Philippines I should like to reply to these general observations with some specific information. I think that the long experience and heavy responsibilities of the United Kingdom as an Administering Authority vest what I have to say with some authority; for we should not forget, Mr. Chairman, that practical

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effect is given to Chapters XII and XIII of the Charter more by the administrative and executive acts of the Administering Authority than by Assembly Resolution.

14. I should like to stress that this information is not offered in any polemical spirit; my object is rather to make publicly known those facts in the light of which the issues involved can be fairly weighed and a just and unprejudiced conclusion can be reached. In doing so I hope that I shall be forgiven if I speak at length - the issues involved are too important to be disposed of within a narrow time limit.

15. I first wish to refer to inter-territorial organisation. If I remember rightly, the distinguished representative for India posed three questions with regard to inter-territorial organisations or administrative unions as such:-

Firstly, is an administrative union desirable in the interests of the peoples of the Trust Territory concerned?
Secondly, tto what extent is such an administrative union compatible with the objectives set out in the trusteeship agreements and the Charter?
Thirdly, in what way should the Trusteeship Council exercise supervision over such unions so as to ensure:-
One, that there shall be no delay in the progress towards self-government or independence; and
Two, that the wishes of the Trust Territory people are taken into account?

I should like to apply these criteria to the East African High Commission, the setting up of which caused so much discussion inside the Trusteeship Council.

16. First of all, what is the background of the East African High Commission? I think that a brief historical account will not be out of place even though all the facts I shall quote are readily available in published form. Since the earliest days of British administration in Tanganyika, it has been recognised that regional technical co-operation and collaboration between the various East African territories are desirable in the interests of their indigenous peoples. The benefits which lead people to plead for some form of European economic unity do, I think, apply with equal force to East Africa.

17. Up to the outbreak of the late war such co-operation was at first carried on informally, and subsequently more regularly through the medium of the Conference of East African Governors, which was set up in 1926 on the advise of the British Parliamentary Commission. Thus by 1939 the three territories were, in respect of many technical services , a single region covering some 676,400 square miles and containing a total population of some

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10½ millions. They had inter alia a common currency, common postal services, a common customs tariff, a common income tax, a common meteorological service, centralised scientific research, and common higher education. All these services developed naturally, supervised annually by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.

18. During the war years it became increasingly clear that the structure originally established in 1926, although sound in conception had weaknesses and defects. Overlapping of effort and duplication of work still occurred. In addition there existed no adequate constitutional provisions for supervising the operation of the inter-territorial services. It was obviously not in the interests of the three territories involved to break up the services which had developed organically over some twenty-five years. The problem to be solved was rather one of how to provide a constitutional framework within which these services could be operated with adequate public supervision and participation, without extinguishing the separate identity of Tanganyika. Various suggestions had already been made prior to 1945 for closer union between the East African territories, but it was not until that year that the United Kingdom Government published its proposals for providing a constitutional basis for the inter-territorial services.

19. These proposals set out in a United Kingdom White Paper, Colonial No. 191, provided for the creation of a High Commission, consisting of the Governors of Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda, and of a Central Legislature with powers to control certain strictly defined subjects. The primary purpose of the scheme was to associate the public in the territories with the management of the inter-territorial services and to provide an effective forum for the discussion of matters of policy relating to these services. It was obvious that these proposals were of the highest public importance to the inhabitants of Tanganyika, and that their fullest discussion was desirable. Such discussion did in fact take place.

20. The proposals were discussed for over a year between April 1945 and the end of 1946. A wide and representative body of local public opinion was consulted, including the African Association which is an influential body widely representative of the educated Africans in Tanganyika, and in the summer of 1946 the present Secretary of State personally consulted the representatives of all communities in Tanganyika. As the result of these discussions modified proposals were put forward in a new White Paper, Colonial 210, which, after nearly a year's discussion, were promulgated by Order in Council on 19th December 1947. In April 1948 the new Central Assembly met for the first time and, judging by its first two sessions, is proving to be remarkably successful in carrying

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out the purpose for which it was designed - namely, public supervision over and participation in the joint services. I might add that one of its most gratifying effects has been the formation of an association of all the unofficial members of the Central Assembly, who now co-operate in harmony and with a complete absence of racial feeling.

21. Mr. Chairman, let us now turn back to the first of the criteria suggested by the distinguished representative of India. Is the inter-territorial organisation in East Africa desirable in the interests of the people of Tanganyika? In my opinion there is no doubt that it is. As I have pointed out already, the East African High Commission is assuming responsibility, subject to public supervision and control, for the administration of a number of inter-territorial services which existed and have developed organically over the past quarter of a century, and which operate for the common benefit of Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda. Not to have kept these inter-territorial services in being, to have scrapped them, would in my opinion, have been a retrograde step, for after all, Mr. Chairman, locusts and tsetse fly are notorious for their disrespect of territorial boundaries. Even an iron curtain would fail to keep them out.

22. Next we turn to the second criterion. To what extent is the creation of the East African High Commission compatible with the objectives set out in the Trusteeship Agreements and the Charter? I suggest that the essential point at issue is whether the creation of the East African High Commission will lead to the extinction of the separate political identity of Tanganyika. Let us therefore turn to the facts.

23. First of all, what is the policy of the United Kingdom in this respect? You will recall that Article 5(b) of the Trusteeship Agreement for the Territory of Tanganyika (which incidentally, is very similar in wording to Article 10 of the League of Nations Mandate) entitled the Administering Authority, inter alia "to establish common services between (adjacent territories under his sovereignty or control) and Tanganyika where such measure are not inconsistent with the basic objectives of the International Trusteeship System and with the terms of this Agreement". How does the United Kingdom interpret this Article? Let us turn to Section IV of the Report of Sub-Committee I of the Fourth Committee, of December 1946 recording that:

> "the delegations of Australia, Belgium, France and the United Kingdom.....wish to give assurance that they do no consider the terms of the articles above quoted as giving power to the Administrative Authority to establish any form of political association between the Trust Territories respectively administered by them and adjacent territories which would involve annexation / of the

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of the Trust Territories in any sense or would have the effect of extinguishing their status as Trust Territories."

This assurance was repeated to the Trusteeship Council by the United Kingdom representative during the Third Session of the Council, as is recorded on page 27 of the English text of the Council's Report now before this Committee. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, in his report presented to Parliament in June 1948 reaffirmed that the inter-territorial organisation

> "does not of course, involve either political union or the fusion of the existing Governments of Kenya, Tanganyika, and Uganda. Indeed the individual position of each of the three territories is adequately safeguarded."

24. These are solemn assurances, Mr. Chairman, and the United Kingdom does not intend to ignore them. I assume that the Committee accept them, although United Kingdom experience suggests that there are some quarters not above expressing the view that the very fact of our giving such assurances is proof of our intention to ignore them. That, I am afraid is one of the propaganda crosses the United Kingdom has to bear as an Administering Authority, but it does not alter the fact that it does not intend to extinguish the political identity of Tanganyika, nor to obliterate its status as a Trust Territory. If we are going to tell each other "I cannot accept your solemn assurance" then we are reverting to mutual distrust and the law of the jungle.

25. Now, Mr. Chairman, what are the main features of the inter-territorial organisation which has been set up? They are the following:-

First, the High Commission consisting of the three territorial governors has been set up to administer some twenty existing technical services (such as the East African Tsetse Reclamation Department, the East African Posts and Telegraphs Department, and the East African Meteorological Department), and is empowered to administer further specified services on their formation. Legislative action in regard to and constitutional supervision over these services is vested in an East African Central Assembly consisting of the Speaker, seven ex-officio members, who are heads of Departments, three nominated members, and thirteen unofficial members.

Second, the Assembly's existence is experimentally limited to four years; it has no power to expropriate funds, these being voted by the separate territorial legislatures; and it may not legislate on any subject outside those specified in the Order in Council

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without the agreement of these territorial legislatures.

Third, the East African High Commission may not assent to any Bill - and here I quote from the Instructions passed under the Royal Signet Manual and Signet to the High Commission on the 19th December 1947, - "the provisions of which shall appear to the High Commission to be inconsistent with obligations imposed upon (His Majesty) by Treaty." Thus no Bill inconsistent with the provisions of the Trusteeship Agreement may be assented to.

26. Thus outside the limited field of administering the joint technical services of the East Africa High Commission Tanganyika is fully independent of the other territories composing the High Commission. The Commission is charged with the administration of specified technical services, which may not be added to without the consent of the three territorial Legislative Councils and the Secretary of State. The central Assembly may not pass any legislation on subjects outside the Scope of the High Commission without complying with similar safeguards. The control of the purse strings of the High Commission is retained in the hands of the individual territorial legislatures. Add to that the provision that the High Commission may not approve Bills contrary to the United Kingdom's obligations, and I think you will agree Mr. Chairman, that we have created adequate safeguards for the political identity of Tanganyika.

27. Finally I come to the last suggested criterion. It seems to me that the method of supervision is already laid down in the Charter. The Trusteeship Council, the Visiting Missions, the examination of Annual Reports, the rights of individuals to present petitions, provide the Trusteeship Council with its means of supervision. Is the object then to ensure that no measure for inter-territorial organisation is taken without prior consultation with the Council? I cannot help feeling that this is implied in the speech of the distinguished representative of India. Here I feel that I must make the position of the United Kingdom clear.

28. The Charter of the United Nations makes a clear distinction between the responsibilities of the Trusteeship Council and those of the Administering Authority. The Council's main responsibilities are set out in Article 87 of the Charter. I think that the Committee is sufficiently conversant with this document to make it unnecessary for me to quote it. The Administering Authority's responsibilities are referred to in Article 81 of the Charter, which states that:-

> "The trusteeship agreement shall in each case include the terms under which the trust territory will be administered and designate the authority which will exercise the administration of the trust territory."

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If we now turn to the terms of the trusteeship agreement placing Tanganyika under United Kingdom administration we find that Article 2 designates the United Kingdom as Administering Authority for Tanganyika, "the responsibility (and I repeat, responsibility) for the administration of which will be undertaken by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland." Article 5 confers on the United Kingdom "full powers of legislation, administration and jurisdiction in Tanganyika", as well as authorising the United Kingdom to take steps to establish common services between Tanganyika and neighbouring territories under British sovereignty or control.

29. There are no provisions requiring the United Kingdom to consult the Trusteeship Council prior to the institution of inter-territorial services, nor does my Delegation consider that such prior consultation to be a prerequisite for legislative action. The responsibility for the administration of a Trust Territory rests with the Administering Authority. By virtue of the authority and responsibilities conferred upon it by the Trusteeship agreement the Administering Authority is placed in direct contact with the peoples for whose advancement it has been made primarily responsible, and is best qualified to judge, within the limits set by its obligations under the Charter and after due consultation of public opinion, whether specific legislative measures will or will not benefit the population of the Trust Territory. The United Kingdom has acted accordingly in setting up the East African High Commission It has taken note of the doubts expressed by local opinion, and has, in so doing, reduced the scope and permanency of the original proposals, as well as introduced adequate and reasonable constitutional safeguards for the political identity of Tanganyika. With the full knowledge of the facts the Administering Authority took its decision to set up the High Commission, convinced that experience would prove this decision to be right, although the United Kingdom does not thereby claim that the machinery created need not be improved upon. I do however suggest that improvements will be easier to suggest when there is more experience as to the practical working of the Commission.

30. The role of the Trusteeship Council, on the other hand, is different from that of the Administering Authority. It is a body of review and supervision of the Administering Authority's administration. Thus, in that case of the East African inter-territorial organisation, while the decision to set up the High Commission is rightly the responsibility of the Administering Authority the review of this decision in the light of practical experience is equally rightly the responsibility of the Trusteeship Council. Thus the decision of the Council to suspend its judgment was, as was pointed out by the distinguished representative for China, a right one. I am certain that it would have

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been improper for the Council to prejudge this measure for inter-territorial co-operation, introduced by an Administering Authority in the full knowledge of conditions existing in the territory, and - and here I am not being hypocritical - in the conviction that such co-operation is of permanent benefit to the indigenous population. I feel therefore that this Committee would be ill-advised to follow the Council's lead in this matter and to suspend judgment until the Council has had an opportunity of considering the visiting mission's report.

31. Mr. Chairman, the distinguished representative for India referred to the emergence of racial discrimination in Tanganyika and urged that this practice should be eradicated in all trust territories. I need hardly assure this Committee that in their administration of the trust territories for which they are responsible H.M. Government are ever mindful of their obligations under Article 76(c) of the Charter. Thus I can assure the distinguished representative for India that the United Kingdom Government are as anxious as he is to put an end to any manifestations of racial discrimination wherever they may occur this is also a cardinal feature of the policy of the Government of Tanganyika, and of the governments of other trust territories for which the United Kingdom is responsible.

32. In his remarks the distinguished representative for India referred in particular to apparent discriminations in respect of salaries and wages paid in Tanganyika and suggested that these admitted differences are due to racial discrimination. This is not the case, as I shall now explain.

33. I would remind this Committee that the principle of non-discrimination has been laid down in the International Labour Conference on Social Policy in non-metropolitan territories adopted at Geneva in 1947. In Article 18 of this Convention it is declared that "It shall be an aim of policy (and I should like members of this Committee to appreciate the full meaning of those words, namely that it is an aim of policy) to abolish all discrimination among workers on the grounds of race, colour, sex, belief, tribal association or trade union affiliation" in respect of all conditions of employment including wages. The Government of Tanganyika have stated that the terms of this article are fully consonant with their policy and their aims. But whilst the Government of Tanganyika are fully prepared to accept the abolition of all discrimination in salaries and wages as an aim of policy, this objective cannot be fully obtained at once.

34. I should now like to explain the reasons for the different rates of salaries and wages which do prevail in Tanganyika at the present time. First of all let me state the principle guiding

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the Tanganyika Government. In a memorandum on the future organisation of civil services in colonial territories which was published by the Secretary of State in 1946 (Colonial Number 197) it was laid down the salaries in all posts in the public services of a colony shall be determined according to the nature of the work and the relevant responsibilities irrespective of the race or domicile of individuals occupying the post. But it was appreciated that having regard to the special problems and difficulties in a territory of mixed communities at a particularly early stage of development this principle cannot be put into practice forthwith.

35. It is of course a fact that the bulk of the higher posts in Tanganyika are held by European officers. The reason is that there are not as yet sufficient Africans or Asians with the necessary qualifications to occupy all these higher posts. In order to remedy this deficiency steps are being taken to raise the status of Makerere College in Uganda to that of a university so that students from Tanganyika and from other parts of East Africa may go there for appropriate training for high posts. At the same time an increasing number of Africans from Tanganyika are being sent to the United Kingdom for higher studies in pursuance of the United Kingdom's policy of ensuring that suitably qualified Africans progressively take over these higher posts.

36. Members of this Committee may be aware that generally speaking the salaries of United Kingdom officers serving in Tanganyika and indeed where conditions require it in many of the non-self-governing territories are higher than those paid to officers doing comparable work in the home civil service of the United Kingdom itself. The reason for this is that the salaries of United Kingdom officers serving overseas in trust territories and elsewhere contain an element of expatriation pay which takes account of the fact that the officer is required to serve in a non-temperate climate, devoid of a number of amenities found elsewhere. Thus the actual difference in salary scales between that drawn by a United Kingdom officer serving in Tanganyika and that drawn by his African or Asian colleague is not due in any sense to racial discrimination, but must be considered in the light of the fact that the United Kingdom officer serving in trust territory as an expatriate is drawing a higher salary than his counterpart in the United Kingdom. That, Mr. Chairman, is the sole reason for this difference in salary scales.

37. As and when a sufficient supply of suitably qualified Africans and Asians is available to take over the control of the greater part of the public service in Tanganyika, so the salary scales will be fixed as would be appropriate for officers who are working in their own country, that is to say according to the same principles which govern the salary scales of United Kingdom officers working in the United Kingdom.

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38. As regards the junior civil service no distinctions are made between Asians and Africans and salaries are fixed solely on the basis of qualifications and capacity. Similarly there is no discrimination as regards wages for unskilled labour because all such labour in Tanganyika is African. As regards skilled labour, however, the difference in wages between the Indian and African artisan is in favour of the Asian as a result of his greater efficiency. In order to enable the African artisan to attain the same degree of efficiency as that of his Indian colleague the Tanganyika Government, following the recommendations of a Commission of experts sent out from the United Kingdon, are setting up a technical training school which it is hoped will enable the African artisan to become more efficient and thus better able to compete with the Indian. I think, Mr. Chairman, that this disposes of the erroneous notion that differences in salary and wage rates are due to racial discrimination.

39. Mr. Chairman, the distinguished Representative of Denmark spoke about tribal organisations in Trust Territories and I am very glad to have the opportunity of saying something on this subject, which the United Kingdom Government regard as being of paramount importance in the political development both of Tanganyika and of the other Trust Territories for which they are responsible. Mr. Bevin summed up this policy in his speech on the 27th September when he said that:

> "Our aim is steadily to develop the existing traditional tribal organisation into more liberal forms, in a way which will eventually result in a system of indirect electoral representation, linking representative local councils with the Central Legislative Council itself."

40. It is now generally recognised by all who have studied the problems of Africa that the success achieved in developing local government is likely to determine the measure of achievement in the programmes of political, social and economic advancement on which the United Kingdom Government are embarked. The Secretary of State for the Colonies has recently stated:

> "I believe that the key to success lies in the development of an efficient and representative system of local government. I wish to emphasise the words efficient, representative, and local. I do so, not because they import any new conception into African administration; indeed these have been the aims of our policy for many years. I use these words because they seem to me to contain the kernel of the whole matter; local, because the system of government must be close to the common people and their problems, efficient because it must be capable of managing the local services in

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a way which will help to raise the standard of living and representative because it must not only find a place for the growing class of educated man, but at the same time, command the respect and support of the mass of the people."

41. The problems of local government in Africa vary widely according to the characteristics and traditions of the different peoples concerned. They cannot be solved by the imposition of some blue print from Europe. The right system to be adopted must be adapted to local circumstances. That has always been and is still the great principle of British Colonial policy. But the objective is everywhere the same, namely the development of efficient and representative institutions of local government. The problem in those areas where strong traditional authorities already exist, exercising an efficient administration over large numbers of people is completely different from that which exists in other regions such as, for example, parts of Tanganyika where traditional authority is weak and fragmentary.

42. It is a primary aim of policy to secure that local government bodies, whether they be councils or native authorities, should not only represent the traditional elements in the community, but also the emerging professional and commercial classes, the educated and politically conscious elements, the industrial workers where they exist, and the great mass of the rural population. More and more educated and progressive men are going on to the local government bodies and are performing caluable services in these. The methods by which these people are brought on vary according to local conditions; sometimes they are nominated; sometimes they are elected. Increasingly election is being resorted to and as time goes on the people of Africa will adopt this system to a greater and greater extent, just as has, in fact happened in dependent territories.

43. United Kingdom policy in local government also aims to encourage the people of each area to acquire a broader outlook so that they no longer think purely in terms of local loyalties. If the political development of the African peoples is to go forward in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, it is necessary that their loyalties should not be merely tribal and local, but also territorial and national. The democratic system of local government which the United Kingdom are building up must therefore be closely welded into the central political machinery of each territory. Everywhere the politically conscious elements of a great rural population must have their say in central politics and must be fully represented in the territorial legislative councils. For this purpose the United Kingdom Government are everywhere engaged in building up a system of representation in the legislative councils, starting from the people themselves and

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working through intermediate councils up to the legislative councils themselves. In this way the wishes and needs of the people are increasingly making themselves felt at the centres of administration.

44. As is well known, the organs of local government in Africa vary greatly in efficiency at present. But if success is to be achieved in these great efforts in economic and social advancement they must be efficient. The medical and educational services, soil conservation services, the co-operative societies and all the many other activities of government in the field must be controlled locally to be effective. The United KingdomGovernment are therefore concentrating all their efforts throughout the African territories for which they are responsible on making these local government bodies more efficient. They are training not only their members but also their staffs. They are introducing more up to date systems of organisations, of accounting and of audit. They have already built up native treasuries and are developing these and enabling them to tap new resources of revenue. This is a slow, unspectacular but continuous process, but it is gradually leading to the creation of efficient self-government based on sound local administration.

45. Thus traditional systems are being adapted to modern needs, and while recognising the value of tradition the Government does not shirk radical change where necessary. They contend that this is a policy which can stand comparison with any policy of developing local government among backward peoples in any part of the world.

46. Mr. Chairman, the distinguished representative for Denmark also referred to the case of the Fon of Bikom. The detailed observations of the United Kingdom Government on the petition to the Trusteeship Council in connexion with this case have already been circulated to members of the Council and I do not propose to go over this ground again. I would, however, like to make one or two brief remarks on this case.

47. To begin with I should like to emphasise that Roman Catholic missionaries in the Bamenda division of the Cameroons have come to recognise the strength of custom in such matters and to realise that it can best be modified by the effect of continuous disapproval of any form of coercion into marriage, be deterrent action taken by the Administration if and when cases of coercion are discovered and by the spread of education.

48. The practices revealed in this case are based on the strongest superstitious belief, and any attempts to achieve a sudden break with long established tribal custom will therefore be attended with great difficulties. The people as a whole would ~~be~~ strongly object and would undoubtedly anticipate some dreadful supernatural calamity

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as a consequence. Mr. Chairman, a wiser approach seems to be now adopted by the missionaries and the local Administration.

49. The comments of the Trusteeship Council on this case are therefore receiving the most earnest consideration of the United Kingdom Government, in order to achieve a gradual modification of custom while ensuring that individual cases of hardship or cruelty are prevented. It is already well understood by everyone in these areas, including the wives themselves and the families of girls destined for marriage with the Fons that there is no obstacle to access to the Administrative Officer in the event of their having any complaint. For the future improvement in the situation must depend on the continuous efforts of the missionaries supplemented by the influence and advice of Government officers. With these objects in mind, a Woman Education Officer was recently appointed to Kumbo in this area. Working among women in their homes she will endeavour to maintain the confidence which these women already have in the Administration, to raise the standard of child welfare and domestic life and generally to accelerate the necessarily slow process of improving the status of women.

[U.N., JAN. 6, 1948] W.E.B. Du Bois

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GENERAL ASSEMBLY | **ASSEMBLEE GENERALE**

A/AC.18/4
8 January 1948

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

"LITTLE ASSEMBLY"

REVISED PROVISIONAL LIST OF DELEGATIONS TO THE INTERIM COMMITTEE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY*

All changes and additions to this provisional list should be submitted to the Protocol and Liaison Section, Room 405, Manhattan Office, 405 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N.Y., telephone MUrray Hill 3-1100.

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First Assistant Secretary to the Minister of Foreign Affairs
Permanent Representative to the United Nations

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Counselor

Dr. Guillermo Roque Spangenberg
Counselor

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First Secretary

Sr. Diego H. Molinari
First Secretary

Sr. Paulino Musacchio
First Secretary

Sr. Salvador Graziadio
Third Secretary

Sr. Oscar I. Pezet
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Dr. Raul A. Quijano
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* The first provisional list was distributed as an unnumbered document.

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HAITI

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/LIBERIA

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Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
Permanent Representative to the United Nations
Representative on the Trusteeship Council

Alternate Representative: Dr. Raul Noriega
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary

Adviser: Sr. Alfonso Castro Valle
Second Secretary

Secretary: Senorita Elisa M. Aguirre
Attaché

NETHERLANDS

Representative: Jonkheer J. W. M. Snouck Hurgronje
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
Permanent Representative to the United Nations

Alternate Representative: Dr. J. G. de Beus
Counselor of Embassy

NEW ZEALAND

Representative: Sir Carl August Berendsen, K.C.M.G.
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States of America
Representative on the Trusteeship Council

Adviser: Miss I. P. Coates

NICARAGUA

Representative: H.E. Dr. Guillermo Sevilla-Sacasa
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States of America
Permanent Representative to the United Nations

Alternate Representative: Colonel Camilo Gonzalez-Cervantes

/NORWAY

NORWAY

Representative: Mr. Finn Moe
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
Permanent Representative to the United Nations

Alternate Representative: Mr. Finn Seyersted
Secretary

Adviser: Mr. Erik Nord

PAKISTAN

Representative: H.E. Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States of America

PANAMA

Representative: H.E. Sr. Mario de Diego
Minister of Foreign Affairs

Alternate Representative: Sr. Roberto de la Guardia
Counselor

PARAGUAY

Spanish

Representative: H.E. Dr. Guillermo Enciso Velloso
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States of America

PERU

Representative: H.E. Dr. Alberto Ulloa
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary

PHILIPPINES

Spanish, Moro, Ilocano, and other local languages

Representative: H.E. Brigadier General Carlos P. Romulo
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
Permanent Representative to the United Nations
Representative on the Trusteeship Council

Alternate Representative: Major Salvador P. Lopez

Adviser: Judge José D. Ingles

SAUDI ARABIA

Arabic

Representative: Sheikh Asad al-Faqih
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States of America

Adviser: Mr. Shahir Daher

/SIAM

SIAM

Representative: H.R.H. Prince Wan Waithayakon,
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States of America
Permanent Representative to the United Nations

Secretary: Dr. Manu Amatayakul

SWEDEN

Representative: Mr. Gunnar Hagglof
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
Permanent Representative to the United Nations

SYRIA

Representative: H.E. Faris Bey el-Khouri
President of the Syrian Parliament
Permanent Representative to the United Nations
Representative on the Security Council, Atomic Energy Commission and Commission for Conventional Armaments

Alternate Representatives: Fayez Bey el-Khouri
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States of America

Mr. Rafik Asha
Acting Consul General in New York City

Advisers: Mr. Jamal el-Kourdajy

Mr. Najmuddin Rifai

TURKEY

Representative: H.E. Mr. Selim Sarper
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
Permanent Representative to the United Nations

Advisers: Mr. Adnan Kural
Counselor of Legation

Mr. Ilhan Savut
First Secretary

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Representative: Honorable H. T. Andrews
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States of America
Permanent Representative to the United Nations

Alternate Representative: Mr. Seymour Jacklin

/UNITED KINGDOM

UNITED KINGDOM

Representative: The Right Honorable Sir Alexander Cadogan, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.
Permanent Representative to the United Nations
Representative on the Security Council, Atomic Energy Commission and Commission for Conventional Armaments

Alternate Representative: Mr. V. G. Lawford, M.V.O.
Counselor

Advisers: Mr. M. E. Bathurst, C.B.E.

Mr. P. S. Falla

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Representative: The Honorable Warren R. Austin
Ambassador
Permanent Representative to the United Nations
Representative on the Security Council, Atomic Energy Commission and the Commission for Conventional Armaments

Alternate Representative: Dr. Philip C. Jessup

URUGUAY

Representative: Professor Enrique Rodriguez Fabregat
Minister Plenipotentiary
Permanent Representative to the United Nations

VENEZUELA

Representative: H.E. Dr. Carlos Eduardo Stolk
Ambassador
Permanent Representative to the United Nations

Alternate Representatives: Dr. Pedro Zuloaga

Dr. Lorenzo Mendoza Fleury

Dr. Victor M. Perez Perozo
Minister Plenipotentiary

Adviser and Secretary-General: Dr. Carlos Rodriguez Jimenez

January 14, 1948

United Nations
Department of Public Information
Research Section
Lake Success, New York

Dear Sir:

Would you please be good enough to send us a copy of the following:

Background Paper No.21
November 5, 1947

Sub-COMMISSION ON THE PREVENTION OF DISCRIMINATION AND THE PROTECTION OF MINORITIES.

Very sincerely yours,

H. H. Smythe
For Dr. Du Bois

HHS:lm

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES

LAKE SUCCESS NEW YORK FIELDSTONE 7-1100

Reference:
SoA 17/2/03 20 January 1948

Mr. Madison Jones,
National Association for the Advancement
of Coloured People
20 W. 40th Street,
New York 18, N. Y.

23-19-23

Dear Madison,

As I promised you some days ago I am sending you herewith Summary Records of those meetings of the Sub-Commission on Minorities where the petition of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People was discussed.

First of all, I suggest that you look at Document E/CN.4/Sub.2/24, which is a draft resolution proposed by Mr. Borisov of the Soviet Union. You will note that Paragraph 1 of this resolution refers to two petitions presented by Negroes of the United States -- apparently that of the National Negro Congress and that of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People. In the Summary Record of the 13th Meeting and in the first part of the Summary Record of the 14th Meeting you will find a rather sketchy summary of the discussion that took place concerning Mr. Borisov's proposal: and on Page 7 of Document E/CN.4/Sub.2/SR/14 you will find the record of the vote on the part of the proposal that concerns the petition of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People.

You may find these Summary Records a little confusing since discussion on several other subjects seems to be mixed in with that on the question of petitions; however, it is the best record that I can give you since I was not able to be present at these meetings myself because of the concurrent meeting of the Commission on Human Rights.

There seems to be a general idea around here that the Commission on Human Rights itself discussed the question of the N.A.A.C.P. petition. This is not correct; the petition was only discussed at the Sub-Commission Meeting. Mr. Borisov is not a
p.2 begins member of the Sub-Commission. Since the Sub-Commission failed to pass his proposal concerning the petition, the question never went up to the full Commission.

I would appreciate it if you would be kind enough to return these three documents to me after you have gone over them and taken out whatever you wish to use. Unfortunately I brought only one copy of each document with me from Geneva and I may need to refer to them some time in the near future.

With best wishes, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

EDWARD LAWSON
Division of Human Rights

Enclosures

A Copy of this letter was sent to each of the representatives of the Little Assembly of the United Nations (Interim Committee)

January 22, 1948

Dear

We are enclosing a copy of AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD, which is, in printed form, the petition formally presented to the Commission on Human Rights, United Nations, by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on October 23, 1947.

Because of the nature of this document and its significance for international peace, we are interested in having it circulated and made available to people in other countries. In this regard, would you please inform us whether you could arrange to have it printed in (language) and published in your country?

This petition was conceived and prepared with the purpose of having this matter it treates discussed and acted upon by the United Nations. We feel that it is a step in the right direction that will have positive ramifications for the good of oppressed people throughout the world. We would like to know if you would be willing to recommend to the proper authorities of the United Nations that the subject of this petition be placed on the agenda of the General Assembly at its next meeting?

May we hear from you at your convenience? Please accept our thanks and appreciation for your courtesy and assistance in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:LN

Enclosure

23-19

UN Congress

January 30, 1948

Mr. Edward Lawson
Social Affairs Officer
Commission on Human Rights
United Nations
Lake Success, New York

Dear Mr. Lawson:

Dr. DuBois would appreciate it very much if you would be good enough to send him a copy of the following document:

E/CN.4/Sub.2/32

With thanks for your courtesy and help, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

UNESCO copy

February 16, 1948

23-19-14

Mr. Edward Lawson
Social Affairs Officer
Commission on Human Rights
United Nations
Lake Success, New York

COPY

Dear Mr. Lawson:

If possible, would you be good enough to send me the following documents of the United Nations:

[redacted]4/Sub.2/33

E/CN.4/Sub.2/31

Please accept my thanks for your courtesy and cooperation in this request.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES

RESOLUTION OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL OF 5 AUGUST 1947 (75 (V))
AS AMENDED BY RESOLUTION OF 1 MARCH 1948 (116A (VI))

"The ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

Approves the statement that "the Commission* recognizes that is has no power to take any action in regard to any complaints concerning human rights";

Requests the Secretary-General:

(a) To compile a confidential list of communications received concerning human rights before each session of the Commission on Human Rights with a brief indication of the substance of each;

(b) To furnish this confidential list to the Commission, in private meeting, without divulging the identity of the authors of the communications, except in those cases where the authors state that they have already divulged or intend to divulge their names or that they have no objection to their names being divulged;

(c) To enable the members of the Commission, upon request, to consult the originals of communications dealing with the principles involved in the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights;

(d) To inform the writers of all communications concerning human rights, however addressed, that their communications have been received and duly noted for consideration in accordance with the procedure laid down by the United Nations. Where necessary, the Secretary-General should indicate that the Commission has no power to take any action in regard to any complaint concerning human rights;

(e) To furnish each Member State not represented on the Commission with a brief indication of the substance of any communication concerning human rights which refers explicitly to that State or to territories under its jurisdiction without divulging the identity of the author, except as provided for in paragraph (b) above."

---

* i.e. Commission on Human Rights.

CABLE ADDRESS: UNATIONS NEW YORK

ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE: UNATIONS NEW-YORK

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES

LAKE SUCCESS, NEW YORK • FIELDSTONE 7-1100

REFERENCE:

Geneva

30 March 1948

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
Department of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

23-19-21

Dear Mr. Smythe:

Your letter of 29 March 1948 has been referred to me.

Copies of Supplement No. 1 to the Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Third Year: Sixth Session which contains the Report of the Commission on Human Rights are priced at 60¢ each and are available from our U.S. sales agent, the International Documents Service of Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, New York.

Sincerely,

William C. Powell
Chief, Americas Unit
Sales Section

rk

April 12, 1948

The Director
Information about the United Nations
Corner Fifth Avenue & 44th Street
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

I noticed recently that in your doll display of representatives of the United Nations, that dolls for Haiti and Liberia are not shown. If I am correct, I believe that these two republics are member nations of the world organization, and because of this I am wondering why dolls representing these countries are omitted from your windows. They are not shown in either the window on Fifth Avenue or 44th Street.

Would you please be good enough to help clarify this matter for us?

With thanks for your courtesy, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

23-20-78

[United Nations]

United Nations | Nations Unies

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL | CONSEIL ECONOMIQUE ET SOCIAL

UNRESTRICTED

E/800/Add.1
7 July 1948

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

Dual Distribution for Council Members

REPORT OF THE THIRD SESSION OF THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

FINANCIAL ESTIMATES PRESENTED BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL IN ACCORDANCE WITH RULE 30 OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE COUNCIL

23a-5

1. At its Third Session, the Commission on Human Rights expressed the view that court decisions, as well as provisions of constitutions, ordinary laws and international treaties, should be included in the Yearbook on Human Rights (Report of the Third Session of the Commission on Human Rights, E/800, page 7). It was understood that this decision would apply to the Yearbooks of 1949 and thereafter.

2. The selection of appropriate court decisions for inclusion in the Yearbook will entail considerable research in a difficult and complex field of jurisprudence. The mass of detail work involved could most appropriately be performed by adding another intermediate grade official to the Division of Human Rights. In addition, this official would be expected to assist in the preparation of other material for the Yearbook.

3. This official need not be recruited before July 1949, and it is estimated therefore that salary (Grade 14) and allowances would not come to more than $3,350 for the year 1949.

4. The inclusion of court reports in the Yearbook of Human Rights will also mean that additional printing costs will be entailed. It is not possible at this time to estimate the additional funds required.

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES

LAKE SUCCESS, NEW YORK • FIELDSTONE 7-1100

REFERENCE: WCP:jp

8 July 1948

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe,
Research Assistant,
Department of Special Research,
National Association for the Advancement of
Colored People,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18,
New York.

Dear Mr. Smythe:

With reference to your letter of 7 July requesting information on African colonies, published by the United Nations, I take pleasure in sending you under separate cover a copy of Index Note No. 11/Rev. 1 which on pages four and five lists the publications of the Trusteeship Council. I have added the prices in ink.

All publications listed are available from our U.S. sales agent, the International Documents Service of Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, New York.

Sincerely yours,

Wm. C. Powell,
Sales Section.

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY: COLONIES AND PEACE

National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Department of Special Research
W. E. B. DuBois, Director

September 11, 1948

Sir:

You will perhaps remember that I approached you last year with a letter of introduction from Gunnar Myrdal. I spoke to you concerning a proposed petition and statement to be put before the Assembly of the United Nations, concerning the civil and political rights of American citizens of Negro descent.

Since then a copy of this petition has been presented to the Commission on Human Rights, where it was received but given no publicity, and, so far as we know, no consideration.

Since that time the petition has been enlarged and perfected and we wish, now, during the sitting of the Assembly of the United Nations, to present the final draft of this petition to the Assembly. We are aware that this cannot be done officially but we are asking that you receive a delegation from this organization and accept the statement from their hands.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was founded in 1910, and has today over 500,000 dues-paying members. It represents several million sympathizers and fellow workers. Perhaps more than any other organization in America it has, by reason of its long life and accomplishments, the right to speak authoritatively for thirteen million American Negroes.

May we then Sir, ask your good offices to arrange a date and place for the reception of this committee and its petition and for listening to a few words of explanation from members of this committee; and to allow us to have at that time representatives of the press? I wish especially that you could be there in person and I trust that we may have your sympathy and cooperation.

Will you kindly let me hear from you at your earliest convenience. I am, Sir

Very respectfully yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

The Honorable Trygve Lie, Secretary-General
UNITED NATIONS
Box 1000
New York 1, New York

[U.N. NEWSLETTER]

UNITED NATIONS

LAKE SUCCESS, NEW YORK

NEWSLETTER

VOLUME 1, No. 5 SEPTEMBER 1948

32.21.8

World's Problems Before General Assembly

The gleaming, semi-circular Palais de Chaillot, which replaces the celebrated Trocadero, is almost always on the "places to see" list for tourists in Paris. The huge building with its pair of curved pavilions, framing a dramatic view of the Eiffel Tower just across the Seine River, is an impressive sight. Inside the Palais de Chaillot are three well-known museums, including the famous Museum of Man.

This month, however, the Palais de Chaillot will become a place for work. Preparations for that work have been going on all summer. Where there were exhibition halls, there are now offices. The auditorium, where some of France's best actors played only last winter, has become a great meeting hall. A new floor has been added on top of one of the wings. At the receiving entrance, trucks deposit great boxes of supplies. Workmen are putting the final touches on the changes they have wrought in the palace. By September 21, the last nail will have been driven and the last telephone installed, for on that day, the modernistic structure which was built to help men exchange ideas at the World's Fair of 1937 will again house an international gathering. More than 1000 representatives from 58 countries will convene then in the opening meeting of the third regular session of the United Nations General Assembly. And behind the scenes, U.N. staff members will be on the job to keep the meeting running smoothly.

The work cut out for the delegates includes practically every important problem facing the world today. More than 50 separate items are already included in the agenda and by the time the opening gavel bangs down several more probably will have been added to the long list.

High up on the agenda is the Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization. In this report, Secretary-General Trygve Lie points out that the United Nations now provides the world's only regular meeting place between the Western Powers and the Soviet Union. Among his recommendations, Mr. Lie urges that every attempt be made to reach a settlement in Germany and that the Great Powers attempt to break the deadlocks which have prevented the organization of a military force to back up the Security Council.

The report of the Security Council to the Assembly will highlight six of the world's most serious political problems. Perhaps the most dramatic of these are the problems of bringing permanent peace to Palestine and the charge that the Soviet Union interfered in Czechoslovakia to force the installation of a new government. Other parts of the report will deal with the Council's efforts to find a governor for Trieste, the trouble between India and Pakistan, efforts to substitute peace for friction in the relations of The Netherlands and the Indonesian Republic and the control of atomic energy. The Atomic Energy Commission itself will submit a majority-approved report which states that it still finds itself confronted with a deadlock which "cannot be broken at the Commission level."

A great mass of useful, non-political accomplishments will come before the General Assembly in the report of the Economic and Social Council. This report will show solid success in fields ranging from the feeding of hungry children to the suppression of traffic in narcotics. Progress in several fields will also be reported by the Trusteeship Council.

The problem of independence for Korea, the situation in the Balkans, voting in the Security Council and the admission of new members to U.N. are other important agenda items. A report on Security Council voting will be made by the Interim Committee (Little Assembly), and the International Court of Justice has given an advisory opinion on membership in the United Nations.

From its opening hours, the General Assembly will be faced with these and more than two dozen other vital problems. In public sessions, with the world looking on, the Assembly will conduct its business and reach decisions – decisions which may chart the world's future.

UNITED NATIONS NEWSLETTER

Vol. 1, No. 5 September 1948

The United Nations *Newsletter* is published monthly by the Department of Public Information, United Nations, Lake Success, New York. It is intended primarily for organizational and student groups with an interest in international affairs.

Annual subscription rates in U. S. currency are as follows:

Single subscriptions ..... 50 cents

Bulk subscriptions (ten or more copies of each issue sent to the same address for redistribution):

10 to 100 subscriptions, each ..... 25 cents

100 subscriptions or over, each ..... 20 cents

Subscriptions should be addressed to *United Nations Newsletter, c/o James Gray, Inc., 216 East 45th Street, New York 17, N. Y.*, and should be accompanied by payment in full in U. S. currency. Inquiries from countries other than the United States should be sent to local United Nations Information Centers until arrangements can be completed to facilitate payment in local currencies. A United Kingdom edition is expected to be available soon.

Regular publication of the *Newsletter* in French, Spanish, Russian, Chinese and other languages will be started when distribution arrangements in the countries concerned are completed. Interested organizations should consult their nearest U.N. Information Center.

Entered as Second Class matter on July 22, 1948, at the Post Office at Great Neck, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Additional entry at the Post Office at New York, N. Y.

THE UNITED NA

WORLD SITUATION From his office at Lake Success, New York, Trygve Lie often looks out at the circle of 58 flags which fly from the ring of masts planted in front of the headquarters of the United Nations. As Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Lie knows the representatives of each country whose flag is displayed at U.N. headquarters. And more, perhaps, then any other one person in the world the Secretary-General of the United Nations knows how each country fits into the ring of international cooperation represented by the United Nations.

During each of the three years he has held office, Secretary-General Trygve Lie has looked out on the world of the United Nations and reported on what he saw. Last month, his report on the work of the organization from July 1947 through June 1948 was made public in a world which still is troubled.

"But today," writes the Secretary-General, "the peoples of the world possess a world law – the Charter, machinery for constructive cooperation – the organization, and a flag – the United Nations flag – under which they have a good chance to maintain lasting peace and build a world that is fit for all men to live in.

". . . It is time to stop justifying the setbacks experienced in the work of the United Nations. I believe that we should start by recognizing that the United Nations has become the chief force that holds the world together against all the conflicting strains and stresses that are pulling it apart."

The organs of the United Nations, the Secretary-General declares, are virtually the only places where regular discussions are kept up between the Western Powers and the Soviet Unions, whose conflict has been the cause of many setbacks in U.N. work. " . . . yet it is equally true, though far less often admitted, that the United Nations in its turn has acted as a restraining and conciliating influence upon the parties to this conflict."

The present tension between the United States and the Soviet Union, Mr. Lie states, "is not the only factor likely to have a powerful interest on history." He points out that "in the struggle for economic recovery and political stability a new European pattern is emerging . . . in three years, some twelve or more of the rising nations in Asia, which altogether have a population greater than that of Europe and the Western Hemisphere combined, have in varying degree begun to make their influence felt in the work of the United Nations . . . The American continents, with their rich resources and, in their northern part, highly developed economy, have proved to be in peace as well as in war a vast reservoir of material assistance for less fortunate lands . . .

"It would be a grave mistake to believe that most of the world has any intention of accepting any single economic system, whether based on the communist doctrine of the class-less society or the most extreme American capitalist version of a free enterprise system. In a world where so many forces are at work and so many different civilizations and cultural traditions are stirring and intermingling, domination by any single ideology, whether it be religious, or political, or economic, is unthinkable and impossible. It is equally unthinkable that any one nation or group of nations could establish and maintain in such a world a new empire resting on either economic power or military might."

The Secretary-General, looking at the record concludes in his report that U.N.'s progress, generally speaking, has been more encouraging than might be expected in a "year of adverse political circumstances."

* * *

ECONOMICS Economists use precise, technical words for it, but some of the plain facts on the world's economic health are these: there is a shortage of basic products, especially food, in most countries; there is a good deal of pressure toward inflation; most countries are in the red in their foreign transactions. Last month, the economic affairs department of the United Nations demonstrated these facts in a graph-studded statistical study, which it called "Selected World Economic Indices." The study outlined with the black and white exactness of statistics what new wrinkles have appeared in the world's economic face.

Altogether, said the economists, the world produced last year 10 percent more than it did a decade before. But the volume of international trade was lagging behind the production rate and agricultural production was still below prewar levels. Furthermore, the whole picture has shifted so that many countries which enjoyed relative prosperity before the war now have shortages. At the same time, the positions of some countries, notably the United States, are radically changed in relation to the rest of the world. For instance, the United States exported last year more than twice as much as it did in 1938. Meanwhile, there were few indications that the rise of prices was slowing down during the beginning of this year.

* * *

HEADQUARTERS On Manhattan's east side, as the end of August neared, a truck driver dug into his pocket for a handkerchief, wiped his face and turned to take a last close look at six level blocks before he tramped on the throttle of his loaded vehicle. In his truck was the last load of rubble, which had once been the bricks and plaster of a slaughter-house, to leave the site of the future headquarters of the United Nations. For six month
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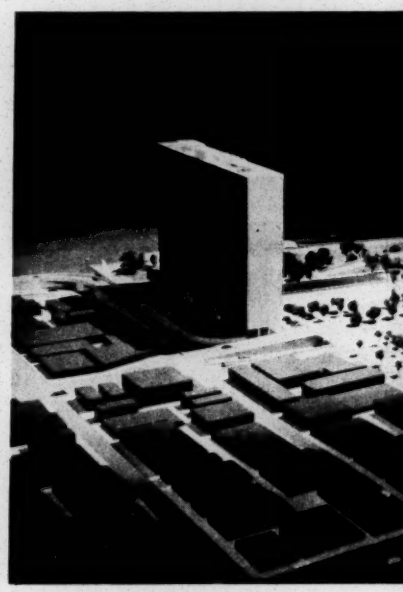

Model of U.N.'s Permanent Headqua

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BUDGET

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d Chambers for the three

dquarters (See Headquarters, page 2)

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n about three years.

* * *

Next year, the United Nations will cost you
rson in U.N.'s 58 member countries less than two cents each. Altogether the bill for U.N. is expected to be less than $34,000,000, not enough to make a down payment on a major battleship.

The estimated costs of the United Nations in 1949 were outlined last month in the annual budget drawn up by U.N. Secretary-General Trygve Lie. During 1949, Mr. Lie estimates, U.N. will need a total of $33,469,587. (U.N.'s operations during 1948 are to cost an additional $1,300,000, mainly to cover the expenses of holding the General Assembly in Paris and of several missions, such as the U.N. commission which was sent to Korea.

As usual, the largest budget item—$24,335,000—would go into wages for the U.N. staff, supplies and equipment for U.N. headquarters. The General Assembly, the Security Council, Economic and Social Council and Trusteeship Council and other smaller organs would get some $2,500,000. The operations of the Economic Commission for Europe would cost some $2,000,000, and the International Court of Justice has been allocated $695,257.

Almost every dime of U.N.'s funds is contributed by the 58 member countries. Contributions are apportioned roughly according to the capacity to pay. U.N.'s only other income includes minor amounts from the sale of used equipment, payments for publications and similar receipts.

The budget will not go into effect until after it is reviewed by the General Assembly this fall in Paris. Already prepared for the Assembly is the report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Matters, which has recommended cutting the budget to slightly less than $32,000,000. Another close examination will be given the budget by the General Assembly's Administrative and Budgetary Committee, which works out the final figures for approval by the Assembly.

* * *

BANKING Like any well-run bank, it was with pride that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development opened its ledgers last month to begin a new fiscal year. One of the first entries in the new year's books was the net income of $3,030,847 for the fiscal year ended 30 June 1948. It was the Bank's first full year without any kind of an operating deficit.

The Bank followed up its announcement of the excess of income over outlay by disclosing a new loan, which itself was a "first." Four leading Dutch shipping companies have borrowed $12,000,000 from the Bank for the purchase of six converted "baby-flattops," which will be used as cargo ships. The loan was in the form of two-and-one-half percent mortgage notes, the first mortgage loan ever made by the Bank. Furthermore, $8,100,000 of the notes were purchased by 10 banks in the United States. Thus, much of the money came from private investors and, for the first time, the Bank had guaranteed a private transaction.

* * *

REFUGEES Cornel Kiraly is a 50-year-old Hungarian refugee who has been barely scraping along with the aid of the International Refugee Organization (IRO). While he was awaiting resettlement in Canada last month, he learned that his artistic skill had won him a $100 prize.

Kiraly, who had many years ago studied art, won his prize for designing an official emblem for IRO. His design, chosen from 1500 entries from displaced persons, is a white life buoy on a dark blue ground with the agency's name and initials in green. The money will be paid him when he arrives in Canada, where he lived until he was caught by war during a visit to his sick mother in his native Hungary.

Meanwhile, in New York, a plane-load of 53 refugees from Europe landed in time for the dedication ceremonies at the tremendous New York International Airport. The group was bound for Venezuela and included the 1000th refugee to be resettled by IRO in that Latin American nation. After a short stop-over, the flight continued to Caracas, which will receive 25,200 DP's by air over three years. After their arrival, the 53 farmers, housewives, children, and craftsmen were driven to an orientation center where they were to learn Spanish and the customs of the country. By the end of the year, Venezuela hopes that ships and planes will bring in many thousands of refugees and displaced persons from Europe, where a Venezuelan mission is now choosing families groups for new homes in a new land.

* * *

HEALTH More than half a million people die of tuberculosis each year in India. In some industrial centers, one person in every ten is suffering from the disease. It was plain that an attack on TB in India would fit in with the world-wide anti-disease program of the World Health Organizaton (WHO) which gives a top priority to combating the White Plague.

In the city of Madanapalle, near busy Madras in southeast India, last month an anti-tuberculosis campaign was begun on a large scale. Minister of Health Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, who headed India's delegation to the World Health Assembly in Geneva this summer, said that the fight would be the joint effort of Indian health authorities and a team of experts sent by WHO. Even the BCG vaccine, which will be used to protect Indians against tuberculosis, will be produced locally in a laboratory set up with the aid of a WHO pharmacologist. WHO

(Continued on Page 4)

U. N. IN ACTION, Cont'd.

officials said: "It is hoped that the campaign will reduce the high rate of tuberculosis in India, where treatment facilities are inadequate."

* * *

NARCOTICS High in the snow-capped Andes Mountains in Peru, where whole towns live in the thin air of altitudes above 12,000 feet, the descendants of the Incas toil to eke out a living. While they are working, many of them incessantly chew a native leaf. The leaf is coca, from which cocaine is manufactured, and its users assert that they gain strength and stamina from it.

Ever since the Spanish conquest four centuries ago, the world has known of the practice of coca-chewing, which some historians believe antedates the Incas. During that time, it has never been determined without any doubt whether the leaf harms its users. There is no doubt, however, that its daughter, cocaine, is dangerous. And lately cocaine has been appearing more frequently in sizeable quantities in the illicit channels of underworld trade.

In Geneva last month, the United Nations Economic and Social Council in connection with a Peruvian government request decided to find out about the effects of chewing coca and to look into the possibilities of limiting cocaine production and distribution. The Council called for the dispatch of a Commission of Inquiry to Peru shortly and recommended that the General Assembly appropriate the necessary money for the investigation. As a result, the question of what coca does to its users is to be finally settled and the world may get new walls to block the illicit flow of narcotics.

* * *

MUSIC A quintet of experts on music are on record with a series of recommendations to help the world beat time in a more satisfactory way. Called together by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Unesco), the five specialists recommended that Unesco set up a musicological center, which would keep up a world index of folk music and learned works.

Recorded music, said the experts, is not getting around to people as it should because of cartel arrangements, dividing up markets among certain commercial firms. Each zone resulting from the division, according to the experts, is sealed off from recordings made outside. The long-range aim, the committee indicated, is not only to set up a catalogue of world music, including especially recorded works to complete musical archives, but also to arrange for the free flow of musical works among the peoples of the world.

What's the Answer? . . .

"Kindly let me know whether any effort has been made or is being made to organize a network of local groups or clubs to study the work and problems of the United Nations."—L. J. W., San Carlos, California.

There are many clubs and organizations in the United States and throughout the world which take a great interest in the work of the United Nations. Among the most active of these are the Rotary International, the International Federation of Lions Clubs, the International Federation of Business and Professional Women and the General Federation of Womens Clubs.

Organizations like the American Association for the United Nations are now attempting to organize new branches everywhere. The American Association of the United Nations is an affiliate of the World Federation of United Nations Associations.

On college campuses in the United States, UNESCO clubs are being organized by National Committee for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

"Would you confirm my understanding from reading a recent news item that the U.N. has recognized the State of Israel." —L. A. P., Newark, New Jersey.

The United Nations has not yet been called upon to recognize the Provisional Government of Israel as that of a new state. However, in meetings of the Security Council, the delegate who was formerly designated as the Representative of the Jewish Agency for Palestine is now referred to as the Representative of the Government of Israel. The first use of the term in the Security Council was made on 7 July 1948 by Dmitri Z. Manuilsky of the Ukraine, who was president of the Council. Several Council members objected to the use of the term, but a resolution to overrule the decision of the Chairman won only five of the required seven votes. The use of the term "Representative of the State of Israel," does not mean, of course, that the United Nations or all of the members of the Security Council have given recognition.

United Nations Publications

The following publications on the work of the United Nations may be obtained from Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York, or from United Nations Sales Agents throughout the world.

1. **Vestpocket Charter.** Dept. of Public Information, United Nations. 50 cents. A convenient deluxe edition of the United Nations Charter and the Statute of the International Court of Justice. Bound in simulated leather with gold stamping.

2. **Annual Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization.** United Nations. $1.50. A comprehensive review of U.N. activities for the year beginning July 1947, including recommendations for strengthening the organization.

3. **United Nations Bulletin.** Dept. of Public Information, United Nations. 15 cents (6d. in the United Kingdom) per issue, or $3.00 (15/- in the U.K.) per year. Semi-monthly illustrated magazine, featuring United Nations activities and plans. Also published in French and Spanish.

Coming International Conferences

Governmental Conferences:

1 September

Administrative Council of the International Telecommunications Union, *at Geneva.*

21 September

United Nations General Assembly, *at Paris.*

27 September

Permanent Central Opium Board, *at Geneva.*

Board of Governors of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, *at Washington.*

Board of Governors of the International Monetary Fund, *at Washington.*

Non-Governmental Conferences:

20 September

Congress of the International Cooperative Alliance, *at Prague.*

File U.N.

[United Nations]

SECOND DRAFT

Smythe

UNRESTRICTED
E/CN.4/SUB.2/___
_____ October 1948
ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

SUB-COMMISSION ON THE PREVENTION OF DISCRIMINATION AND THE PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

SECOND SESSION

Preliminary Report of the Secretary-General on the Organization of Studies and the Preparation of Analyses Designed to Assist the Sub-Commission in Determining the Main Types of Discrimination Which Impede Fundamental Freedoms, and the Causes of Such Discrimination

INTRODUCTION

1. The Economic and Social Council, at its Sixth Session, requested the Secretary-General (Resolution 116 (VI) B):

> "(i) To organize studies and prepare analyses designed to assist the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities in determining the main types of discrimination which impede the equal enjoyment by all of human rights and fundamental freedoms and the causes of such discrimination, the results of such studies and analyses to be made available to members of the Sub-Commission;
>
> "(ii) To keep in mind, in connexion with any studies he may make in the fields of the prevention of discrimination and the protection of minorities, the desirability of formulating effective educational programmes in these fields and to report any findings that might assist the Sub-Commission in making appropriate recommendations to this end;"

2. The present preliminary report is to advise the members of the Sub-Commission of the progress made in the implementation of this resolution.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

3. If the results of the studies and analyses requested in paragraph (i) are to be acceptable as a basis for study, discussion and the formulation of recommendations, they must be authentic, complete, impartial and objective. This is particularly necessary because of emotional factors involved in questions relating to the prevention of discrimination and the protection of minorities.

4. Paragraph (i) requests the Secretary-General "to organize studies and prepare analyses designed to assist the Sub-Commission in determining

the main types of discrimination which impede the equal enjoyment by all of human rights and fundamental freedoms." This text states clearly that the studies and analyses are not to deal with discriminatory practices generally, but only with such of them as "impede the equal enjoyment by all of human rights and fundamental freedoms."

232-14

5. There is yet no general agreement as to what constitute "human rights and fundamental freedoms." It is probable, however, that such general agreement will be reached before the end of the third session of the General Assembly, through the adoption of an International Declaration of Human Rights. It should be noted that even the Declaration may not constitute a final definition of human rights and fundamental freedoms; such a final definition will only be found eventually in the completed International Bill of Human Rights. However, for the time being the "human rights and fundamental freedoms" to be enumerated in the Declaration must be considered the most nearly authentic basis for the survey.

6. Until the final text of the Declaration is adopted, it is obviously impossible to prepare detailed plans for the substantive organization of studies and the preparation of analyses in this field. However, consideration of the formal aspects of organization has led to the conclusions stated below.

SCOPE OF THE SURVEY

7. Resolution 116(VI)B places upon the Secretary-General the responsibility for determining the scope of the survey. It is presumed that the studies and analyses should be as comprehensive as possible; at the same time it is clear that a merely encyclopedic compilation of the various types of discrimination found to exist in the world could hardly have been contemplated. The scope of the survey can only be finally determined as experience shows what is actually practicable. However, it is assumed:

(a) that currently-existing types of discrimination are to be dealt with, rather than historical examples of such types;

(b) that data on all countries are to be obtained, whether or not the countries are members of the United Nations; and

(c) that work in this field already undertaken by organs or specialized agencies of the United Nations will not be duplicated.

ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDIES

8. While Resolution 116(VI)B gives the Secretary-General the sole responsibility for the preparation of analyses of the studies which are to be made, it leaves to his discretion the extent to which the studies themselves might be entrusted to governments or to suitable non-governmental organizations. In order to facilitate the work, the fullest possible co-operation of governments and of international organizations will be sought. The data thus obtained will be supplemented by such information as may be available from other authoritative sources.

9. In order to assure that the studies will include the most essential data in a form which will facilitate the preparation of a useful analysis, a questionnaire will be formulated as soon as possible after the adoption of the International Declaration of Human Rights, designed to elicit information as to "the main types of discrimination which impede the equal enjoyment by all" of the rights and freedoms therein enumerated. This questionnaire will be circulated:

(a) to the governments of all countries, who will be invited to supply the requested information,

(b) to non-governmental international organizations which have been granted consultative status by the Economic and Social Council, which will be invited to undertake the preparation of documented replies dealing with specific areas of the world, and

(c) to experts, who will be employed to undertake the preparation of documented replies dealing with areas not surveyed by non-governmental organizations.

10. On the basis of the replies received, supplemented by information available through other authoritative sources, an analysis will be prepared before each session of the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities for submission to members of that Sub-Commission.

PREPARATION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

11. In order that the questionnaire may be as simple and as easily-understood as possible, yet sufficiently comprehensive and detailed to serve as a basis for useful analyses, it will be prepared in such a manner as to require factual, objective answers without expressions of opinion or suggestions as to possible changes. It will carefully avoid prejudging the results of the studies or of their analysis.

12. In order to assist those who will be called upon to prepare replies to the questionnaire, an introductory statement will suggest:

(a) the meaning to be attached to the term "discrimination;"

(b) the meaning to be attached to each of the various grounds of discrimination enumerated in Article 2 of the Declaration of Human Rights; and

(c) the distinguishing characteristics between discrimination by law and discrimination by social behaviour.

13. A section of the questionnaire will be devoted to each article of the Declaration of Human Rights which sets forth a specific human right or fundamental freedom. In connection with each article the following basic questions will be asked:

(a) Within the area surveyed, what are the main types of discrimination which impede the equal enjoyment by all of this human right or fundamental freedom?

(b) What are the distinguishing characteristics of the individuals or groups affected by such discrimination (race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, birth or other status, national or social origin)?

(c) What is the nature of such discrimination?

E/3a-14

(i) To what extent is it sanctioned by law?

(ii) To what extent is it the result of unequal application of the law by government officials or by the courts?

(iii) To what extent is it the result of social behaviour?

(d) What are the causes of such discrimination?

(i) What are the political, economic, or social conditions which made such discrimination advantageous?

(ii) What are the psychological conditions which make such discrimination permissible?

(e) What are the results of such discrimination?

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EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMMES

14. Each section of the questionnaire will contain questions inquiring as to what educational programmes have proved effective, and what educational programmes have failed to prove effective, in eliminating discrimination with relation to the specific human right or fundamental freedom under consideration. On the basis of such replies as are received, and such information as may be available from other authoritative sources, a recommendation as to the desirability of such programmes will be formulated.

CABLE ADDRESS: UNATIONS NEW YORK

ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE: UNATIONS NEW-YORK

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES

LAKE SUCCESS, NEW YORK • FIELDSTONE 7-1100

REFERENCE:

28 October 1948

PERSONAL

Mr. Hugh Smythe,
N. A. A. C. P.,
20 West 40th Street,
New York, N. Y.

23-20-56

Dear Mr. Smythe,

Thank you for the very helpful comments contained in your letter of 21 October. I agree with, and accept, most of them; but do not understand how one can speak of "unequal treatment of equals" when referring to individuals. While all individuals may be born equal, it would be very difficult if not impossible to find two individuals who remained absolutely equal even for a short time after birth.

The definition in question might perhaps be corrected by the insertion of "reasonable" before "equality," and "justly" before "wish."

Yours very truly,

Edward Lawson J.L.

Edward Lawson,
Division of Human Rights.

October 29, 1948

Mr. Edward Lawson
Commission on Human Rights
Economic and Social Council
United Nations
Lake Success, New York

Dear Mr. Lawson:

I have your letter of the 28th thanking us for our help in making suggestions regarding the declaration on discrimination. We are glad you found the little we did of some help, but I am amazed at your naive statement that you did not understand what we meant by the "unequal treatment of equals." For your benefit I am going to try and explain what is meant by this.

It is common understanding that the United Nations exists in a sense to guarantee to all human beings, regardless of color, creed, origin, or whatnot, equal treatment, and to eventually establish the dignity of man. Now this dignity of man intrinsically means that a human being is the equal of any other human being by the very fact that he is a human individual. This is meant that on a plane of living, a person is a person, that no matter to what ethnic group he belongs, he is always considered in a higher order than an animal such as a dog, cat, monkey and so on; that consequently, any human is the equal of any other human being. The fact that you, a Negro, and some of your co-workers happen to be white, does not make them one less iota better than you nor inferior to you, you are all equal in the sense of belonging to the species homo sapiens. It is in this sense that the statement "unequal treatment of equals"is used --- and even you should be able to see now that logic and validity of the assertion.

I hope this clarifies the matter. If we can be of further service, please feel free to call upon us.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

CABLE ADDRESS: UNATIONS NEW YORK

ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE: UNATIONS NEW-YORK

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES

LAKE SUCCESS, NEW YORK • FIELDSTONE 7-1100

REFERENCE:

29 October 1948

Mr. Hugh Smythe,
N. A. A. C. P.,
20 West 40th Street,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Smythe,

Here is the second draft of the proposal for studies in the field of the prevention of discrimination, which I promised to send you. Any comments would be appreciated.

Yours very truly,

Edward Lawson
V.L.

Edward Lawson,
Division of Human Rights.

Enclosure

November 1, 1948

Mr. Edward Lawson
Commission on Human Rights
United Nations
Lake Success, New York

Dear Mr. Lawson:

I have your letter of October 29 and the enclosure. The following are some comments concerning the material you sent me.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

P. 2, No. 4. - "not to deal with discriminatory practices generally,". The proposal would seem to be worthless unless it does deal with all types of discrimination. If the Commission limits itself, you provide means of escape for those who wish to continue to discriminate. The understanding is that the U.N. is trying to stop discrimination in every way possible.

P.2, No. 5. - "must be considered..." This refers to human rights and fundamental freedoms. The word must connotes a dictatorial or demanding character. It might be better to word this to mean or say, "will be."

P.2, No. 7. - You have a tremendous problem in determining "what is actually practicable." Who is to have the final say in such matters, and on what basis is the authority to rest that they should be in such a position? You need to exercise care here; rewording might take care of it and provide the necessary safe-guards.

PREPARATION OF QUESTIONNAIRE

P.4, No. 11. - In preparing a questionnaire for your particular purpose, it might be wise to leave space for suggestions and opinions. Purely objective questionnaires have never been developed, and by synthesizing your results from the objective aspect with those from the suggestions and opinions received your results may be more reliable.

In general, the proposal seems to be so concerned with being careful not to "step on anyone's toes," that it omits doing a real, practical, and effective job. You ought to meet the problem head-on and let diplomatic language take a beating. You are either sincere about eliminating discrimination or not sincere. The Commission ought to face the facts and deal with them strongly.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

CABLE ADDRESS: UNATIONS NEW YORK

ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE: UNATIONS NEW-YORK

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES

LAKE SUCCESS, NEW YORK • FIELDSTONE 7-1100

REFERENCE:

3 November 1948

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe,
National Association for the
Advancement of Coloured People,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, N. Y.

83-20-51

Dear Mr. Smythe,

I thank you for your useful suggestions and comments, all of which will be given careful consideration.

Yours sincerely,

Edward Lawson,
Division of Human Rights.

United Office and Professional Workers of America

JAMES H. DURKIN, President
LEWIS ALAN BERNE, Vice-President • LEON W. BERNEY, Vice-President • JOHN J. STANLEY, Secretary-Treasurer
JOSEPH H. LEVY, Vice-President

Affiliated with the C. I. O.
1860 BROADWAY
CIrcle 7-4395
NEW YORK 23, N. Y.

Taft

April 26, 1948

Dear Friend;

23C-31-20

I know that recent events in Latin America--the Bogota upheaval, the Pan-American Conference, growing attacks on the labor movement and the mass jailings of progressives and trade union leaders--have brought you to a closer understanding of the relationship of these events to those in our own country.

The Marshall Plan is an old story in Latin America--its details were perfected there. The Taft-Hartley law too is in many ways the product of the experiences of American monopolies and the dozens of labor-busting measures they have written into the laws of the Latin Americas. The whole pattern of developments in Latin America is considered by reaction as the dress rehearsal for coming events here.

As trade unionists and leaders in the democratic forces in this country ours is the responsibility for developing and maintaining active solidarity with the unions and progressive organizations of the Latin American peoples, to help stop repression and terror in their countries and in ours as well.

There are many things to be done, chief of which perhaps is the creation of a means for discussion of Latin American affairs and cooperation, and to bring to this country accurate information on Latin America.

I should like to meet with you and a small group of other leaders to discuss what action we can best take at this time. I am taking the liberty of calling a meeting for Tuesday, May 4, at 8 p.m., in my office, with the view of exploring methods for planning a conference and other major actions relating to Latin American affairs.

I should appreciate it very much if you could inform me directly on receipt of this communication as to whether you can meet with me on May 4.

Sincerely yours,

James H. Durkin

James H. Durkin
President

uopwa 16/1

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Discrimination

UNITED PUBLIC WORKERS OF AMERICA

AFFILIATED TO THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

FEDERAL DEPARTMENT

930 F STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.
DISTRICT 3288

ABRAM FLAXER
PRESIDENT

ROY ELDEAN
VICE-PRESIDENT

EWART GUINIER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

ROBERT WEINSTEIN
DIRECTOR OF ORGANIZATION

June 10, 1948

23-27-11

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
NAACP,
20 West 40 Street,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

About two years ago, some 17,000 employees of the Panama Canal Zone became members of the United Public Workers of America, CIO. They are all employees of the U.S. government. Upon the entrance of these members into our union, we were confronted with a formal, federal government-sponsored system of discrimination which was shocking to say the least. This discriminatory system is known as the "silver-gold" system, in which all those who are not white, U.S. citizens are discriminated against in a manner similar and oftentimes worse than the discriminatory practices against Negroes in the United States.

Most of the members of our union in the Panama Canal Zone are the so-called "silver" employees. A large number of them are West Indian Negroes who came to Panama in the early twentieth century to aid in the construction of the Canal. Other silver employees are Latin American Indians, citizens of Panama, or citizens of the various Latin American countries, and East Indians. The system of discrimination is extended into all phases of life and hangs like a shadow over the facilities for housing, education, recreation and health, as well as being effectively used with regard to job opportunities.

As you probably know, the President's Committee on Civil Rights has recommended that this sytem of discrimination be abolished. The President himself, in his report to Congress on Civil Rights, indicated that he was asking the Secretary of the Army to investigate. My experiences and observations on two visits to Panama convinced me that action to end that shameful practice must be taken immediately in the interests of plain human decency.

Late in March, it was my privilege to testify before the Senate Armed Services Committee on some of the economic and social problems confronting the "silver workers" on the Canal Zone. I am enclosing for your information a copy of that testimony. I will be happy to keep you informed of our efforts to eliminate the discrimination described in this testimony.

Yours sincerely,

Thomas Richardson /lzg

Thomas Richardson
Chairman, Anti-Discrimination Commission

uopwa-27

[Enclosure]

Testimony of Thomas Richardson for the United Public Workers of America on the Operation of the Panama Canal Zone Appropriation in the Civil Functions Department of the Army Appropriation Bill for 1949 before the Sub-Committee of the Senate Committee on Appropriations.

My name is Thomas Richardson and I am testifying as Vice-President of the United Public Workers of America, CIO.

I wish to discuss, on behalf of the thousands of non-citizen employees of the United States Government in the Panama Canal Zone, that section of the Civil Functions Department of the Army Appropriations Bill for 1949, which provides for the operation of the Panama Canal.

It is our feeling that within this section of the legislation may be found the means by which the friendly relationship between the United States and the people of Latin America can be strengthened. Within this section can be found the means by which our country can demonstrate in reality its conviction that all men are entitled to humane and decent treatment.

23-27-23

This legislation originally carried an item of $1,400,000 for housing for the non-citizen employees of the Canal Zone. That item, along with several others, was eliminated from the final bill passed by the House of Representatives. We view, with grave alarm, this appropriation cut for our knowledge of the living conditions of the non-citizen employees of the Panama Canal has taught us that the problem of housing for these United States Government employees is a most shocking one. General Mehaffey, Governor of the Panama Canal Zone, in his testimony before the House Committee stated: "We have a large proportion of our people living in entirely unsatisfactory housing and I refer principally now to the very many people we have living in the twelve-family wooden apartment buildings, and I think that condition is more responsible for lowered morale in the Canal Zone than any other single factor".

In 1947, our Union made a study of the working and living conditions of the non-citizens of the so-called "silver" workers of the Panama Canal.

The report was submitted to this Committee last year. I am submitting another copy of that study to this Committee but I would like at this time to quote from its housing section:

> "Most family "silver" quarters in the Panama Canal consist of two rooms to serve as bedroom, kitchen, dining-room, living-room, etc. An entire family from two persons on up to six or eight lives in two rooms. In the average 12-family building there is one male toilet room with two toilets and one women's toilet room with two toilets for the entire building. There are also a few buildings where there are community sinks serving a number of families. Electricity is provided. Tenants must pay extra for this, plus 25¢ per month refrigerator. Gas is not provided. Family quarters are completely unfurnished. Tenants supply their own furniture, linens, radios, refrigerators, hot plates or stoves.
>
> Male bachelor quarters for "silver" employees provide two men living in each room, each of whom pays $4.65 per month, plus extras for electricity. The room is furnished with two single beds, one chair, one dresser and one table supplied by the Panama Canal. The condition of the furniture is from poor to fair.
>
> "Silver" female bachelor quarters are provided with two women living in each room, each of whom pays $6.50 per month. Otherwise, conditions are the same as male bachelor quarters except that the condition of the furniture is somewhat better.
>
> Almost without exception Government "silver" housing is downright atrocious. The buildings have been unpainted for many, many years, are falling apart, need repairs badly and are definitely of the worst type of slum housing that exists in the United States. A good estimate of the quality of this housing may be obtained from the statement made by a group of visiting United States Congressmen in December, 1946.* In describing housing ofr "gold" employees, who are white United States citizens working in the Panama Canal, they stated that the "gold" housing was "wretched". Since "gold" housing is a thousand times better than "silver" housing, some idea of the deplorable condition of the "silver" quarters maintained by the United States Government can be obtained.
>
> To make matters worse, half of the Panama Canal "silver" employees, as well as all "silver" employees employed by the Army and Navy in the Panama Canal area are not provided any Government "low cost" housing at all. These people must live in the Republic of Panama where rents are sky-high and where the slum conditions are even worse than in the Government "silver" quarters. Panama Canal Workers who live in the Republic

*U.S. Congressmen Albert J. Engel,(R.,Mich.) and Francis Case,(R.,S.D.), stated to the press on December 18,1946,"We all agree that the housing situation here is "wretched".See the Star& Herald,Panama,Republic of Panama, December 19,1946.

23-27-24

of Panama pay $25 per month for single rooms. Decent apartments in better sections of the cities in the Republic of Panama run up to $70 and $80 per month.

There are no figures available on the rise in cost of living in the Canal Zone, as are available in the United States through the cost of living index of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. However, Congressman Albert J. Engel,(R.Mich.), Chairman of the Sub-Committee of the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives, which handles appropriations for the Panama Canal, stated to the UPW-CIO that in his opinion the cost of living on the Canal Zone, while lower than in the United States, would show about the same percentage rise as took place in the United States between 1940 and 1946.This is a reasonable conclusion, inasmuch as most items sold in Panama Canal Commissaries are imported from the United States and would reflect the increases in wholesale prices and shipping costs. It should also be borne in mind that there has been enormous inflation in prices in the Republic of Panama, where Panama Canal employees spend at least a portion of their income. In addition, half of the "silver" employees of the Panama Canal, all "silver" employees of the United States Army and the United States Navy in the Panama Canal area, live in the Republic of Panama and pay Republic of Panama rents,which have risen substantially in contrast to rents in the United States which have been virtually stabllized. The UPW-CIO has queried its own members in the Panama Canal on the rise in cost of living and their universal reaction is that the cost of living has risen far more than 50% since 1940 in the Panama Canal."

23-27-25

I am sure the Committee is aware of the importance of adequate, decent, modern housing to the efficiency of working people. Around adequate housing revolves the whole question of the development of a secure family-life free from worry and vexations caused by over-crowding and lack of adequate sanitation and other living facilities. Inasmuch as the $1,400,000 would have provided only for less than 300 dwelling units for the "silver" employees, which is only a drop in the bucket compared to the great housing needs of these employees,we strongly recommend that a housing appropriation be returned to the Bill by this Senate Committee and that it be a more realistic appropriation.

Examination of the wretched housing situation of the "silver" employees, serves among other things the purpose of revealing the generally miserable economic situation of these workers. For housing alone, a comparative study of rents paid by these workers and rents prevailing in the United States in 1946 reveals that the median rent in the United States is $27.88 per month.* The median number of rooms in rental dwellings in 4.85. Thus, the cost per room to the United States families is approximately $5.75. Panama Canal tenants in Government "silver" quarters pay between $6.50 and $12.25 for two-room apartments or approximately $3.50 to $6.12 per room. These dwellings, however, typically include no bath, cooking facilities or refrigeration. Thus the Canal Zone rental per room equals or nearly equals the United States median, but secures the tenant accomodations comparable, not to average United States standards, but to the very worst slum standards, far below average American conditions.

23-27-26

It will be noted that "silver" rents in bachelor quarters amount to $9.30 per month per room in male bachelor quarters and $13.00 per month in female bachelor quarters, remembering that both of the two occupants of each room pay separate rent. It seems fair to estimate housing costs in the Panama Canal in terms of value received, as at least double those in the United States.

Panama Canal workers who live in the Republic of Panama pay from double to triple to quadruple the United States median per room for accomodations far inferior to the typical American standard.

Therefore, we should not only reinstitute the $1,400,000 for essential <u>housing for "silver" workers but the Congress should make a real investment</u>

*U.S. Census Bureau Release H-46,No.1,May 16,1946,covering November,1945 rents. The rent index moved less than 2/10 of 1% between November,1945 and June,1946.

in Western Hemispheric friendship and triple the requested housing appropriation.

The comparison of the high cost of housing with the pitiful average wage of the "silver" employees reveals a miserable situation among these employees of the United States Government which cannot and should not be permitted by the government. Moreover, the rise in cost of living in the Canal Zone from 1940 to 1947 was at least 50%, whereas the actual rise in the take-home pay of the non-citizen workers was approximately 31%. Therefore, on that date, the real wages of these workers were cut about 18%. Considering the fact that the wages of these employees were sub-standard to start with, it is not too difficult ot see the obvious economic plight of these Federal employees.

23-27-27

It was estimated by the Canal Zone authorities in January,1947 that the average wage was about 39¢ per hour. Since that time, there was a merit increase given of 2¢ per hour to about 4,000 employees. This would bring the average slightly over 39¢. This means, of course, that there are still hundreds of workers making 16¢ to 22¢ per hour and many thousands earning between 24¢ and 39¢ per hour. (See pages 14,15 and 16 of our 1947 brief which give the number of employees in each wage classification and their job titles.)

In May,1947, the Executive Secretary of the Panama Canal sent us the actual 1940 and 1947 prices of 132 basic commodities which are sold by the Panama Canal Commissaries. An analysis of these prices showed the following:

1. The cost of the food items in the list rose, between 1940 and 1947, 77.9%.

2. The cost of the dry goods items in the list rose; between 1940 and 1947, 42.8%.
3. The cost of the other items in the list rose; between 1940 and 1947, 69%.
4. The cost of all the items in the list rose; between 1940 and 1947, 64.3%.

The Executive Secretary also listed 16 items as making up the major portion of the food diet of the non-citizen worker, which were put under price control in August,1946. An analysis of these prices showed the controlled items were 94.3% higher than in 1940.

23-27-28

From the above, it is obvious that the figure of 50%, as the rise in the cost of living since 1940, was no longer applicable in May,1947. In fact, if we take into consideration the 64.3% rise in the cost of the 132 basic items, it would certainly seem reasonable to assume that the overall cost of living of these employees rose considerably more than 50%. Allowing for the lack of an exact cost of living index we believe that as of May,1947, we can safely conclude that:

1. The average overall cost of living of the so-called "silver" employee rose between 50% and 64.3% from 1940 to 1947, the median point of 57% is about as close to the correct figure as could possibly be computed with the available statistics.
2. The average monthly take-home pay of these workers rose 31% between 1940 and 1947.
3. In real wages these workers, as of May,1947, suffered a drastic cut of approximately 20%.

We have not yet been able to secure the figures on prices and the cost of living on the Canal Zone as of December,1947, However, comparisons made in the past indicate that the rise in the cost of living on the Canal Zone follows closely, on a relative basis, the rise in the cost of living in the United States. Congressman Albert J. Engel, Chairman of the Sub-Committee of the House Appropriations Committee, stated to us last year that, in his opinion, the cost of living on the Zone, while lower than in the United States,between 1940 and 1946 would show about the same percentage rise as took place in the United States. Taking the figure of 68% as the percentage rise in the cost of living in the States as of December,1947, it does not take too much imagination to see how much greater than 26% is the actual cut in real wages of the non-citizen worker today.

23-27-39

And while on the subject of the cost of living, we wish to point out that prices in the Panama Canal Commissaries are the same for the non-citizen employees and the United States citizens, yet the latter's wages are four and five times as great as those of the non-citizen employees. The United States citizens maintain that they are in need of a wage increase to maintain their families on a decent standard in view of the rise in the cost of living. Therefore, is it not evident to what low standard the non-citizen workers have been depressed?

On pages 50 to 58 inclusive of the 1947 brief are individual case histories of non-citizen families, listing their income, expenditures, etc. The tale of human suffering is vividly shown in these charts and conclusively proves the need for immediate action in alleviating these conditions.

With an average yearly income of $806.00, thousands of these workers must exist on a depressed standard of living which affects the health of

those employees, resulting in decreased efficiency and creating various social problems. This figure of $806.00 is less than two-thirds of the well-known WPA "emergency" budget,— a budget which, if long continued, would create wide-spread health hazards. The figure of $806.00 is half of the WPA "maintenance" budget and a little over a fifth of the Heller "minimum health and decency" budget. It is one-fourth the recent budget of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

If the Canal Zone authorities and the Congress of the United States are desirous of maintaining an efficiently and economically-operated Zone and interested in providing the thousands of non-citizen workers with a decent standard of living, it is our contention that the following minimum program on wages must be put into effect in the Canal Zone immediately:

1. The establishment of a minimum wage of 40¢ per hour for all employees.
2. A general across-the-board wage increase of 24¢ per hour to all employees now being paid above the minimum wage of 16¢ per hour.
3. The establishment of a more realistic promotional policy so that more of these workers can go beyond the present established maximum.
4. An extra subsistence rate for those employees who are not furnished living quarters on the Zone at Zone rentals.

Propesal 1 is based on the Fair Labor Standards Act, which requires the payment of not less than 40¢ per hour to any worker whose employer is emgaged in interstate commerce. This minimum is so low that it is infrequently found in the United States, yet it is higher than the average wage in the Canal Zone. This minimum of 40¢ would raise the yearly minimum

23-22-30

wages to $1,305.00 which is slightly above the WPA "emergency"budget.

Proposal 2 is made because it would require an increase of 24¢ per hour to raise the minimum from 16¢ per hour, the present minimum,to 40¢; and, we believe, that if those at the bottom of the scale are raised in pay, all of the employees above them should be raised in pay by a like amount.

Proposal 3 is in conformance with the order of the Secretary of War, dated July 1,1946. This order permits the promotion of 10% of the non-citizen employees to positions paying more than the maximum; yet, we find less than 1% so promoted.

Proposal 4 is based on the fact that, although the wages paid take into consideration the furnishing of Zone housing, more than half of the employees do not enjoy this privilege and are required to live in the Republic of Panama where rents are exorbitant.

23-27-31

This Appropriation should also carry an item which would provide for increased pensions for retired "silver" workers. At the present time, the maximum pension received by these employees is $25 per month regardless of how long they have been employed. In view of the figures which have already been given on the high cost of living, it is clear that it is impossible for a human being to exist on such a sum.

I would like to quote General Mohaffey, Governor of the Panama Canal, who stated : " While $25 a month maximum seemed very little to live on when the act was passed, it was not nearly as bad as it is at the present time. There are many superannuated or disabled silver employees who have worked perhaps 35 or more years for the Panama Canal or Panama Railroad Company and are now being retired on a maximum of $25, and it it is practically impossible for these old people to go into Panama,rent

a room of some kind, and live on as little as $25 a month".*

Due to existing regulations, these employees are not allowed to live on the Zone after they become unable to work. Therefore, it would be difficult for a disabled or superannuated "silver" employee to find decent accommodations in Panama and have money left over for food and clothing even if the present pension sum was tripled.

To summarize then we ask that the legislation be amended by this Committee to provide for the following:

1. Re-inclusion of a fully-adequate housing program for "silver" employees.
2. Appropriation of funds to provide for the execution of proposals 1,2,3 and 4 just mentioned.
3. Appropriation of funds to provide for a fully-adequate pension program for "silver" employees.

23-27-32

In addition to facts cited above in support of these recommendations, there is a final and most compelling argument in support of these recommendations by this Committee. The term "silver" employees is used to distinguish non-citizen United States Federal workers from "gold" employees who are citizens of the United States. These two terms cloak a system of discrimination against thousands of human beings. The entire world is

* "Hearings Before the Sub-Committee of the Committee on Appropirations, House of Representatives, Eightieth Congress, Second Session, on the Civil Functions, Department of the Army Appropriation Bill for 1949, Page 634.

aware of the formal, official pattern of Jim-Crow and discrimination which has been carried on by the United States Government for the past 43 years on the Canal Zone.

You no doubt have noticed that the cost of construction of 99 apartments for "gold" workers would cost $1,613,700 or approximately $16,000 per unit, whereas the 184 apartments for the "silver" workers would cost $754,000 or approximately $4,000 per unit. This type of disparity is another form of racial discrimination and the sum to be spent, if approved, will only expend money for additional slums. When Congressman Engel pointed out this wide difference in cost per unit in the House Committee Hearings, General Mehaffey stated that the apartments are smaller. I would like to show you two pictures of one of the "silver" units known as "Titanic", since it is the largest housing unit for "silver" employees in the Canal Zone. It contains 48 families for a total of 288 persons. There are 24 toilets (mostly without seats) and 24 crude shower stalls. There are no wash basins except the crude iron sinks in the kitchens. These are supposed to serve the cooking and washing needs of the six and seven member families in the building.

23-27-33

The "Titanic" was constructed in 1906 and served as a hospital. It literally crawls with rats, vermin, and cockroaches. The timbers and supports are termite infested. Rat droppings and filth have accumulated in the walls and ceilings for decades. A sudden jolt in the room overhead is sufficient to send a spray of filth raining down on the apartment beneath. Persons frequently awake in the mornings to find themselves and their beds littered with debris from the ceilings. The rooms are small and cramped, barely large enough to permit the confortable seating of

three persons. Note the one exit in the picture and imagine the panic resulting from fire in this fire-trap. One of the occupants recently asked the District Quartermaster what he should do with his family if the place caught fire and the front exit was blocked. He was told to jump the 32 feet from the second floor to the ground.

The interior view graphically illustrates the General's statement that "silver" quarters are smaller than those of the "gold" workers. This corridor view shows that two persons could not pass each other. It shows the flimsy wall separations and lack of ceilings.

Like a cancer, the "silver-gold" system has eaten its way into all phases of the life of its people. It can be cited as the single, most important factor for the great wave of bitterness and disdain now being directed at the United States in that section of the World. In the face of this most inhuman practice, our statements on democracy and freedom are received with jeers.

The above condition is further strengthened when it is revealed that without the "silver" workers the Panama Canal could not have been dug or maintained. The record of sacrifice, loyalty and service of the "silver" employees in aiding the United States to create and maintain one of the great wonders of the World reads like a saga. There is a saying in Panama that one "silver" worker's life was lost for every railroad tie in the 50-mile long Panama Railroad which spans the Isthmus. These non-citizen workers have an outstanding history of loyalty to the United States Government. During the entire period of World War II, there was not a single act of sabotage. Their contribution to the war effort was of the utmost and their loyalty has been repeatedly attested to by the Governor of the Canal Zone

23-27-34

and the other Zone officials. This record indicates that there is a reservoir of good-will that the United States Government cannot discard or ignore.

In this connection, I would like to call attention to section 2 of the Bill which provides for a form of discrimination that would limit the holding of skilled, technical, clerical, administrative, executive or supervisory positions to citizens of the United States or Republic of Panama. Many thousands of the present employees of the Panama Canal are not citizens of either country. Yet, they have clearly demonstrated their loyalty, their competence and their skill in various jobs of trust connected with the operation of the Panama Canal. In order to erase this discrimination which is produced by this section of the legislation, we recommend that the entire section be eliminated from the Bill.

23-27-35

I would like to quote General Mehaffey on this section of the legislation. He states," with respect to section 2, which is generally called the McCarran amendment, I should like to ask the committee to leave out that section, as is shown in the budget submission."*

In fact, we suggest that the recommendation of the President's Committee on Civil Rights be established on the Canal Zone. This recommendation calls for the abolition of the "silver-gold" system. A system should be established which would permit the following:

1. Equal pay for equal work.
2. Equal opportunity for jobs and promotions.
3. Adequate and equal housing, health, recreational and educational facilities.

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* Statement made in House Appropriation Hearing, op.cit., p. 669.

Unfortunately, the United States Government stands now indicted in the eyes of decent people as an ungrateful miser and as a perpetrator of the Hitlerian theory of race supremacy because of its shocking treatment of its "silver" employees on the Canal Zone. The present formal, government-sponsored system of racial segragation and discrimination is completely at variance with the official position of the United States Government in its treatment of racial minorities.

Refusal to solve this problem can only continue to hurt the prestige and dignity of the United States in that section of the World. This Committee has the opportunity to alleviate an extremely embarassing and shameful situation. Favorable action on the recommendations we made earlier will go far towards convincing the "silver" workers, the peoples of Latin America and decent people everywhere that the United States does mean what it says in its official statements on the rights of racial minorities. We are confident that the average American will look with disfavor upon the continuance of the present situation. We are convinced that the average American is in favor of fair play and democratic treatment on the part of our Government towards all of its employees, wherever they may be in the World.

23-27-36

Civil Service

UNITED PUBLIC WORKERS OF AMERICA

AFFILIATED TO THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

FEDERAL DEPARTMENT

930 F STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.
DISTRICT 3288

ABRAM FLAXER
PRESIDENT

ROY ELDEAN
VICE-PRESIDENT

EWART GUINIER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

ROBERT WEINSTEIN
DIRECTOR OF ORGANIZATION

June 18, 1948

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois,
NAACP,
20 West 40th Street,
New York, N.Y.

23-22-8

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Several days ago Civil Service Commissioner Arthur S. Flemming resigned. This leaves a vacancy on the three-member U.S. Civil Service Commission. The remaining members are Harry Mitchell, President and Mrs. Frances Perkins.

As you probably know, the President's Committee on Civil Rights comments most strongly in its report on the extension of discrimination against Negroes in federal employment. The United Public Workers has for several years been confronted with the problem of seeking adjustment in many flagrant cases of discrimination practiced against Negroes by agencies of the Federal government. In fact, our experience with this problem since V-J Day has convinced us that prejudice and discrimination against Negroes by hiring officials in the federal agencies have reached a new high in crudeness and in extent.

To date, no agency of the government has acted to prevent the cancer of discrimination from eating its way into the very vitals of the merit system which is administered by the U.S. Civil Service Commission. The President's Committee on Civil Rights has recommended the issuance of an executive order against discrimination in federal agencies with guarantees of compliance. President Truman in his February 2nd address on Civil Rights to Congress stated that he would shortly issue such an order but to date no such order has been issued. Discrimination against Negroes in federal agencies continues unabated.

It seems, therefore, that the Civil Service Commission of the U.S. Government must begin to play a more effective role in developing the system of employment by merit regardless of race or color. This is true even if the President issues his Executive Order or Congress passes a permanent FEPC law. The question, therefore, of the appointment of one of the many capable Negro citizens of this country to the Civil Service Commission to replace Mr. Flemming becomes a concrete one. I do not anticipate that the appointment of a qualified Negro will eliminate the problem of discrimination in federal government but I do believe that the appointment of a Negro to the Commission at this time, together with other remedial steps taken by Congress and the Administration,

would create a situation in which it would be possible for the government of the United States to assure all of its employees decent treatment regardless of their race, color or religion. I am sure that you are aware that there are in this country many Negroes qualified to fill the position of Civil Service Commissioner by virtue of their training, experience and character. However, I do not have in mind any one specific individual. Nevertheless, I think that the following panel, together with any additions you or others wish to make, would provide the President and the Senate with sufficient choice to make the appointment: Attorney Charles Houston; Gov. William Hastie; Dr. R.O. Lanier; Dr. Charles S. Johnson; Dr. Channing Tobias; Dr. Mordecai Johnson; Mrs. Sadie Alexander; Dr. E. Franklyn Frazier; Dr. Benjamin Mays; Dr. Robert Weaver. None of the above have been contacted by me concerning their availability.

I am therefore writing you to get your reactions and opinions on the proposal and any suggestions you may have with regard to bringing this idea to fruition. I would like to indicate that only a short time remains before the President is likely to name a replacement for Mr. Flemming and therefore time is of the essence if we are to make any headway. I would consider it an honor to have you join me in petitioning the President in this matter.

23-27-9

Please let me hear from you on this at your earliest possible convenience.

Yours sincerely,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson
Chairman, Anti-Discrimination Commission

uopwa-27

UNITED PUBLIC WORKERS OF AMERICA

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ROBERT WEINSTEIN
DIRECTOR OF ORGANIZATION

August 13, 1948

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Director
Special Research
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

23-19-2

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am sure that you will be extremely shocked by the facts indicated in the enclosed statement.

I will be in New York late next week and will attempt to reach you to discuss this matter in detail.

Sincerely,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson
Chairman
Anti-Discrimination Commission

[Ethel]

see CIO 8-13-44
for Rieb[illegible]

NINE MONTHS AT HARD LABOR FOR FIGHTING JIM CROW

The Case of Joseph Sachs

A new instrument for destroying trade union organization has now been tested successfully by the Department of Justice in the Panama Canal Zone. It involves the unprecedented use of a prosecution for criminal libel.

On July 17th Joseph Sachs, organizer for the United Public Workers of America, CIO, was found guilty of criminal libel. Subsequently, he was sentenced to a term of nine months at hard labor in the Gamboa penitentiary in the Panama Canal Zone.

What was Sachs' Crime?

23-19

Joseph Sachs is a 28-year old veteran who joined the staff of the UPW-CIO shortly after his discharge from the navy. He was assigned to work in Birmingham in organizing Negro and white Civil Service workers. He became deeply interested in the problems of discrimination. A year ago when an opening occurred for an organizer in the Panama Canal Zone, Mr. Sachs asked for the opportunity to help solve the problems of our members in the Canal Zone.

All of the members of UPW-CIO in Panama are "silver" workers. They are Negroes, native Panamanians and British West Indians. They are employees of the government of the United States. They are classified as "silver" workers by the government itself, principally because they are colored native workers. Although they do similar jobs, in many cases, as the white U.S. citizens who are employed on the Zone, they receive a fraction of the pay given the U.S. citizens. The government pays "silver" workers an average minimum wage of 24¢ per hour. Prices for food and shelter are as high in the Canal Zone as in the United States. The government also maintains separate facilities for "silver" and "gold" workers, including commissaries, housing, schools, recreational facilities, etc. In the Canal Zone the U.S. government is the official sponsor of a complete economic and social pattern of discrimination against the colored people.

Joe Sachs gave all his energies to the task of organizing public support for equal treatment for the "silver" workers. That is the major job of the Union in Panama. Sachs fought to win settlement of grievances involving racial discrimination, intimidation by white foremen, etc. He opposed the pattern of discrimination which was government-sponsored. He spoke against it at every opportunity. He fought against it.

This activity was very disturbing to the white foremen and supervisors and, especially, to the English language newspapers in Panama. For more than forty years no one had really tried to improve the conditions of the "silver" workers until the United Public Workers arrived on the scene. The Union's hard-hitting program for equality of treatment aroused the enmity of many individuals and vested interests in the Panama Canal Zone. The English language newspapers, particularly, have been carrying on an intensive drive urging the "silver" workers to disaffiliate from the UPW-CIO and form another union that would be more to their liking.

Several months ago the English language newspapers in Panama featured a letter from a disgruntled ex-official of the Union in which he charged that Union organizers were "embezzlers" because they were living "off the backs of the workers by collecting their dues" and, as he put it, "doing nothing for them."

District Attorney Daniel E. McGrath, an appointee of Attorney General Tom Clark, immediately rushed to the press to buttress this charge and announced that he had "evidence" of this alleged "embezzlement."

Joe Sachs had engaged radio time to answer the wild charges of the ex-official of the local. On the afternoon of his radio speech, on the way to the station, Sachs saw the newspaper account of District Attorney McGrath's statement that he could support the charges. Since Sachs was one of those who was being accused, he became angry and inserted two additional paragraphs in his radio speech, challenging the District Attorney "either to put up or shut up."

It is significant that Mr. McGrath has never seen fit to present his "evidence" to any court, and that he has not, to this day, instituted any proceedings charging Sachs or any other Union official with "embezzlement or swindling" in spite of his statements to the press that he had such evidence. One would assume that he had an elementary obligation as a prosecuting official to take his case to the courts and not try it in the newspapers.

23-19

In his speech Sachs also hit back at the District Attorney and charged that the District Attorney had been guilty of misconduct in office.

District Attorney McGrath failed to accept Sachs' challenge. Instead, he initiated a criminal prosecution for libel and a civil action against Sachs and the Union, charging $75,000 damages.

Attorney General Tom Clark assigned one of the Department's ace prosecutors, Tom De Wolfe, to spend full time for more than two months in the Canal Zone in the preparation and prosecution of the Sachs case.

The case was tried under most severe difficulties. When counsel for the defendant complained about the injection of anti-Semitic, anti-Negro and anti-Latin American issues by Prosecutor De Wolfe, Judge Joseph J. Hancock of Kentucky, who had just been appointed and who is now trying his first case on the Zone, ignored these complaints. He similarly ignored the subjection of "silver" workers to illegal processes which De Wolfe explained away on the ground that "only the rights of these colored people are invaded." During the three-day trial De Wolfe insisted on referring to the defense attorney as "that New York lawyer." [redacted].

The jury was composed entirely of white "gold" workers. The only Negro on the panel was peremptorily challenged by the prosecution. Women were deliberately excluded from the jury.

Prosecutor De Wolfe was sustained by Judge Hancock in the exclusion of all proof of McGrath's attack against Sachs and the offer by Sachs to prove the truth of his charges - particularly that District Attorney McGrath had systematically misappropriated government facilities and property in connection with his maintenance of the largest private law practice in the Canal Zone from his official offices in the U.S. Courthouse. Prosecutor De Wolfe argued, and Judge Hancock sustained him, that District Attorney McGrath's conduct was a matter between the government and McGrath, and could not be the subject of criticism by Sachs.

District Attorney McGrath failed to take the stand during the trial.

The jury was out but a few minutes and returned a verdict of guilty.

The trial evoked enormous interest among the Panamanian people and the courtroom was packed with standees extending to the lawn during the three-day trial. No other situation in the past 42 years has stimulated so much ill feeling against representatives of the United States among the "silver" workers who are responsible for servicing the Canal Zone.

Several days after the verdict, prosecutor De Wolfe, in one of the most emotional and violent tirades ever heard in the local court, demanded the full penalty for Sachs - a year in the penitentiary at hard labor. In the course of his attack against Sachs, De Wolfe slandered the defense attorney for taking the case, smeared other local union officials and based his appeal for the maximum sentence primarily on the allegation that Sachs and other union officials were "Reds." He submitted no evidence in support of that charge.

23-19

The local judge responded to the appeal by sentencing Sachs to nine months at hard labor at Gamboa penitentiary even though there had never been a jail sentence for this offense in any similar case on the Canal Zone. In fact, the Nelson-Rounsvelle case in which libel was clearly proven, produced only a $500 fine and no jail sentence.

Some Background Facts

The United Public Workers of America, CIO, began to organize "silver" workers in the Panama Canal Zone two years ago in response to appeals from local benevolent associations, which were transmitted to us through CIO President Philip Murray. Thousands of "silver" workers joined the Union very quickly. At the present time the Union represents the overwhelming majority of "silver" workers in the Panama Canal Zone.

For 42 years prior to the arrival of the Union, minimum wages averaged 9¢ per hour. The U.S. government maintained huge signs designating separate facilities for "silver" and "gold" workers, drinking fountains, toilets, recreational facilities -- all were clearly labelled "For Silver Workers Only," - "For Gold Workers Only." For 42 years no "silver" worker could discuss a grievance with any official. For 42 years the white AFL foremen had things their own way and treated the "silver" workers no better than slaves.

In the brief period of its existence Local 713, UPW-CIO, has changed much of this. The Union has won several million dollars in wage increases. It has established a grievance procedure. No foreman has been able to arbitrarily fire or discriminate against any "silver" worker since the Union arrived on the Zone. The Union secured reclassification and promotion of hundreds of "silver" workers who are performing highly skilled jobs in fantastically low rates of pay. For the first time the Union won a maternity leave policy, a sick leave policy, time and one-half for overtime, formally established grievance machinery and reclassification of all jobs. The Union secured the removal of the hateful "silver" and "gold" signs. The Union secured a $650,000 appropriation for additional housing and improvement of streets for the "silver" workers.

The Union is now lobbying to secure enactment of legislation providing a 40¢ an hour minimum wage for "silver" workers, a decent retirement system for "silver" workers, additional appropriations for improved housing, and educational facilities and equal opportunities for hiring and promotion.

The Union's efforts to improve the living conditions of the "silver" workers are being hampered by this government-sponsored drive to discredit and destroy its representatives and leaders. The local representative of Tom Clark has succeeded in sending to jail an outstanding union organizer. At the present time he is also seeking to seize all of the assets of the local Union and of the International Union in his suits for damages.

23-19

There can be no question that these actions by a representative of the government of the United States are not helping to win friends among the Negroes and the native workers in Central America. On the contrary, these acts of persecution are helping to sow the seeds of distrust and enmity against the government of the United States.

Responsibility for this state of affairs lies with the President of the United States. The President can order an end to this union-busting persecution. The President can order release of Joe Sachs. The President can establish equal rights for "silver" workers.

Civil rights in Panama do not depend on Congressional action.

Panama offers an opportunity for establishing the sincerity of the Civil Rights program.

It is up to the President.

* * * *

Issued by:
International Office
United Public Workers of America, CIO
2 Lafayette Street, New York 7, N.Y.

uopwa 16 August 11, 1948

UNITED PUBLIC WORKERS OF AMERICA

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ROBERT WEINSTEIN
DIRECTOR OF ORGANIZATION

August 17, 1948

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Research Director
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

This material is to supplement the material you received last week.

Yours sincerely,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson
Chairman
Anti-Discrimination Commission

23-19

Hughe Smythe

UNITED PUBLIC WORKERS OF AMERICA

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DIRECTOR OF ORGANIZATION

August 23, 1948

Dr. Hughe Smyth
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Hughe:

Please find enclosed copy of my letter to Dr. DuBois. Anything you may be able to do in this matter will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Tommy

Thomas Richardson
Chairman, Anti-Discrimination Commission

23C-45

UNITED PUBLIC WORKERS OF AMERICA

AFFILIATED TO THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

FEDERAL DEPARTMENT

930 F STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.
DISTRICT 3288

ABRAM FLAXER
PRESIDENT

ROY ELDEAN
VICE-PRESIDENT

EWART GUINIER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

ROBERT WEINSTEIN
DIRECTOR OF ORGANIZATION

August 23, 1948

Dr. William E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am writing to request your cooperation in an attempt to clear up a most shameful condition which now exists on the Panama Canal Zone. I am quite sure that you are familiar with the 42 years of oppression that citizens of Latin American countries and West Indian Negroes have suffered at the hands of the United States Government on the Panama Canal Zone under the infamous "Silver-Gold" system. I am sure that you are also aware that the continuation of Jim-Crow working conditions and discriminatory wage differentials under this system have been major factors in the development of a strong resentment against our nation on the part of the peoples of Latin America and the West Indies.

Since 1946 the United Public Workers, which has a membership of approximately 15,000 among the so-called "Silver" workers on the Panama Canal Zone, has conducted an intense campaign to secure the abolition of the "Silver-Gold" system and has, in fact, been successful in achieving some gains in this direction. The Union's relations with the Canal Zone Govenor and Executive Secretary have been most amicable.

However, those white Americans who benefit from the "Silver-Gold" system, such as the minor supervisors and the skilled craftsmen, have through their friends on the English-speaking newspapers, the District Attorney's office, the local court, and the Department of Justice here in Washington, unleashed an extremely vicious counter-campaign which has had as its objective the complete destruction of the Union and the wiping out of any movement on the part of the "Silver" workers to secure abolition of Jim Crow and discrimination on the Canal Zone.

Most recently these enemies of decency and progress have been successful in having one of our staff representatives sentenced to nine months at hard labor in the Canal Zone penitentiary. This young man, Jewish and born on the eastern shore of Maryland, is a veteran of World War II, and volunteered to go to Panama to aid in our Union's fight against Jim Crow. He is now free on $5000 bail while an appeal is under way. Simultaneously the enemies of the "Silver" workers have initiated a suit against the Union for $50,000. Their chances of winning this suit in the prejudiced-laden Canal Zone court are many. After appeals to the White House and to the Department of Justice with regard to these latest developments we in the United Public Workers are convinced that the only way in which the "Silver-Gold" system and its attendent evils can be removed immediately is through a strong protest on the part of the citizens of the

23-38-89

I am, therefore, writing you to ask if you would be willing, as one of those who has been constantly in the forefront of all efforts to remove colonialism from the world, to join with several other prominent individuals in the United States in helping to take the first steps to establish a National Citizens Committee which would devote its attention to the problem of abolishing the "Silver-Gold" system on the Canal Zone. I can assure you that outside of your attendence at one or two meetings in New York, there will be no demand upon your time. I have already discussed this entire matter in some detail with Dr. Hughe Smyth and I am taking the liberty of suggesting that someone from my New York office contact you immediately with regard to the specifics of this particular situation.

I can assure you that the thousands of people on the Canal Zone who live and work under the intolerable "Silver-Gold" system are now looking to all of us for some relief for themselves and their children.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson
Chairman, Anti-Discrimination Commission

Yes

August 23, 1948

Dr. William E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

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Sincerely yours,

Thomas Richardson
Chairman, Anti-Discrimination Commission

23C-45

cc to Dr. Hughe Smyth
Abe Flaxer

August 24, 1948

23-38-90

Mr. Thomas Richardson
United Public Workers
of America, C.I.O.
930 F Street, N. W.
Washington 4, D. C.

Dear Mr. Richardson:

I have your special delivery letter of August 23, in which you ask if I would be willing to help establish a National Citizens Committee devoted to the problem of abolishing the Jim Crow "Silver-Gold" system in the Panama Canal Zone. I would be willing to take part in this project, but first I would want to know what other individuals are to be on the committee. As soon as I have heard from you in this regard, I can make a more definite commitment.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

UNITED PUBLIC WORKERS OF AMERICA

AFFILIATED TO THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

FEDERAL DEPARTMENT

930 F STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.
DISTRICT 3288

ABRAM FLAXER
PRESIDENT

ROY ELDEAN
VICE-PRESIDENT

EWART GUINIER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

ROBERT WEINSTEIN
DIRECTOR OF ORGANIZATION

August 25, 1948

Dr. Hugh Smythe
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Hugh:

Please find enclosed a copy of my letter to Dr. DuBois of August 25th. I hope this will be helpful to the Doctor.

My regular secretary is on vacation, but as soon as she returns I will have her locate a copy of the brief and send it to you.

Thank you very much for your continued interest. Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Tommy

Thomas Richardson
Chairman, Anti-Discrimination Commission

[Enc.]

UNITED PUBLIC WORKERS OF AMERICA

AFFILIATED TO THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

FEDERAL DEPARTMENT

930 F STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.
DISTRICT 3288

ABRAM FLAXER
PRESIDENT

ROY ELDEAN
VICE-PRESIDENT

EWART GUINIER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

ROBERT WEINSTEIN
DIRECTOR OF ORGANIZATION

August 25, 1948

Dr. William E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

23-19-4

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you very much for your letter of August 24th in which you state that you would be willing to help establish a National Citizens Committee devoted to the problem of abolishing the Jim Crow "Silver-Gold" system on the Panama Canal Zone if at first you knew what other individuals are to be on the Committee.

Letters similar to the one sent to you have gone out to the following: Mr. Langston Hughes, Mr. Augustine Alston, Dr. C. A. Petioni, Dr. Arnold Donawa, Miss Shirley Graham, Mrs. Ada Jackson, Mr. Charles P. Howard, Miss Viola Scott, Mr. Richard B. Moore, Mr. Paul Robeson, and Congressman A. Clayton Powell. Mr. Robeson has already accepted and I expect notices of acceptance from the others within the next few days.

I will advise you of those who have accepted at the earliest possible date. Thank you very much for your continued interest in this problem.

Yours sincerely,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson
Chairman, Anti-Discrimination Commission

[United Public Workers of Amer.]

August 25, 1948

Dr. William E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you very much for your letter of August 24th in which you state that you would be willing to help establish a National Citizens Committee devoted to the problem of abolishing the Jim Crow "Silver-Gold" system on the Panama Canal Zone if at first you knew what other individuals are to be on the Committee.

Letters similar to the one sent to you have gone out to the following: Mr. Langston Hughes, Mr. Augustine Alston, Dr. C. A. Petioni, Dr. Arnold Donawa, Miss Shirley Graham, Mrs. Ada Jackson, Mr. Charles P. Howard, Miss Viola Scott, Mr. Richard B. Moore, Mr. Paul Robeson, and Congressman A. Clayton Powell. Mr. Robeson has already accepted and I expect notices of acceptance from the others within the next few days.

I will advise you of those who have accepted at the earliest possible date. Thank you very much for your continued interest in this problem.

Yours sincerely,

Thomas Richardson
Chairman, Anti-Discrimination Commission

TRedb

cc to: Dr. Smythe ✓
Abe Flaxer

23-19

UNITED PUBLIC WORKERS OF AMERICA

AFFILIATED TO THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

FEDERAL DEPARTMENT

930 F STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.
DISTRICT 3288

ABRAM FLAXER
PRESIDENT

ROY ELDEAN
VICE-PRESIDENT

EWART GUINIER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

ROBERT WEINSTEIN
DIRECTOR OF ORGANIZATION

August 31, 1948

Dr. William E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

23-19-5

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I want to thank you very much for agreeing to aid in the initiation of the National Citizens Committee to abolish the Jim Crow "Silver-Gold" system on the Panama Canal Zone. I am sure that our New York office is in constant contact with you with regard to developments.

I am enclosing for your information a copy of the bi-lingual monthly publication of our local union on the Canal Zone.

Yours sincerely,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson
Chairman, Anti-Discrimination Commission

UNITED PUBLIC WORKERS OF AMERICA

AFFILIATED TO THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

FEDERAL DEPARTMENT

930 F STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.
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EWART GUINIER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

ROBERT WEINSTEIN
DIRECTOR OF ORGANIZATION

August 31, 1948

Dr. Hugh Smythe
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

23-19-9

Dear Hugh:

Just a note to thank you for all you have done so far in helping us to establish the National Citizens Committee to abolish the Jim Crow "Silver-Gold" system on the Panama Canal Zone. I understand that Secretary-Treasurer Guinier has been in constant contact with your office, and I am certain that both you and Dr. DuBois will be kept informed of developments as they occur.

I am enclosing for your information a copy of the bi-lingual monthly publication of our local union on the Canal Zone. I am also enclosing a copy of my testimony before the Senate Appropriations Committee during the last regular session on conditions that exist on the Canal Zone. When my secretary returns from her vacation and locates the brief, I will send it to you.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Tommy

Thomas Richardson
Chairman, Anti-Discrimination Commission

September 3, 1948

Mr. Thomas Richardson
U. P. W. A.: CIO
930 F Street, N. W.
Washington 4, D. C.

Dear Tommy:

Just a quick word to thank you for the material which has just arrived. ACCION looks to be pretty good, although I have merely scanned it.

Keep up the good work and soon Silver-Gold in Panama is going to be merely a memory of the past---thanks to you mainly, and others who do not believe in Jim Crow whether metal or in any other form. Will write more later, but am tied up now.

Best ever--

Sincerely,

Hugh H. Smythe

23-19

July 7, 1948

Man to Man

By Harold L. Ickes

There is knocking loudly on the White House door a perfect opportunity for President Truman to prove that his declarations on civil rights were anything other than the politics of the desperate. In the Canal Zone an employment system is in operation that is nothing less than rank discrimination.

The United States is actually paying American citizen employees four to five times the wages that it is paying to native or alien workers of a darker complexion, for the same work.

This is a disgraceful procedure on the part of the United States. It is also hypocrisy on the part of the Administration. Moreover, it is causing widespread suspicion and resentment in critical times, while affecting hemisphere solidarity and, therefore, our national security. Mr. Truman has been urged to strike down this discrimination by Executive Order under the provisions of the Panama Canal Act of 1924.

* * *

On the 16th of last month, a letter was sent to him by Representatives Adam C. Powell, Arthur G. Klein, Emanuel Celler and Leo Isacson of New York; George G. Sadowski of Michigan; John A. Blatnik of Minnesota; Frank Buchanan of Pennsylvania; Walter B. Huber of Ohio; and Helen Gahagan Douglas and Franck R. Havenner of California. This letter was notable for its restraint as well as for its clarity and logic. I did what I could recently to acquaint the public with the racial and financial discrimination practicted by the Government in the Canal Zone, and so I am glad to comment upon the letter from these members of Congress that is now in the President's hands.

The letter supports the facts that were recently related in this column. It tells how the "Gold-Silver" system in the Canal Zone had its origin in early construction days and how, since that time, it "has solidified into a plain, unadulterated and vicious policy of discrimination which forces thousands of 'darker' employees to work and live under the most miserable Jim Crow conditions." It tells how even the few North American Negroes employed in the Canal Zone, although citizens of the United States, are discriminated against in housing, educational, recreational and commissary facilities because of the Jim Crow atmosphere created by the official employment policy of the Government.

* * *

"The continued use of the system," the letter insists, "has become one of the major reasons for the development of the growing bitterness against the United States in Latin America. We can no longer ignore this shameful practice, which is now looked upon as a mirror of our real policy on race relations." This was one reason, the letter adds, for last December's demonstrations which forced the General Assembly of Panama to reject a negotiated pact for continued United States occupation of defense bases outside of the Canal Zone.

"Under the Panama Canal Act," the Congressional group has reminded Mr. Truman, "the President of the United States or his representative is given full authority to prescribe conditions of employment, transportation, medical care, housing, education, etc. Moreover, the basic legislative authority of the Act permits changes in Executive Orders establishing the above-mentioned conditions, without Congressional authority.

"We therefore state," the letter concludes, "that the continuance of this (Gold-Silver) policy is entirely your responsibility. We urge that you immediately use the power vested in you as our Chief Executive to abolish the 'Gold-Silver' system, as has been recommended by your Committee on Civil Rights and the United Public Workers of America, CIO. Only in this way can our country go before all the peoples of the world as a nation which practices as well as preaches the basic tenets of equality and democracy for all men."

* * *

Here is a wide-open chance for Mr. Truman to confound his critics. Many who willingly gave him their support when he became President lost confidence in him when it appeared that while he was giving lip service to the liberal principles of Roosevelt he was actually accepting guidance from counsellors representing a reactionary coalition of Wall Street and the military. His signature on an Executive Order putting an end to the flagrant race discrimination in the Canal Zone would constitute belated evidence of his sincerity.

And, in his ardor for doing away with race discrimination, Mr. Truman might sign another simple order instructing the Navy not to treat the natives in Guam and American Samoa as if they had no civil rights. It is not a question of restoring civil rights to these subject peoples; it is one of giving them civil rights.

The Navy is prone to lay a heavy hand upon peoples whom it regards as inferior. And recently I called attention to other areas of racial discrimination within the Federal service that could be instantly done away with if the President really means what he has been saying about civil rights. Here is your pen, Mr. President!

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LOCAL NO. 13 AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA WASHINGTON

23-19

The United Somali Party

Telephone.....

President—Mr. TUALLA MOHAMED.

General Secretary—
I. M. SAID.

Branch Secretary—
M. J. HASSAN.

Headquarters—
7 NELSON STREET.
CARDIFF.

21. 4. 48

Dear Sir,

SOMALIA and the ATLANTIC CHARTER

23-21-28

Promise of help and favourable consideration of Italy's Colonial Claims if the Italian people return a Government of the Right, fill the Air and Press; and the Italian Foreign Secretary announces that he is assured that Britain U.S.A and France are agreeable to the return to Italy of her lost colonies.

It is under such circumstances that the Italian elections are taking place. The people everywhere watch and wait. But the people of Somalia, view with alarm the lack of principle which instigates such promises, deplore the insincerity of those who called on them to rise and throw out the Fascist usurpers promising "that Somalia would never return under Italian Domination." The nations who drew up that inspiring document, the Atlantic Charter, were, if they are to be judged by their actions now, only attempting to win the support of as many people as would fight for freedom though they themselves had no intention of expanding Freedom and Democracy.

The Somali Youth League has in its communication to the Foreign Ministers at the Paris Conference, expressed the National aspirations of the Somali people a people of one religious faith, who use the same language and have a common way of life, but whose country has been torn apart without consideration of the needs of the people and the suffering caused to a pastoral people by the erection of frontiers which preclude them from the pasturage and water so necessary to their life.

The League asks of the Foreign Ministers,

1) We wish and request that Italy be not, repeat, not let return in our territory for any reason whatsoever, even for trade purposes, that we had suffered too much during fifty years of slavery under Italy.

The United Somali Party

Telephone.....

President—Mr. TUALLA MOHAMED.

General Secretary—
I. M. SAID.

Branch Secretary—
M. J. HASSAN.

Headquarters—
7 NELSON STREET.
CARDIFF.

23-21-29

2) We wish and request that the administration of Somalia be entrusted to U.N.O with the guarantee that we shall be given complete independence within say ten years time and with the right to choose any kind of Government which the Somalis would prefer to adopt. In case that U,N.O decides that Somlia would be administered by a single Government we request that a permanent Committee of U.N.O be left in Somalia.

3) We wish and request that Somalia be not subdivided into many parts under the domination of different Nations such as British Somaliland, ex Italian Somaliland, French Somaliland etc., but a United Somalia, a new Somalia which ought to follow in future the same fate and have the same history.

4) We wish and request that we can be allowed to send our delegates to the meeting which will be undoubtedly held by you Gentlemen for the final decision of the fate of the ex Italian Colonies, so that we may again express our views and present our wishes to the meeting in question.

The United Somali Party consider the above moderate and not at variance with the Trusteeship of U.N.O. Our people desire a settlement in keeping with the Atlantic Charter, and hope that our destiny will not be a matter of bargaining and political expediency, but of principle.

Trade Journals

CENSUS

May 3, 1948

23-22-25

Mr. Joseph Houchins
U. S. Bureau of the Census
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Houchins:

Would you please place this office on your list to receive regular releases of census material which your bureau issues.

We are at present in immediate need of the latest material you have on migration of citizens, migration of Negro citizens, and the most recent general material you have in regard to Negroes in the state of Connecticut. In regard to the latter item we need information concerning the number of Negroes in Connecticut, the number in the large cities of the state, and data concerning their employment, types of positions held, education, vital statistics, and the like. We would appreciate your sending us whatever you can in this regard.

With thanks for your courtesy, I am

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:lm

[U.S. DEPT. OF STATE]

March 12, 1948

The Department of State
Office of the Geographer
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

For use in our work we are in need of a map. Would you be good enough to please send this office the following map:

THE CRIBBEAN
Drawn under date of August 12, 1943
No 1054-D

Thank you for your courtesy.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

INFORMAL

Re Smythe, 1948

August 31, 1948

Dear Mr. Smythe:

Thank you for your letter of August 23rd in which you request a copy of the Department of State's Register of Visitors.

I am sorry to inform you that we have not at present compiled a Register for this year, but hope to be able to do so by the first of January, 1949. You undoubtedly have a copy of the Register for 1947. We regret that we have no more copies of the latter available.

I shall be very glad to refer your letter to Dr. Ruth Sloan, who is in charge of the African Section of the Near East and African Branch of the Public Affairs Overseas Program Staff. Dr. Sloan is at present in England where she is attending a British Colonial Office Conference on African Affairs. She is expected to return to Washington around the middle of September.

Sincerely yours,

Cora H. Hochstein

Cora H. Hochstein
Near East and African Branch
Public Affairs Overseas Program Staff

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe, Assistant Director,
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, N. Y.

23c - 29-21

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Negro Since 1900

250 West 57th Street
December 13, 1948

Mr. W.E.B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York City

23-18-19

Dear Mr. DuBois:

We would very much appreciate your permission to distribute in the occupied areas and to State Department missions in continental Europe, Latin America, the Middle East, the Far East and Africa for translation and possible re-publication in local periodicals "The Negro Since 1900: A Progress Report." This material appeared in the November 21, 1948 issue of THE NEW YORK TIMES Magazine. Some condensation of the article may be necessary because of space limitations in foreign newspapers and magazines.

THE NEW YORK TIMES has agreed, provided we obtain your consent.

If you can grant permission for the use of the material, would you please sign the attached copy of this letter and return it as soon as possible?

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Royce Moch

(Miss) Royce Moch
Chief, Magazine Liaison Section

Permission granted:

_____

W.E.B. DuBois

[U.S. Dept. of State]

December 15, 1948

Miss Royce Moch, Chief
Magazine Liaison Section
Department of State
250 West 57th Street
New York, New York

123-18-20

Dear Miss Moch:

I have your letter of December 13. I will be very glad to have the State Department use the article which you mention in The New York Times. However, since the writing of this article entailed a good deal of work upon my part, for which The Times remuneration was very small, I think it would be only fair if the State Department would offer me some compensation for its further use.

I shall be glad to hear from you on the matter.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[U.S. - DEPT. OF STATE]

December 15, 1948

Miss Royce Moch, Chief
Magazine Liaison Section
Department of State
250 West 57th Street
New York, New York

23-18-18

Dear Miss Moch:

I have your letter of December 13. I will be very glad to have the State Department use the article which you mention in The New York Times, provided the Department is willing to remunerate me reasonably and also provided that no changes in the article be made without my consent.

I shall be glad to hear from you on the matter.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Req to print article 1948-49

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

NEW YORK, N. Y.

250 West 57th Street
December 29, 1948

Mr. W.E.B. DuBois
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

23-24-50

As I mentioned to you in my original letter, we are interested in making your article "The Negro Since 1900: A Progress Report" available to State Department press officers throughout the world. We would like United States Information Service libraries abroad to have a copy of the article in their files since it will undoubtedly be of value to persons interested in this field. It is also possible that some editors would like to publish your article in local newspapers or periodicals.

Our budget for reprints is limited and is, for the most part, used to purchase material which we intend to publish in the government's own magazines. Although we have no assurance that your article will be reprinted in any foreign country, we are still interested in making it available. We are prepared to pay $25.00 for reprint rights and trust that this sum will be satisfactory.

If you can grant the necessary permission, would you let us know and we will immediately forward a payment voucher to you.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Royce Moch

(Miss) Royce Moch
Chief, Magazine Liaison Section

ans Jan 3,
$100
No changes

[U.S. Housing...]

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

MAR 2 1948

Dear Mr. Smythe:

In response to your letter of February 25 addressed to the Administrator, we should like to indicate that we have already dispatched a copy of "The Housing of Negro Veterans" and release No. 9 to Dr. W. E. B. DuBois in answer to a similar request from his office.

Should additional copies of this report be desired, we should be pleased to send them.

Sincerely yours,

Frank S. Horne

FRANK S. HORNE
Assistant to the
Administrator

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
Department of Special Research
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

23c-43

[U.S. Housing...]

March 5, 1948

Mr. Frank S. Horne
Housing and Home
Finance Agency
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Horne:

In reference to your letter of March 3, we want to thank you for a copy of "The Housing of Negro Veterans" and release No. 9. However, because of the nature of our work we will need one more copy of each of these documents and will appreciate your sending them to us.

Thank you for your courtesy, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

March 31, 1948

Dr. Ambrose Caliver
U. S. Office of Education
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Caliver:

We are in need of some definite information and I hope you can help us out. Will you please send me the latest ranking of state school systems. Also, please tell us just what rank the state of New York has. Is

We would appreciate it very much if you would put Dr. W. E. B. DuBois on your permanent mailing list to receive materials released by your office.

With thanks for your courtesy and cooperation, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:S

P.S. Can you tell us whether there is a regular ranking of city school systems? If so, please let us know just where the school system of the City of New York ranks in comparison with other cities of ~~it's class~~, or however such rating is made.

230-45

[U.S. - Office of Ed]

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
U. S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON

April 8, 1948

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
Research Assistant
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

23-20-72

Dear Mr. Smythe:

I am referring your letter of March 31 concerning ranking of State and city school systems to our Statistical Service.. You no doubt will be hearing from them shortly concerning the matter.

Very cordially yours,

Ambrose Caliver

Ambrose Caliver
Specialist for Higher Education of Negroes
and Adviser on Related Problems

[U.S. Office of Education]

May 19, 1948

230-14

Dr. Ambrose Caliver
U. S. Office of Education
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Caliver:

We are in urgent need of some statistics concerning the enrollment of Negro students in American schools, covering a period from 1910 to the present. This is needed for public and schools of higher learning.

We would appreciate it very much if you would be good enough to send us whatever information you have in this regard at your earliest possible convenience.

Also, will you please place us on your regular mailing list to receive materials released by your office.

With thanks for your courtesy and cooperation, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

P. S. We never received any word from the bureau to which you referred our request for information concerning the rating of states (from 1 to 48) educationally.

[U.S.-OFFICE OF ED]

December 13, 1948

23-46-218

Mr. Thomas E. Cotner
Federal Security Agency
U. S. Office of Education
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Sir:

Replying to your letter of December 6, may I say that I have been acquainted with James Lesesne Wells for many years and was a college schoolmate of his mother. He is a person of excellent character and good ability and I think that he would do your organization credit.

I am returning the blank filled out.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

[United States - Post Office]

409

December 13, 1948

The Postmaster General
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

May I call your attention to the following complaint directed to the Postmaster of the 165th Street Station, New York City:

23-16-46

May I suggest that your handling of special delivery letters is inefficient if not stupid. A special was delivered to this address December 10. I was not at home. Instead of leaving the letter with the doorman who handles all mail, the letter was returned to your office and I got it the following day. On December 11, another special came. I came to the door immediately, but the messenger, no. 23451 had already left, and the letter has not yet been delivered, December 13 at three p. m.

I cannot walk three-quarters of a mile for my mail, nor have you any right to compel a person to pay 13 cents for postage extra and then delay delivery 48 hours beyond ordinary postage.

I demand delivery of my letter immediately. I am sending a copy of this complaint to the Postmaster of New York and to Washington.

Very sincerely,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[U.S. - POST OFFICE, N.Y.]

December 13, 1948

The Postmaster
New York, New York

Sir:

23-46-47

May I call your attention to the following complaint directed to the Postmaster of the 165th Street Station, New York City:

May I suggest that your handling of special delivery letters is inefficient if not stupid. A special was delivered to this address December 10. I was not at home. Instead of leaving the letter with the doorman who handles all mail, the letter was returned to your office and I got it the following day. On December 11, another special came. I came to the door immediately, but the messeenger, no. 23451 had already left, and the letter has not yet been delivered, December 13th at three p.m.

I cannot walk three-quarters of a mile for my mail, nor have you any right to compel a person to pay 13 cents for postage extra and then delay delivery 48 hours beyond ordinary postage.

I demany delivery of my letter immediately. I am sending a copy of this complaint to the Postmaster of New York and to Washington.

Very sincerely,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[U.S. – Public Health]

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
U. S. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

IN REPLYING, ADDRESS THE
NATIONAL OFFICE OF VITAL STATISTICS

May 17, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Director, Department of Special Research
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

32.30.63

Dear Doctor DuBois:

Your letter of May 3 has been referred by the Bureau of the Census to this office for further attention.

The enclosed publications contain natality and mortality data, by race, which may be useful to you. Additional information of this kind may be found in our annual volumes "Vital Statistics of the United States." These are available in most public libraries.

Sincerely yours,

Herbert P. Dunning

Herbert P. Dunning
Administration Section

For Halbert L. Dunn, M. D.
Chief, National Office of
Vital Statistics

Enclosures

ARTHUR CAPPER, KANS., CHAIRMAN
GEORGE D. AIKEN, VT. — ELMER THOMAS, OKLA.
HARLAN J. BUSHFIELD, S. DAK. — ALLEN J. ELLENDER, LA.
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EDWARD J. THYE, MINN. — CLAUDE PEPPER, FLA.
JAMES M. KENDALL, CLERK

Pethfinder Corresp

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY

February 3, 1948

Mr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

23-19-17

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Enclosed find $1 for which please send me copies of the, "Statement on the Denial of Human Rights," and, an "Appeal to the United Nations for Redress."

I will be glad to do my best to see that these publications get wide distribution.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur Capper

February 6, 1948

Senator Arthur Capper
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Capper:

It was so kind of you to write concerning the petition the Association presented to the United Nations, AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD. In accordance with your request, two copies of the printed edition have been sent to you. However, we are returning your $1.00, which you sent to cover the cost, and ask that you accept these copies with our compliments.

With thanks for your interest, help, and courtesy, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

P.S. We would appreciate receiving a copy of the Congressional Record in which the abstract of the petition is to appear.

[U.S. Senate]

Charge to the account of _____ $ _____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

May 27, 1948

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

NIGHT LETTER

23-22-17

Senator Wiley, Chairman
Senate Judiciary Committee
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

I strongly ask more time be given to testimony against Mundt-Nixon Bill. Matter of too great importance to be hurried through without adequate inquiry.

W. E. B. Du Bois

20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

LOngacre 3-6890

Negro petition to United Nations

[U.S. Supreme Court, Library]

March 31, 1948

Miss Helen Newman, Librarian
Supreme Court of the United States
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Newman:

Thank you for your letter of March 30, sent to Dr. DuBois. In regard to the vouchers, for the two copies of AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD totaling $1.00, I am turning over your letter to the proper authorities. Our office does not have charge of the sale of this document.

With thanks for your courtesy and hoping that you will receive the signed voucher, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

February 4, 1948

Honorable Warren Austin
United States Delegation
to the United Nations
2 Park Avenue
New York City, New York

23-46-19

My dear Sir:

I am enclosing a printed copy of the petition of Americans of Negro descent presented to the United Nations, concerning their civil rights. A mimeographed copy was sent to you some time ago, and you were kind enough to point out that it was too late to have this matter put on the agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations during its meeting in 1947. I am venturing to send you this printed copy and to ask your good offices to have it put upon the agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations for the year 1948.

It seems to me that the report of the President's Civil Rights Committee, substantiated practically all that we say in this petition. It would be a matter of fine and forward-looking statesmanship id the United States would itself voluntarily bring this matter forward to be discussed before the nations, and attest that while our democracy is not perfect, we are perfectly willing to acknowledge our faults and to bring the matter before the world, with the promise and hope that this unfortunate condition wil be corrected within the near future.

I shall be glad to hear from you about this matter.
I am, Sir

Respectfully yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:LM

LITTLE ASSEMBLY

22-35-23

February 4, 1948

Honorable Warren Austin
United States Delegation
to the United Nations
2 Park Avenue
New York, New York

My dear Sir:

I am enclosing a printed copy of the petition of Americans of Negro descent presented to the United Nations, concerning their civil rights. A mimeographed copy was sent to you sometime ago and you were kind enough to point out that it was too late to have this matter put on the agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations during its meeting in 1947. I am venturing to send you this printed copy and to ask your good offices to have it put upon the agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations for the year 1948.

It seems to me that the report of the President's Civil Rights Committee, substantiated practically all that we say in this petition. It would be a matter of fine and forward-looking statesmanship if the United States would itself voluntarily bring this matter forward to be discussed before the nations, and attest that while our democracy is not perfect, we are perfectly willing to acknowledge our faults and to bring the matter before the world, with the promise and hope that this unfortunate condition will be corrected within the near future.

I shall be glad to hear from you about this matter.
I am, Sir

Respectfully yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

(U.S – U.N)

UNITED STATES MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

2 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N.Y.
MURRAY HILL 3-6810

Little Assembly

February 26, 1948

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I have received your letter and printed copy of the petition of Americans of Negro descent entitled "An Appeal to the World!". Since you have requested that this petition be placed upon the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly for 1948, I am forwarding your letter and the printed booklet to the Department of State in Washington, D.C. in accordance with established procedures concerning policy matters of this kind.

I feel sure that the Department of State will give very thoughtful consideration to your request.

23-46-18

Sincerely yours,

Warren R. Austin

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, New York.

C45 - U N DEL

22-40-23

July 1, 1948

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
U. S. Delegation to the U. N.
2 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Madame:

I am enclosing a copy of a memorandum which I have sent to Mr. Walter White, Secretary of the NAACP, concerning our meeting in the offices of the Delegation on June 30, 1948.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

Enclosure

File Copy

[Enclosure]

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Walter White

From: Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

Subject: Meeting with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt - NAACP Petition

Date: July 1, 1948

22-4D-32

On June 30, I was asked to call on Mrs. Roosevelt at 2 Park Avenue, the offices of the United States Delegation to the United Nations. I talked with her for about one-half hour. She represented Senator Warren Austin, the head of the United States Delegation. What she said was in answer to a letter that I had written to Senator Austin on October 28, 1947. The essence of that letter was as follows:

> Replying to your letter of October 21, I am taking the opportunity of sending you a copy of our petition to the United Nations. I trust that you will do your best to have this matter put on the agenda of the United Nations Assembly, either this year or next. I think it would be an excellent thing if the United States was able to say to the world: We are perfectly willing to be criticised as to our democracy and to give the public a chance to know what that criticism is.

Senator Austin wrote: "Upon receipt of a copy of your petition, we will be glad to refer it to the Department of State for appropriate consideration."

Mrs. Roosevelt said that the State Department had communicated its decision, and as Mr. Austin was engaged on the Security Council, she was representing him. The Department of State was of the opinion that it would be unwise to put our Petition on the agenda of the next Assembly for discussion, since no good could come from such a discussion. On the other hand, the Declaration of Human Rights, and it was to be hoped also the Covenant, would come up at that session and be discussed and possibly assented to.

I replied that I realized that no international action on our plight was probable nor, indeed, expected; but that I thought that the world ought to know just exactly what the situation was in the United States, so that they would not be depending upon vague references concerning our race problem, but would have factual statements before them; and that if the United States was unwilling itself to put the matter before the Assembly, that one or two other nations had expressed the possibility of their doing this.

Mrs. Roosevelt thought that this would be embarrassing; that it would be seized upon by the Soviet Government and others as an excuse for attacking the United States. Mrs. Roosevelt said that already, several times, she had been compelled to answer attacks upon the United States for its race problem by pointing out the fact that other countries had made similar mistakes. In case, therefore, the matter was discussed in the Assembly, she and her colleagues would be put in the unpleasant position of having to defend the United States. The situation then might be so unpleasant that she would feel it necessary to resign from the United States Delegation to the United Nations.

United Nations Nations Unies

Lake Success, New York. Fieldstone 7-1100

Executive Office of the Secretary-General

I expressed the opinion that the placing of facts before an international body need not of necessity be a matter of embarrassment. Naturally, it might be taken up by persons and organizations unfriendly to the United States; but that that was not a reason for suppressing the truth. That in the early days of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, when we proposed to expose the facts concerning lynching and discrimination, there many good friends of the Negro race who advised against it and said that it would bring unfavorable criticism upon us. Nevertheless, we insisted and I think that we did right.

Mrs. Roosevelt asked that if any action was taken toward bringing the matter up for discussion before the Assembly of the United Nations, that she be notified as soon as possible, so that she could prepare to act accordingly. I promised that such notification would certainly be given to her.

VAL-KILL COTTAGE
HYDE PARK, DUTCHESS CO.
NEW YORK

23-47-14

July 6, 1948

Dear Doctor DuBois:

Thank you for sending me a copy of the memorandum you sent to Mr. White.

Very sincerely yours,

Eleanor Roosevelt

Editor
CURTIS W. REESE

UNITY

Established 1878

ABRAHAM LINCOLN CENTRE
700 Oakwood Boulevard
CHICAGO 15

PHONE DREXEL 6600

Reg write Entitle

March 3, 1948

Dr.William E. DuBois
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

23-18-12

Dear Dr. DuBois:

UNITY is planning to issue a Gandhi Memorial Number comparable to the issues published in past years in memory of Jane Addams, Clarence Darrow, S. O. Levinson, and others. These issues are designed to become a permanent record of tributes to great souls.

We should like very much to have from you a tribute to Gandhi, to be included in this Memorial Number. We can use articles of from 1,000 to 2,000 words but we want your tribute even if it should be briefer than this--even if only a paragraph.

Copy should reach us not later than May 15th.

You may recall that it was UNITY which published serially Gandhi's autobiography in 1926, under the editorship of John Haynes Holmes.

Cordially yours

CW Reese

cwr:ac

Editor

[Unity]

Request to
write Article
Due May 15.

March 17, 1948

23-16

Dr. Curtis Reese
700 Oakwood Boulevard
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Dr. Reese:

Your letter to Dr. DuBois, re the Gandhi material for UNITY, arrived during his absence from New York. Doctor is lecturing on the West Coast, and will not return to New York before April 15. However, considering the nature of your request, I have forwarded your communication to him for action. As soon as I have heard from him I will contact you.

We see Betty Baker quite regularly, and she is looking well as ever.

Mabel, and our new baby Karen join me in best regards to you, Mrs. Reese and those on the staff we still know.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LW

22-30-05

May 20, 1948

Mr. Carl Van Doren
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

My dear Mr. Van Doren:

I find at the last moment, to my great regret, that I have another engagement for June 2, which I had accepted before hearing of the Myrdal dinner. Please, therefore, cancel my reservation. However, I am going to see Mr. Myrdal in Chicago, so that I will not entirely lose the opportunity.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-25-87

THE ROOSEVELT
NEW YORK

Dr. Mark Van Doren

[VAN Doren]

January 12, 1948

230-39

Mr. Carl Van Vechten
101 Central Park West
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Van Vechten: The attached is the manuscript material of THE WORLD AND AFRICA, by W. E. B. DuBois. Dr. DuBois has instructed me to see that this material is turned over to you for the James Weldon Johnson collection at Yale University.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

CARL VAN VECHTEN

[illegible] CENTRAL PARK WEST

NEW YORK CITY 23

TELEPHONE: CIRCLE 7-[illegible]

[illegible] be in [illegible]
Saturday and [illegible]
fully aware [illegible]
I do not [illegible]
evening when [illegible]

Affectionately,

Carl Van Vechten

January 13, 1948

CARL VAN VECHTEN

101 CENTRAL PARK WEST

NEW YORK CITY 23

TELEPHONE: ENDICOTT 2-7700

Dear Doctor DuBois,..Can you dine with us on Monday April 19 at 7.30? The Librarian of Yale and the Curator of the Johnson Collection will be here at this time and we want to say to make it a gala occasion. Please let us hear from you as we HOPE you will say Yes.

I am sure you are having a successful tour . Spring is actually beginning in New York and perhaps this very severe winter is at last over.

our best regards to you,sincerely,

March 17,1948 Carl Van Vechten

Pass New York 19

23-23-22

Per information

5121 S. State St.,
Chicago 9, Ill.
3-29-48

Mr W. E. B. DuBois,
C/o The N. A. A. C. P.
69 Fifth Ave.
New York.

22-34-75

Dear Mr DuBois,

I should be glad if you would kindly define for me the difference between the objective of the Pan African Congress and that of the N. A. A. C. P. and who are the sponsors of the Pan African Congress?

It seems now that so much is being done to unite Europe, Africa peoples should try the same think for Africa

Hall I hear from you?

respectfully yours
Lew Victor

LEW M. VICTOR

April 6, 1948

Mr. Lew M. Victor
5121 South State Street
Chicago 9, Illinois

Dear Mr. Victor:

Your letter of March 29 has just arrived. Dr. Du Bois is out of the city and will not return for several weeks yet. However, I will bring your letter to his attention as soon as he returns.

Meanwhile, I suggest that you check through the sources in your public library and you should be able to find some material on the U. N. I. A. and the Pan-African Congress. A note to the Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, should prove helpful in your search.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LW

22-39

THE VIKING PRESS INC · PUBLISHERS
18 EAST 48TH STREET · NEW YORK 17 · NY
Cable: Vikpress *Telephone: PL 5-4330*

23-24-41

Sent for 2-18-48
Hsmyth

February 17, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Would you like to have us return to you the manuscript of THE WORLD AND AFRICA? A card is enclosed for your reply.

Very truly yours,

Marjorie Greasser

THE VIKING PRESS, INC.

MG:mb
enc

79 EAST 79TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

22-481

Jan 4 1948.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

I have no copy of
"The Negro in So. Carolina during the
Reconstruction" published by C. G. Wood-
son in 1924. Of course you know
it & have it. As I am having to dispose
of some of my books (ante-mortem)
I wonder if you would care for
another copy, or could tell me who
or what library would value having
it. I'd be glad to send it to you promid-
ly.

Cordially,
Oswald Garrison Villard.

over

P.S.

I also have a number of valuable Reconstruction letters & orders of Govt officials bound together - covers lost with age. It was this that I wanted to talk to you about at the annual meeting.

O.G.V.

January 12, 1948

Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard
79 East 79th Street
New York, New York

22-40-2

Dear Mr. Villard:

I was sorry not to get a chance to speak to you at the annual meeting. I should like very much to have Woods' "The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction," and also any of the Reconstruction letters and orders which you can spare. Thank you very much for the offer.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Oswald Garrison Villard
~~No. 20 Vesey Street~~ 79 East 79
~~New York, N.Y.~~ New York 21

February 10, 1948

22-40-29

Dear Dr. DuBois,

I have a folder of slavery documents, about a dozen in number, including bills of sale of slaves, mortgages, etc.. What institutions do you think might be interested? I made an offering a year or so ago of some of my material to Fiske University and they were absolutely indifferent. The librarian who was to have inspected the material never showed up, so my John Brown collection went to Columbia. I am amused at Reddick's groaning about his branch Library. I also offered him material, but he was never sufficiently interested or polite enough to answer my letter. I don't want to send the matter, slight as it is, to any institution who wouldn't be really interested and value it.

Cordially yours,

Oswald Garrison Villard

I hope you get an adequate office. Was the material I sent you of value?

Do NOT TYPE This

February 25, 1948

22-40-30

Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard
79 East 79th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Villard:

In regard to your letter of February 10, re the folder of slavery documents, I would like to know whether Dr. Du Bois has contacted you. As you know he has a great interest in this material but since he has been away from New York from February 11, with the exception of one day, and will not return to his desk until sometime in April, I wondered whether he had been able to get in touch with you. I am sure that you know he would be glad to make suggestions for the disposal of this material, and if he has not done so, I shall be pleased to contact him upon hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

June 2, 1948

22-34

Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard
79 East 79th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Villard:

I have received the books that you kindly sent, and I thank you very much for them.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

22-40-67

Oswald Garrison Villard
[illegible] 79 East 79th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear DuBois:

I am still cleaning out my library and would like to know which books listed on the sheet herewith you would like to have.

Sincerely yours,

Oswald Garrison Villard

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

The Color Bar, by Peter Nielson
White Capital and Col ured Labour, by Sydney Olivier
The Plantation Negro as a Freeman, by Philip A. Bruce
Ku Klux Conspiracy, A Report of a Committee of Congress
Carpet Bag Rule in Florida, by John Wallace
Why The Solid South, by a Group of authors

May 21, 1948

22-40-60

Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard
79 East 79th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Villard: On the enclosed slip Dr. DuBois has listed the books which he would like to have. With thanks for your courtesy, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

Enclosed

[Va. State College]

Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

LUTHER H. FOSTER
PRESIDENT

WILLIAM A. ROGERS
SECRETARY

JAMES B. CEPHAS
TREASURER-BUSINESS MANAGER

January 3, 1948

22-34-20

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I want to express our thanks to you for providing so excellent a climax to our 1948 assembly series. Persons here who have heard you speak many times insist that this was your prize lecture.

I hope that the mishaps which attended your visit did not destroy all the pleasure you might have had in it. We are gratified that we had the opportunity to hear you and to present you to our college community.

Very sincerely,

Percy H. Baker

Percy H. Baker, Chairman
Assembly Program Committee

[Virginia State College]

January 8, 1948

President Luther H. Foster
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

My dear President Foster:

May I thank you very much for your hospitality while I was in Petersburg. I secured a pullman se t on the train and had a pleasant journey home. Please express my thanks to Mrs. Foster and the family.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

lecture HB

Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

LUTHER H. FOSTER
PRESIDENT

JAMES B. CEPHAS
TREASURER-BUSINESS MANAGER

October 12, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

23-48-18

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We remember with a great deal of pleasure your contribution to our College Assembly last year, and would like very much to have you come to us again in the same capacity this year.

In our planning session, the attention of the Committee was directed to the events that are transpiring now in Africa: the change of government in South Africa, the unrest in British West Africa, the problem of former Italian colonies, the Liberian Development Company etc. The suggestion was made that these matters and their relation to events taking place elsewhere in the world would be a significant topic for Assembly. We would be very pleased if you will consider addressing the assembly along these lines. We are proposing the title: "Africa in World Affairs". Any other that you prefer will be acceptable.

We wish to suggest Friday, November 19, 1948 as a date. You will probably recall that our assemblies convene at 1:00 P. M. Last year your fee was $150.00. Will you inform us also if this figure is agreeable this year.

Very truly yours,

Percy H. Baker

Percy H. Baker, Chairman
Assembly Program Committee

October 18, 1948

Mr. Percy H. Baker
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

My dear Mr. Baker:

I have your letter of October 12. I shall be glad to speak for you Friday, November 19, 1948, on AFRICA IN WORLD AFFAIRS. The fee will be $150 out of which I will pay all expenses except board and lodging while I am there.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

LUTHER H. FOSTER
PRESIDENT

JAMES B. CEPHAS
TREASURER-BUSINESS MANAGER

October 22, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

23-48-15

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We appreciate your willingness to come to us again, and shall look forward with much pleasure to your visit on November 19th. If you will inform us later of your route and time of arrival, we will try to avoid the misadventure of last year.

Very sincerely,

Percy H. Baker

Percy H. Baker, Chairman
Assembly Program Committee

[Virginia State College]

lecture

November 15, 1948

23-48-27

Dr. Percy Baker
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Dr. Baker:

This is to inform you that I shall arrive Friday morning and shall be coming to Petersburg from Roanoke. I shall write you later of the exact time of my arrival.

I would appreciate it very much if you would be kind enough to arrange to have placed on the stage of the assembly hall a map of the world and a map of Africa.

With thanks for your courtesy, I am

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

[Virginia State College]

November 26, 1948

23-26-21

Dr. Percy Baker
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Dr. Baker:

Thank you very much for the opportunity of talking to your students. I appreciate your kindness.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Virginia State College]

November 26, 1948

23-26-20

President L. H. Foster
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear President Foster:

May I thank you and Mrs. Foster for your kind hospitality, as always I enjoyed my stay.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

LUTHER H. FOSTER
PRESIDENT

WILLIAM A. ROGERS
SECRETARY

JAMES B. CEPHAS
TREASURER-BUSINESS MANAGER

November 30, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am embarrassed to have delayed so long to thank you for your contribution to our assembly program series. Agin this year, as was the case last year, I expect that your lecture will be the high point of our programs for the year. We are grateful to you for coming to us again this year, and hope that we may look foward to continued visits.

Very sincerely,

Percy H. Baker

Percy H. Baker, Chairman
Assembly Program Committee

Lect Conf

Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

[Virginia Union University]

Leo Pending 1949

November 30, 1948

Dr W E B DuBois
New York City

22-33-36

Dear Sir:

I am working with a group of students who would like to present you at one of their "Monday Morning Congresses" but they have found it impossible to develop communications with you. They are willing and happy to pay any fee and to have you at anytime it is convenient for you. One class is using your the World and Africa as a sort of textbook. Please Dr DuBois, acknowledge our communication if nothing more.

Enclosed please note programs and advertising literature to show the type of project we are promoting.

We shall be eagerly looking forward to seeing a letter from your office. Thanking you in advance for this kindness, we are

Most cordially and respectfully,

Clennon King
Advising teacher

[Virginia Union University]

22-33-37

December 7, 1948

Mr. Clennon King
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

My dear Sir:

I have your letter of November 2. I am accepting for the new year only a very limited number of lectures and, partly in self protection, I have to establish a standard fee for them.

My charge for a lecture in Richmond would be $200, out of which I would pay my expenses, except lodging and board.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

VITAL SPEECHES
OF THE DAY

THE BEST THOUGHT OF THE BEST MINDS
ON IMPORTANT NATIONAL QUESTIONS

Published Semi-Monthly
CITY NEWS PUBLISHING CO.
33 WEST 42ND ST., NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
Telephone LOngacre 5-4040

August 9th, 1948

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe,
Dept. of Special Research,
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, N. Y.

230-45

Dear Mr. Smythe:-

We do not return copies of speeches unless asked to do so, When a speech is published we forward a marked copy of the magazine to the author as soon as a copy is available. We keep the better speeches on file for three or four months as a reserve and put them into the publication as opportunity permits.

As we have not used your address of May 3rd yp to this time we are returning it to you as requested.

Possibly at some future date we may be able to include one of your addresses in our magazine.

Very truly yours,

CITY NEWS PUBLISHING CO.

Thomas F. Daly, Jr.

File Russia

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F. EMMETT MORRISSEY
JOSEPH N. WAGNER
JAMES D. LYNCH
ROBERT A. MURPHY
LAWRENCE C. BOYLE

October 23, 1948.

Mr. William E. DuBois,
NAACP,
20 West 40th Street,
New York, 18, New York.

23-38-52

Dear Doctor DuBois,

As one who has read your excellent works and admired the spirit and militancy of your varied activities I enclose my contribution which you indirectly inspired.

Regardless of whether or not you agree with its conclusions your comment is invited and you may use any or all of it as you see fit.

With every kind wish.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Wagner

jnw/m

RUSSIA HAS NO NEGRO PROBLEM

"The devil took Jesus to a very high mountain, and showed him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them. And he said to him, 'All these things will I give to thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me'." - Matthew.

Many Negroes look to Communism to find freedom. And the reason is obvious. For in America, the white man has not only bruised and bartered the Negro's body, but in many instances has attempted to enslave both his mind and soul. Night and day, the Negro faces unwritten laws and restrictive customs designed to keep him in his place and to remind him of his previous condition of servitude. Hotels and restaurants deny him shelter and food, and find any number of pretexts for doing so despite the law. In many states, the Negro cannot exercise his right to vote, nor can he stand for political office. Even in the matter of employment, he is discriminated against, being the first to be laid off in the face of a depression and the last to be re-employed when better times return. Regardless of his training or ability, his his employers assign him to menial tasks, and rarely promote him even though he may amply qualify for such recognition. While some of the labor unions aim at more enlightened treatment, they too discriminate by limiting him to secondary memberships and by withholding from him rights which other members enjoy, such as that of holding office. School and neighborhood segregation is an old story, and many of the unkindest cuts the Negro has to endure come from self-styled Christians who refuse to accept the Negro as a brother. These hypocrites either reject the parable of the Good Samaritan or restrict its application to the white race. Communism, on the contrary, extends a welcoming hand.

23C-38-24

This friendly gesture is very tempting. But loyal and intelligent Negroes are not unmindful of the rapid progress they have made under the United States form of government. In the brief period since the Civil War, they have achieved distinction in every walk of life, in the arts as well as in the professions, in trade, in industry, in government, and in sports, in fact, in every activity that other people engage in. When given the opportunity, they abundantly demonstrate the truth that all men are created equal.

Despite the Negro's progress. much of which is due to progressive organizers such as Frederick Douglas and Booker T. Washington, and to such vigilant organizations as the NAACP and the March On Washington Movement, the ambitious Negro refuses to be satisfied until he achieves a first-class citizenship in place of the second-class citizenship now allotted him. Naturally he seeks a type of society which will complete his emancipation and grant him equal opportunity of every kind. This quest has gathered momentum in recent years. Seeing America rush enthusiastically into two wars to rescue downtrodden minorities abroad, the Negro quite logically hoped that he too would benefit from this great outpouring of the humanitarian spirit, that racial discrimination would be put down in America as well as in Europe.

But no such miracle occurred, and the Negro's hope for better things has reached a new low. Worse yet. the continued discrimination and oppression have inclined him to lend an ear to the Communist boast that there is no Negro problem in Russia. The Negro's enthusiasm for such an accomplishment can be readily understood, and he cannot be blamed for wanting to investigate the claim. Oddly enough, those who do so are able to verify the statement in

less than no time. But they also find that there is a joker in the deck - that there are not enough Negroes in Russia to create such a problem. Were these investigators to extend their researches to Alaska, they would find that there too there is no discrimination against Negroes, and for the same reason, namely, that there are practically no Negroes in Alaska. Antagonism to the Negro does not appear until he is in sufficient number to offer effective economic and political competition to the whites. There was no Negro problem in America in 1700 when the Negroes constituted less than 1% of the population. The problem arose only as the percentage of Negroes increased. Today the Negro constitutes 10% of the population and has become a formidable contender for all of life's prizes.

In support of the contention that there are no Negroes in Russia, we may cite the 1945 edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica which states that 75% of the Russians are white and that the remaining 25% have a yellowish tinge. The Russian Academy of Sciences divides the 169 ethnic groups of the Soviet into ten major divisions, not one of which is African or Negro. The New International Encyclopedia breaks up the 200 millions of the presently-comprised Soviet into ethnic groups and specifically mentions all those having as many as 30,000 members. The Negro is not among them, since he adds up to less than the 30,000 which was chosen as the minimum for enumeration. In view of these facts, which show the fraud of the Communist claim, many outstanding Negroes counsel the black man to think twice before throwing himself into the arms of an alien ideology. These students recall how the Communists, in order to get publicity as champion of the underdog in America, overplayed a number of Negro issues to the ultimate harm of the

33C-38-25

Negro himself. Over and above this, they are puzzled by the contradictions of the Communist philosophy. The more they scrutinize it, the more they wonder how to reconcile the solicitude which the Communists exhibit for the Negro in America with their merciless slaughter in Russia of one of their own minorities, a minority of their own color, an industrious and thrifty minority - the Kulaks - whose only offense was to resist the confiscation of their hard-earned possessions, their homes and their farms.

The Negroes have discovered that the Communists follow the time-tried formula of divide and conquer. The flip-flopping necessary to hew to the party line has caused a number of prominent Negroes to sadly turn their eyes away from the Kremlin which, for a while, had raised such high hopes for the Negro promised land. Suspicion has been aroused in their minds that the ostensible love which the Communists profess for the downtrodden is merely a spring board to autocratic power by white dictators. Though the white man has strained the Negro's patience to a point where at times he is ready to try almost anything, yet many dangers lie ahead. Oswald Garrison Villard, one of the founders of the NAACP, writing in the Progressive for January 20, 1947, warns the Negro to Stop, Look, and Listen! Recognizing the fact that the Negro is bent on demanding both justice and a proper regard for his human dignity, he fears that the rhythmic pounding of the drums of hate and discord will have dangerous repercussions. He points out that many of the gains which the Negro has made will be wiped out, if the present emphasis on physical aggressiveness against the white man is continued. Stressing the fact that in any contest of power the white man outnumbers the Negro 10 to 1, Dr. Villard advises the Negro to follow such true and seasoned leaders as

Messers. Walter White and Phillip Randolph. He implies that the Negro can best promote his own ends by political solidarity.

This conservative program does not sit well with the Negro radicals. They are impatient for results. They believe that a Communist triumph will in some magical way abolish the disadvantages of their minority position. By helping the Reds into the saddle, they naively expect to be invited to ride on behind. It never seems to occur to them that the Communists, once they are in control, will no longer need the Negro, whom they will quickly relegate to the doghouse so that they can play ball with the white majority. Just because white men don a red uniform and wave the hammer and sickle, there is no reason to believe that they will forget their antipathy and indifference to the Negro whom they have so often disdained. They will cater to him only so long as they can use him. Then they will kick him aside. The upshot of all this is that the Negro's last estate will be worse than his first. For under the one-party system of Communism, he will have no court of appeal, if he gets into disfavor with the Dictator, whereas under the American two-party system, he can throw his support to the higher bidder, and, by thus playing off one party against the other, eventually attain his complete independence.

230-38-26

It follows that the black radicals are a thorn in the side of conservative Negro leaders who fear that any black adherence, however small, to a party that advocates violence to establish an American Soviet, will alienate the friendship of millions of Negro sympathizers among the white people, and will overnight destroy the gains wrought by thousands of conscientious Negroes whose accomplishments have won the plaudits of thinking men of all colors. For it takes years to produce a Dr. Carver, who

is universally honored as a great scientist and whose achievements will inspire many Negroes to similar efforts and success. But, with ten lessons in Communist violence, a Negro hot-head, with an intelligence quotient of near zero, can ruin this fine record, can betray his compatriots into the hands of rabble-rousing Negro haters, and jeopardize the stability of the American system which, with all its faults, has never-failingly pointed the way to Democracy.

What then can the dissatisfied Negro hope for, if he passes up the life line which the Communists throw to him? He has everything to hope for, and to gain too, if he will but plan wisely and act accordingly. Under the American system, the Negro can gain both social equality and economic opportunity. He needs only to organize and make a reality of his potential political power. Elections in the United States are often won or lost by a few thousand votes, and the Negro has millions of them! True enough, these votes are not evenly distributed in a geographical sense, since but 25% of them are in the North, while 75% of them are in the South where their electoral power is drastically curtailed for the moment. However, if the 25% in the North would vote en bloc, they could dominate the political show. The Democrats in particular have recognized this fact, and have gone far out of their way to curry favor with the Negro in the large northern cities. The Republicans will woo him just as eagerly, when they see that he means business and is organizing to get it.

Here is the Negro's opportunity, to make use of this two-party system which is made to order for redressing the grievances of minority groups. Organization is the secret of his success. If the Negro will but properly organize himself, he can swing the

political balance in his favor in every election, and can get what he wants and is entitled to, right here and now, in the American fashion, by ballots and not by bullets. He will not have to turn to Russia or anywhere else, but only to himself. Before the Negro falls for the Communist propaganda about the Utopia that Russia will achieve in the sweet by and by, let him make his opponents explain what is wrong with the system which has out-produced the world in every necessity, convenience, and luxury which life affords. With but 7% of the world's population, and but 6% of its land area, the United States has 30% of the global railroad mileage, 40% of its telegraph mileage, 46% of its electricity, and 61% of its oil. The Negro has played his part in producing those good things. It remains for him to so manage his future that he will get his proportionate share of them.

If the Negro plays his political cards smart, his white friends will help him. Just as many white men rallied around Lincoln and joined the Negro in his fight for freedom in the Sixties, so, today, there are legions who will continue to fight the Negro's battle. The idea of Negro solidarity is rapidly spreading, as is evidenced by the numerous books, magazine articles, and radio forums on this subject. The Communists are responsible for some of this, but they are only the spark plug, and in a small minority at that. The big mass of the people interested in the Negro will work for him, though rejecting Communism. In turn, the thinking Negro will accept support from all sides, but he will also avoid entangling alliances and will always vote for the success of his people. He can lose in only one way and that is by joining a movement, such as Communism, which the Americans repudiate, for then he will be repudiated with it. For the Negro, the game

is in the bag. All he has to do is to tie it up with votes.

Furthermore, by voting intelligently and by steering clear of the traps that the Communists have set for him, the Negro can attain his goal without sacrificing his religion. And this is a matter of vital importance. For what will it profit the Negro to gain the whole world, if he loses his own soul?

Traditionally, the Negro has found his strength in the Lord. His beautiful faith has enriched him and has enabled him to bear the heavy burdens which the white man has laid upon him. It is essential, therefore, that any program for his uplift should be consistent with his retention of these fine Christian beliefs.

If in his darker moments, as he thinks of the discriminations that have been practised against him, as he recalls his many betrayals at the hands of false friends, if in these moments the Negro is tempted to question the value of his religion, then let him understand that these failures are the failures of Christians and not of Christianity. For it is undeniable that Christianity is the champion of freedom, and is the enemy of discrimination of every kind. Rather than dwell on the weaknesses of Christians, let the Negro focus his attention on the teachings of Christ who, in precept and practice, indicated that they would inherit the earth who loved their neighbor as themselves, who fed him when he hungered, who gave him drink when he thirsted, and who ministered to him when he was sick. It was such as these that would make up the Kingdom of Heaven.

More than all, let the Negro beware of wolves in sheep's clothing, of false prophets who, in Communistic guise, would use

him as a stepping stone to their Godless state, to their materialistic realm where man degenerates to something on all fours with the beasts, where he is deprived of his liberty of movement, of his freedom of speech, of his right to organize, and of his most cherished privilege to worship God as he sees fit.

Cloaking their nefarious schemes beneath the specious plea that there is no Negro problem in Russia, the Communists confuse him with lies and deceptions, incite him to violence, and spur him to overthrow the finest government the world has ever seen, the government which the Negro and his white compatriots have fought and died for, the government which, despite its faults and failures, has raised highest the standard of freedom and has led to the most amazing multiplication of the good things of life - the government which comes closest to realizing man's dream of Paradise on Earth.

Let the Negro not sell his glorious birthright for a mess of Communistic pottage. On the contrary, let him critically examine his would-be friends and their alluring offers, and let him do this in the light of his potential political power, a power which properly organized and exercised will enable him to win new rights and dignities, not only for himself, but also for his white friends who, like him, are often the victims of man's inhumanity to man.

Let the Negro take counsel with his white friends; let him mix with them, work with them, and vote with them, for their mutual good, and to the end of bringing about the Utopia where liberty will be the order of the day, where truth and justice will prevail, where health and happiness and prosperity will be the normal expectation of

every man - the Utopia over whose portal will blaze the legend: Peace on Earth and Good Will to Men.

Copyright 1947
Joseph Michael Wagner

March 3, 1948

23-17

Professor Dorsey E. Walker
Florida Agricultural and
Mechanical College
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Walker:

Your request for a copy of the NAACP petition to the United Nations, AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD, has been turned over to the proper authorities. I am sure your copy will be forth coming in a few days.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

Wallace

23-32-23

New Republic

40 EAST 49 STREET NEW YORK 17 N Y

Henry A. Wallace, EDITOR

January 23, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Mr. Wallace asked me to send you the enclosed speech which he made before the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity in Tulsa on December 28th because he thought you'd be interested in seeing it.

Sincerely yours,

Viola L. Scott
Secretary to Mr. Wallace

VLS:GK

New Republic

40 EAST 49 STREET NEW YORK 17 N Y

Henry A. Wallace, EDITOR

22-40-23

January 26, 1948

Dear W. E. B. DuBois:

Your article came and I read it with much interest. I had intended to reply long before this, but events sidetracked me and I mislaid your letter.

You know much better than I the forces which will now be working on the Negro press as well as the white press of the United States. It will be something fearful and wonderful to observe.

Sincerely yours

H A Wallace

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, N. Y.

23-15-1

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DR W E B DU BOIS, CARE CHAIRMAN FISK UNIVERSITY DINNER
HOTEL ROOSEVELT=

(4)

WARMEST CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR LONG YEARS OF SERVICE
TO THE CAUSE OF HUMANITY MAY YOU GO ON GIVING COURAGE
TO THOSE WHO OTHERWISE WOULD FEAR TO SPEAK OUT=

HENRY A WALLACE=

80

NYC 39 Park Ave.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

HENRY A. WALLACE

39 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N.Y.

May 17, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am taking the liberty of sending you a copy of an open letter which I have addressed to Premier Stalin, outlining the basic principles and practical steps which I believe make possible a general settlement of outstanding differences between ourselves and the Russians.

22-40

The body of this letter was written before the publication of the recent exchange of notes between Ambassador Smith and Foreign Minister Molotov. That exchange, which seemed to open the door to direct negotiations between the two nations, gave new hope to the peace-loving peoples of the world for an end to the cold war.

It would be tragic if this hope were betrayed and a conference between the United States and the Soviet Union foreclosed by the Administration's flat rejection of the Russian offer to negotiate.

I am therefore addressing you and other men of peace who are leaders of American thought and molders of public opinion to ask that you urge the President, the Secretary of State and the Congress to act in good faith upon Ambassador Smith's statement that "the door is always wide open" to Soviet-American discussions by accepting the Molotov proposal for a conference to settle outstanding differences. Only if that proposal is accepted, and our representatives sit down with the Russians to arrive at a peaceful understanding, can America regain the moral leadership in world affairs that alone can make peace possible.

As I said in my open letter to Premier Stalin "There is no misunderstanding or difficulty between the U.S.A. and the USSR which can be settled by force or fear and there is no difference which cannot be settled by peaceful, hopeful negotiation." If you believe, with me, in the truth of this statement, let me urge you to speak out now for an early, open and fully reported meeting between representatives of the two great powers for the settlement of our differences by negotiation and agreement.

Sincerely yours,

Henry A Wallace

Enclosure

22-40-63

May 24, 1948

Mr. Henry A. Wallace
39 Park Avenue
New York, New York

My dear Mr. Wallace:

May I thank you for a copy of the letter addressed to Premier Stalin. I have read Mr. Stalin's answer. I think that your letter was a splendid achievement and a courageous step toward that peace for which every decent American citizen longs.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[1948]

[Wallace, Henry M.]

42-60-23

Chicago, Ill. September 14---- After a ringing denunciation of Warmongering and double-talk on the part of the leadership of the Republican and Democratic Parties, at Wrigley Field Tuesday night, Henry M. Wallace told an audience of approximately 30,000 that he was "shocked at the summary dismissal of Dr. W.E.B.DuBois from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

Mr. Wallace declared that "The firing of Dr. DuBois by the NAACP board of directors is a tragic example of how American fascism is creeping into all facets of American life."

"I want to tell you," the Progressive Party Presidential candidate declared," that if I have been shocked at the face of fascism in the South, and the operation of this same fascist-like reaction in Illinois which has taken our party off the ballot, I am equally shocked at the information I read in the papers this morning telling of the dismissal of this great 82-year-Old scholar from his post of Natl.Research Director because of his courageous stand in behalf of the Colonial peoples of the world.

"Dr. DuBois thus takes his place alongside other American scholars and leaders who have felt the of reaction, because they have proclaimed their faith in the working philosophy of the Progressive Party."

The audience seemed stunned for a moment, following the dramatic announcement of Dr. DuBois's dismissal, but showed their real feelings, when Paul Robeson declared that " This Patriarch of the Negro people will not be silenced."

HENRY A. WALLACE

39 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

22-40-123

November 29, 1948

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have read with deepest interest your letter of November 5. Moreover, I can never forget the marvelous address you made at the Golden Gate meeting in Harlem during the campaign.

Is there any likelihood that you will be in Chicago any time in the near future? If you are going to be there, I want very much to arrange for you to see Mrs. Anita McCormick Blaine. I have spoken to her about you, hoping that you might perhaps have some community of interests.

Sincerely yours,

H A Wallace

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
NAACP
20 West 40th St.
New York 18, N.Y.

I can be in C ~~next week~~ Dec 7-11 & then
she would like Mrs Blaine. Could I trouble you to find
out & if trouble
~~to Mrs Blaine. Can you~~ make an appointment?
Thank you for your interest

10

FARVUE SOUTH SALEM NEW YORK

Dec. 2, 1948

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

I have sent your letter to Mrs. Blaine and have asked he to wire you as to whether any of the dates you mention are convenient for her. There is a bare possibility that she will be out of town on December 7 or 8. Speak to her warmly. She is a real humanitarian.

Sincerely yours,

H A Wallace

23-32-24

PRAHA. Hradčany.
ПРАГА. Градчаны.
PRAGUE. The Castle.

Rt. Rev. Bishop Walls [1948]

[Walls]

25. X.48-2?

Greetings from Europe. Was elected member of Central Committee of World's Council of Churches.

W. Walls

23-43-34

Dr. W.E.B. Dubois

20 West 40th St.

New York, N.Y.

USA

PETER HAMILTON WALMSLEY

Reg'd write
B, C, G

101 Holder Hall
Princeton, N.J.
January 19th, 1948

23-16-21

Dear Doctor DuBois:

I should very much like to begin this letter by paying you the dubious honour of saying your lecture several months ago in Mr. Goldman's course met with greater enthusiasm on the part of students than I can recall having seen displayed in my three years at Princeton. Knowing you only from references and quotations, we found quite a different manner of man. I confess I expected you rather to explode over the lecture platform !

As a New Orleanian, I suppose I am a Southerner, though we tend to think of ourselves as New Orleanians and little else. I became interested in the Negro problem quite a while back, I suppose while I was at preparatory school in Maryland. While in the Air Corps, I found an opportunity to do some little bit to help the Negroes by teaching night classes in reading and spelling and math under the auspices of a rather wise Personnel Services Officer. I have gone this far into my background in an attempt to explain the purpose of this letter. As my field is the American Civilization Program here, I shall do my thesis in American literature. I have dis-

PETER HAMILTON WALMSLEY

-cont'd

this with Professor Thorp who, as a champion of the Student Liberal Union, heartily endorsed my idea, pointing out the difficulty of gathering material because in many instances there seems to be no color line. Consequently, I have tentatively modified my thesis plans, narrowing it down to one man; this I hope will be yourself. But before making this definite, I wished to write to you and ask not your permission alone, but your help. This decision was not based solely upon the fine impression which your lecture had made, but because I feel that your approach to the solution of our problem has been both wiser and I believe eventually, more fruitful than Mr. Washington's. To do this, I should like to see you this Summer if you are willing, to discuss the plan the book would take, and to gain background material. So far, my only real research into the matter has been to delve into An American Dilemma, which after all is no small or mean task!

23-16-22

Please, at your convenience, write me your views on this matter for I should not wish to undertake the venture without your approval.

With warmest greetings, I am always

Very sincerely yours,

Peter Walmsley

February 4, 1948

Mr. Peter Hamilton Walmsley
101 Holder Hall
Princeton, New Jersey

23-16-23

My dear Mr. Walmsley:

I thank you for your letter of January 19.

There have been several master's theses written upon my work, and Mr. Herbert Aptheker is delving into my letters with an idea of publishing them sometime. I shall be very glad during the summer when I am in town to talk to you about your project.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:LM

January 5, 1948

Mr. Lester A. Walton
2588 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York

23-23-17

My dear Mr. Walton:

I just got home and so did not have the opportunity of answering your letter of December 18. I think, however, that food after the holidays would probably taste just as good as before. Suggest a date, then Happy New Year.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

22-39-74

238 Bee Street
Richmond, Kentucky
February, 6 1948

Mr. W. E. B. Dubois
University of Atlanta
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Sir;

I am a member of the American History Class of Richmond Hi School. And we are composing a negro history Booklet. I have selected you because your name means so much too the Negros

fight for freedom. I would like very much to have a picture of yourself. please for the cover of the booklet. And any information you send about your self.

Very truely yours
George Warren Jr.

Send picture
Read Dusk of Dawn

February 11, 1948

22-39-85

Mr. George Warren Jr.
238 Bee Street
Richmond, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Warren:

Answering your letter of February 6, may I say that all of the facts concerning my life will be found in my book, DUSK OF DAWN. Enclosed is a picture as you requested.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:LM

Enclosure

ASHBY B. CARTER
M. W. GRAND MASTER
5633 Wabash Ave.
Englewood 7520
CHICAGO 37, ILL.

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CHICAGO 37, ILL.

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ARCHIE L. WEAVER
3655 Praire Avenue, Chicago 15, Ill.
Atlantic 4135

22-40-116

N.A.A.C.P.Board of Directors,
20 W. 40th Street,
New York 18, N. Y.

October 23, 1948.

Gentlemen:

I have read carefully "The DuBois Incident" on page eight, Sept.-1948 NAACP Bulletin. Briefly such is unfortunate. Experience justifies my doubts if you will ever see this. Our citizens - world wide - have respected Dr. DuBois as the height of intelligence. The NAACP Board, in effect, respects him as a liar, when "At the Board meeting, Dr. Dubois, denied personally releasing his statement to the press - -" If he said he would have confirmed the report if asked - although he states he did not - the Board kicks the aged leader of men out. He had released his report to members of the Board. "It is the Secretary's opinion that Dr. Dubois would be the best person to represent the NAACP." Was this a sincere statement? The majority of the seemingly rubber-stamp Board indicated its intrepretation by its action. Twice this has happened to Dr. DuBois - "One of the founders of the Association and for many years his voice Of "the voice of the organization" says the President. Dr. DuBois gave us the CRISIS. I can appreciate the Spingarns, Overton, Holmes, Randolph and many others on the Board who knew and know Dr. Dubois when he was the life and inspiration of the organization and his people - now he is old and disrespected by the Board. Give us back Dr. Dubois.

I would not detract one bit from the fine work our Secretary has done - even if there does exist evidence of ego and selfishness, he is human. He has done a mighty fine job. His worth to the Association which Dr. Dubois (and others) gave us, is invaluable. Not one has stood higher than Dr. DuBois - not one has been put down so hard and low by his associates. I hope the Board will find some way to retract and ammend promptly.

I was one in 1910 to form the NAACP Committee in Chicago and receive its charter 1913, a continous member since , served as a secretary for ten years, and active on the Executive Committee for thirty years - its only medalist, my home for many years was the only office of the Branch. I have solicited others and renewed my membership for 1948. I shall think it over before renewal time in 1949. Your recent action will doubtlessly cause others to do likewise and without doubt your action will reflect itself in the 1948 membership drive here and elsewhere. Cant we bring the NAACP out of the criticism of "a one-man organization" with the same rubber-stamp Board? There must be a reason for the existence of many other organizations for the same purposes and objectives as those of the NAACP - they have sprouted in recent years. Dean Pickens once, Dr. DuBois twice - what will be the next "Incident"? I shall be pleased to have your reaction.

Most sincerely and truly yours,

Archie L. Weaver.

Rosenwald Fund

General Delivery
Annapolis, Maryland
June 11, 1948

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Your letter of June 8th has just come to my attention. Hilda Reitzes of the Rosenwald Fund has your manuscript. Copies are being made and you should have heard from her about the manuscript by now. Mr. Embree has also probably written you relative to publication and about the expense money.

I regret that there was a delay in these matters.

Sincerely yours,

Robert C. Weaver

22-32-13

Dr. Hilda Weiss
2647 E. 21 St.
Brooklyn 29, N.Y.
Febr. 23, 1948

Mein lieber Herr Professor!

23-25-7

Es tut mir sehr leid, dass ich erst heute von dem bedeutenden Ereignis in Ihrem Leben hoerte. Etwas spät, aber nicht weniger herzlich sind meine Glückwünsche für Sie: möge Ihr Leben Ihnen soviel Befriedigung und Freude gebracht wie Sie anderen Personen gegeben haben! Ich denke dankbar an die Zeit in Atlanta, wo ich zu Ihren Füssen sass, um von Ihnen Soziologie zu lernen und neben Ihnen am Tisch sass, um ein wunderbares Huhn zu essen und herrlichen Wein zu trinken. Lassen Sie sich fröhlich feiern und helfen Sie uns noch viele Jahre, eine bessere Welt ohne Vorurteile zu bauen! Respectfully and cordially yours, Hilda Weiss

23-25-52

March 3, 1948

Dr. Hilda Weiss
2647 East 21st Street
Brooklyn 29, New York

Dear Dr. Weiss:

Your letter of February 23 to Dr. DuBois arrived after his departure on a lecture tour to the West Coast. I know that he will appreciate your expression of good wishes on his 80th birthday, and I shall see that your letter is brought to his attention upon his return.

Hope your work is going well.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

23-25-22 735

Birthday Greeting by WESTERN UNION

(51)

N53 PD=WASHINGTON DC 23 132P

DR W E B DUBOIS, CARA DUBOIS BIRTHDAY COMMITTEE=I
ROOSEVELT HOTEL=

CONGRATULATIONS ADMIRATION AND DEEPEST AFFECTION=
OPHELIA AND LESESNE WELLS AND LESESNE JR, 1333 R
ST, NORTHWEST, WASH., D.C.

1333 R.

December 16, 1948

23-23-18

Miss Margaret Welmon
497 Willoughby Avenue
Brooklyn, New York

My dear Margaret and Anna:

I am so sorry that I did not hear of your mother's death in time to come to the funeral; but Yolande's letter reached me too late. May I again express my deep sorrow at your loss. I remember your mother so pleasantly over all these years.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

THE WEST AFRICAN SOCIETY

"For Culture and Learning"

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NIGERIA: CANON A. W. HOWELLS

42-9C-25

7th June 1948

Dr B.Du-Bois

Dear Dr Du-Bois,

I write to inform you of the birth of the above Society which aims at stimulating and developing indigenous literature in West Africa.

While we have a number of authors.there is as yet no common movement or interest to canalise their work.Though there is a general feeling for indigenous literature nothing has been done so far to develop it.

We need,and shall be grateful to have, the greater experience of our Afro-American cousins,and your name which is so famous throughout the Negro world, immediately jumps to mind.

As a start perhaps you would be good enough to contribute an article to the first number of the magazine on some aspects of Negro life and problems, as you see it from your rich experience.

Thanking you in anticipation.

I remain,

Yours sincerely
R. B. Wellesley Cole

June 23, 1948

Dr. R. B. Wellesley Cole, President
The West African Society
6 Grand Road, Fenham
Newcastle Upon Tyne 4
England

Dear Dr. Wellesley Cole:

Dr. DuBois has received your letter of June 7 and wants you to know that he is pleased to learn of the new organization and sends his best wishes for its success.

In accordance with your request, I am enclosing a short article written by Dr. DuBois which you might find worth publishing. When the periodical appears we will appreciate receiving a copy of it.

With thanks for your courtesy and hoping that you will keep us in touch with your developments, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
Assistant

December 20, 1948

Dr. R. [redacted] Wellesley Cole, President
The West African Society
6 Grange Road, Fenham
Newcastle Upon Tyne 4, England

Dear Dr. Cole:

This is merely to thank you for the edition of AFRICANA, which you sent to Dr. DuBois and which has just arrived. The Doctor is out of the city just now but when he returns the publication shall be brought to his attention and I am sure he will be most pleased to see it. He will write you directly, I am sure.

The following are individuals who are interested in Africa and whom you might contact:

Professor St. Clair Drake, Roosevelt College, Chicago, Ill.

Dr. Melville J. Herskovits, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois

Dr. William R. Bascom, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois

Dr. Mark Hanna Watkins, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Gonzalo A. Beltran, Donceles 101-28, Mexico City, Mexico

The material has been sent to Paul Robeson. His home address is: The Beeches, Enfield, Connecticut, USA.

With best wishes for a merry Christmas and a pleasant and fruitful New Year for yourself and the Society, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

P. S. After January 1, please address Dr. DuBois at 23 West 26th Street New York, N. Y. He leaves the NAACP on December 31, 1948.

23-20-31

DPI 409

January 23, 1948

Office of the Manager
Western Union Telegraph Company
60 Hudson Street
New York, New York

23-46-45

Dear Sir:

On January 19, you received a telegram to me from Altoona, Pennsylvania. You called up my residence, 409 Edgecombe Avenue. I was not there. The only person there was the maid, who was cleaning up my apartment. She tried to receive and take down the telegram, not knowing any better. You, of course, know perfectly well that you had no business to repeat a telegram to a person who was not authorized to receive it, and the mere fact that a maid was there to answer the phone did not give you any such right.

I wish, therefore, to warn you that under no circumstances are you to telephone a message to me unless I am there personally, and willing to receive it. If you do, I shall hold you legally responsible for the results.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY

METROPOLITAN DIVISION

NEW YORK 13

V. X. UNDERWOOD
DISTRICT SUPERINTENDENT

409

January 27, 1948.

Mr. W.E.B. DuBois,
20 West 40th St.,
New York, 18, N.Y.

23-46-44

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Thank you very much for your courtesy in giving me the information contained in your letter of January 23. Our instructions are that no telegram is to be telephoned to anyone but the addressee unless the person who answers the telephone assures our representative that he or she is authorized to accept a telegram in the absence of the addressee. Only in that event is the telegram to be telephoned to another person.

In view of the instructions given, in your letter, I have notified the officials in charge of our Telephone Bureau that, in the event that you are not at home, the telegram is not to be telephoned to any other person but is to be routed to the branch office for delivery by messenger. I am sorry that our employe was at fault in the case of the telegram from Altoona on January 19 but I appreciate your courtesy in bringing the matter to our attention.

Yours very truly,

V X Underwood

N 217

District Superintendent.

23-25-64

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

(55)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

1948 FEB 23

N194 PD=ZV WASHINGTON DC 23 1151A

DR W E BURGHARDT DUBOIS CARE WALKER A WHITE

OR ROY WILKENS APT 7D 409 EDGECOMBE AVE=DLR=

BEST WISHES ON YOUR BIRTHDAY WE APPRECIATE THE KIND OF LIFE YOU HAVE LIVED FOR YOURSELF AND YOUR RACE YOU ARE WISHED MOST SINCERELY A GREAT MANY MORE=

MR AND MRS HERMAN D WHALEY=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[Wheat Street Baptist Church]

23-38-146

January 12, 1948

Rev. L. [illegible] Borders
Wheat Street Baptist Church
325 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Rev. Borders:

I shall be lecturing in the Middle West and California in March next; returning I shall stop over in Texas and then probably come north by way of Atlanta. I will be glad if there was any demand to lecture at your church. My charge for lectures is $100.00, out of which I pay my own expenses. If you think there is any chance for such an engagement I shall be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[WHEAT STREET BAPTIST CHURCH]

WILLIAM HOLMES BORDERS, MINISTER

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

lecture

SPEAK April 8

January 16, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Assn. Adv. Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

23-38-143

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I have your letter of January 12 in which you state that you will be passing through Atlanta in March.

We would be highly pleased and supremely honored to present you to an Atlanta audience in the Wheat Street Church on March 4 or 11, under the terms stated. If these dates are not acceptable, please submit two or three dates in March which would be more convenient. The sooner we know the definite date the better. You can understand that publicity and the like depend upon the definiteness of the date.

We believe a lecture on the Marshall Plan would attract a large audience and that you could bring us a wealth of information on this much-discussed and highly significant topic.

Thanks in advance for everything and for being our master statesman.

Yours sincerely,

William Holmes Borders

William Holmes Borders

WHB/L

~~Mch 4~~ ~~Mch 11~~ ~~Mch 25~~

Prefer Mch 1 or 8 might possibly take Mch 25

January 19, 1948

Reverend William H. Borders
Wheat Street Baptist Church
315 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Borders:

Thank you for your letter of January 16, relative to the arrangement of a suitable date for my appearance at your church. My preference would be an engagement either April 1 or April 8. However, I might possibly be able to speak for you on March 25.

May I hear from you concerning these suggested dates?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:HHS

WHEAT STREET BAPTIST CHURCH
WILLIAM HOLMES BORDERS, MINISTER
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Lecture

January 22, 1948

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York, 18, N. Y.

23-38-145

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thanks kindly for your prompt reply to my recent letter.

We would be happy to have you speak for us on April 8, and we have scheduled your appearance here for that date.

Thanks again.

yours sincerely,

William Holmes Borders

William Holmes Borders

WHB/L

[Wheat Street Baptist Church]

lecture

233 - 38 - 55

January 26, 1948

COPY

The Reverend William Holmes Borders
Wheat Street Baptist Church
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Borders:

This will acknowledge your letter of January 22 and confirm the date of April 8 for an appearance of Dr. DuBois at Wheat Street Baptist Church.

With thanks for your courtesy, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

[Wheat Street Baptist Church]

Lecture Completed

April 22, 1948

The Reverend W. H. Borders
Wheat Street Baptist Church
Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mr. Borders: I have finished my lecture trip and on returning to my desk I want to thank you for the fine audience which you furnished me on April 8.

Please express my appreciation to your men's club.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

23-38-144

[Helen A. Whiting]

Dr. Dakin:

May I send a bulletin for your appraisal as soon as it comes off press.

Adele Whiting

23-28-10

N. B. Best wishes to you. I haven't been well for six years. I have received so little for the two programs I am doing for pittance, I shall be glad to be through with the whole affair.

I am planning to help finance myself. Mr. Whiting was too old when retirement plan started. I have been in just 3 years + reach 65 in 1950.

Not working this summer

61 Newcastle St. S.W.

July 6, 1948

[Enc.]

For Dr. DuBois from Helen A. Whiting

What Democracy Means to Me

HELEN A. WHITING

Teacher—Today, we will talk about a very fine American word—democracy; I want you to think about it for a few minutes. Ask yourselves, "What does the word democracy mean to me?"

Joe—I don't have to think about it. It means justice.

Gloria—It means liberty.

Joan—To me, true democracy will be the beginning of freedom for all people. We can have true democracy when the masses appreciate the worth of all races of people.

Ethel—Liberty and justice for all.

Dorothy—Freedom of expression as we learn together at school.

Celmon—Freedom of expression with our parents and others.

Teacher—Yes, I think we need to talk further on freedom of expression later on.

Dorothy—Voting, leaving the street car by any door you like.

Fuller—No segregation nor discrimination.

Teacher—In the pledge to the flag what sentence or phrases reminds you of democracy?

Gladys—I know! I know! "With liberty and justice for all."

Elvira—It means voting for a president; going places that you wish to go; and using the same water fountains that white people use.

Teacher—Does anyone think of any time when he had to learn better how to treat his classmates as people do who live in a democracy should treat each other?

Elvira—I remember when Alma came in our room she would say she was sick every time the bell would ring for recess. When we would start home from school she would run out as fast as she could. The first day she said she was sick and wanted to go home. You let her go. Then you asked us if any of us had said anything to hurt Alma's feelings. Everybody said they had not. Then you told us what you thought had happened to Alma. You said, "Alma felt that she didn't like the school or the children because the children were not friendly and this caused Alma to pretend she was sick to get home where she felt that she was wanted." You wrote to Alma's mother and had her see the school nurse and the school nurse said that Alma was healthy. Several days after that she came back to school and some girls carried her out on the yard at recess and played with her. Now, she is never sick and comes to school every day.

Teacher—Alma, was that your reason for getting sick each day for a week?

Alma—Yessum, I thought they didn't like me because I came from the country.

Teacher—How do you like your classmates now?

EDITOR'S NOTE: This is a cross-section of informal discussions among pupils and teachers of fourth and fifth grades of Atlanta University Laboratory Elementary School and the Hunter Hill School, two Negro rural schools of Fulton County, Georgia, April, 1945.

Alma—Oh, I like them and I have lots of friends.

Teacher—Would other pupils like to tell what democracy means to them?

Martha—Democracy to me means equality.

Jovetta—To me, it means Negroes having the same jobs as white people.

Milton—I think we should be able to go anywhere we want to go and sit anywhere in a democracy.

Elizabeth—Democracy to me means keeping the Golden Rule—"Do unto others as you would have them do unto you."

Joann—Negroes should act right so we can get the privileges that belong to us.

Ethel—Everybody should be treated the same.

Dewatha—Colored children should have cafeterias and playgrounds and gymnasiums at school.

Teacher—You have said a number of times that democracy means freedom of expression. Name some ways we use freedom of expression while living and working together at school?

Gladys—To be able to say what we want to as long as it does not hurt or disturb someone else.

Joann—To share in planning the morning exercises, the day's program, the type of problem which we need to study, the rules of our clubs.

Elvira—Our parties, excursions, our May Day.

Fuller—Having a voice in the school council; voting for pupils to represent us at the school council meetings which we hold.

Clemon—To talk freely with our teacher, other teachers, the principal, our parents and other grown people.

Teacher—There is still room for improvement in the freedom of expression here at school. We must learn how to express freely, wisely and effectively certain things which we do not agree as we work together. This is something that our parents and other grown people must understand and accept. I once had a parent to complain that her children were becoming illmannered in that they questioned the parents on certain points during the conversations at home. My reply was, the pupils are not impolite nor rude but are using a skill being taught them at school in connection with learning to think.

We are trying to teach you in school:

1. The ability to think clearly through any situation.

2. The ability to express yourselves concerning the situation convincingly and calmly.

3. The courage to use these abilities when and wherever needed.

When it is necessary to make a criticism at school or elsewhere including unfair treatment as Negroes, for effective results whatever we say or do should be governed by these three standards:

1. The ability to think clearly through any situation. (This helps us decide what to question or resent.)

2. The ability to express yourselves clearly and convincingly. (This would mean free of emotion and without offense.)

3. The courage to use these abilities when and wherever needed.

Dr. DuBois:
Have some handy in
debt to do this. Some
in education needs to, so I
plunged. I will mail you a copy
when the next four weeks and hope
for your candid opinion. Thank you.
Yr. Helen A. Whiting

[1948?]

ANNOUNCING "CLIMBING THE ECONOMIC LADDER"
by
Helen A. Whiting, Supervisor of Teaching Practice, Atlanta University System, Instructor School of Education, Atlanta University, and former Supervisor of Colored Elementary Schools of Georgia.

File

15-13-2

Further educational background of Author: B. S. and M. A. Columbia University with special diplomas in Supervision of Elementary Schools and in Supervision of Rural Schools. Advanced study, Columbia University, Chicago University and New York University. Recipient of 1946 Alumni Achievement Award of Howard University, Washington, D. C. Portrait among collection of Outstanding Americans of Negro Origin, Harmon Foundation, New York City.

Contributor to Childhood Education, Progressive Education, Educational Administration and Supervision, National Education Association Yearbook, 1939, Journal of Negro Education, and Chapter XIV, Study of Agricultural and Economic Problems of the Cotton Belt; A Report to House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., 1947.

The book, "Climbing The Economic Ladder", is intended to be a study guide for teachers, principals, and supervisors of southern Negro schools. The information found in this study is designed to improve the lot of southern Negro rural children, older boys and girls, and adults. It shows them how farm families who work on poor farm land, produce little, receive little pay, remain in debt, and move from place to place with little hope for bettering their conditions, can learn "Ways of Climbing the Agricultural Ladder" to land ownership. Copy $2.25 each.

To make this information available to children, youth, and adults a companion volume, "UP! UP! THE LADDER!" is being published simultaneously. Copy 75¢ each.

September 30, 1948

2326 11

Mrs. Helen A. Whiting
61 Newcastle Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mrs. Whiting:

Thank you for the speciman of your work that you have sent me and the note.

I should be very glad to receive any of your bulletins, the one you sent me on democracy seemed to me very well done, and appropriate to our day.

I am sorry about your health. I know what difficulty you have had in Atlanta. I continue, very fortunately, to have good health, and expect to carry on my work despite difficulty.

My best regards to you and Mr. Whiting.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBDD/lm

WHO KNOWS – AND WHAT

among Authorities-Experts-and the Specially Informed

THE A. N. MARQUIS COMPANY
PUBLISHERS OF "WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA"
MARQUIS PUBLICATIONS BUILDING
CHICAGO-11 USA

THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY
1898 - of "WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA" - 1948

Dear Biographee:

The compilative process for the first edition of the new Marquis reference work Who Knows - And What is now well along. Already a number of the listings in other Marquis compilations hereafter also to appear in it - among them yours - have been recast to content making conveniently available to consultants of the new work the specific type of data falling within its scope.

This recasting necessitates complete rewriting of each listing, whether previously in type in a Marquis publication or in manuscript form in the Editors' files. Feeling you may wish to see the format of your personal sketch as it is now scheduled for the new book, and as well in a desire to give you an opportunity to make final changes or additions before it is sent to the typesetter, I am enclosing, as I stated I would on notifying you that the Editors are listing you hereafter in Who Knows - And What, a typewritten copy of it.

It is, of course, of mutual advantage that all listings, since they involve dates to which the best of professional proofreading can not bring adequate familiarity, be personally checked by the individual biographees in the interest of accuracy and completeness. And I hardly need add that, being printer's copy scheduled for the new book, the enclosure should be returned - and at your earliest convenience - whether or not changes or additions are made, so that it may take its proper alphabetical place in the copy moving to the typesetter.

* * *

Our experience makes us keenly aware that this cooperation on your part makes both publication possible and reference-useful content available at practicable costs, as also does the further cooperation we request of biographees desiring copies of Who Knows - And What in placing, if it is convenient to do so, their orders now - prior to publication - so that our print order may be accurately forecast in advance and thus many of the production

obligation, since compilative necessities require that they seek cooperation from you in order to obtain mutually-advantageous accuracy.

May I not here thank you on their behalf for that cooperation?

Yours very truly,

Wheeler Sammons

Wheeler Sammons
Publisher

WK/SRN
.The Enclosures
A ~~typewritten~~ copy of your listing as recast for publication in the first edition of the newest Marquis reference work, Who Knows - And What.
An announcement descriptive of the new book.
A biographee's pre-publication privilege form.
A postage-paid and self-addressed envelope.

In order to reproduce on the last page - the binder's format for the first edition of Who Knows - And What, I have had this letter processed by lithography.

retardations and additional expenses due to the current critical supply situation lessened by advance procurement on our part.

The resulting production economies it is our custom gladly to share with cooperating biographees, as I have previously mentioned, by extending to them a considerable (30%) discount on their advance-of-publication orders.

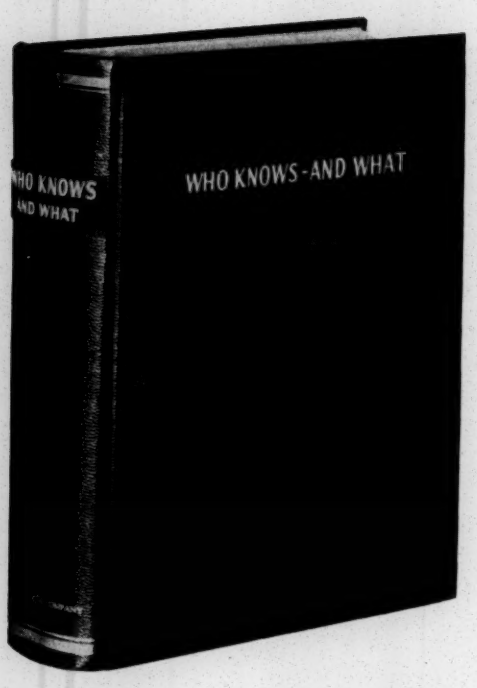
Accordingly you will find also enclosed herewith a form so providing (if validated by you), and you are welcome indeed to use it should you desire Who Knows - And What on its publication and have not previously notified us and do not now happen to have conveniently to hand the similar one originally sent you.

* * *

Comment and reaction now coming to the Editors in the course of actual compilation convinces them of the soundness of their conclusion, based on careful preliminary research extending over several years, that a real - even an urgent - need exists for a reference tool such as they already feel confident they will supply with Who Knows - And What. This typical comment, for example, is from an experienced publisher also widely known as an author, editor and correspondent:

> "I am so keenly interested in this project that I would like to inquire as to the expected date of publication - it is a fascinating idea . . ."

And I know it goes without saying, as you have been previously listed in Marquis reference works, that no obligation whatsoever on your part attaches to the coming publication of your listing in Who Knows - And What, for which we forsee an international reference standing comparable to that long held by "Who's Who" and "Who Was Who". Instead, as I have purposely emphasized in some detail in this letter, it is the Editors who feel under



A binder's dummy of the First Edition of Who Knows - And What, as much a "first" in the biographical reference field as "Who's Who" itself was when initially published 50 years ago.

[Enc.]

PRE-PUBLICATION FORM—WHO KNOWS
MARQUIS BIOGRAPHEE — RESTRICTED

If signed by the Marquis biographee named in the proof accompanying it, and payment is attached, this form validates a 30% discount, making the (delivered) advance-payment remittance $11. Otherwise billing for $15.70 (delivered) will be made on delivery.

THE A. N. MARQUIS COMPANY
Marquis Publications Building
Chicago—11 Illinois U. S. A.

Date_____

Please enter for the undersigned a pre-publication order assuring a copy of the Library Edition of WHO KNOWS—AND WHAT (Vol. I) on publication, paying all delivery costs and allowing a 30% biographee-restricted discount if payment is made herewith. ☐ I attach my check for $11. ☐ Bill me $15.70 on delivery.

Your Name_____
(Must be that of the Marquis biographee named in the accompanying proof.)

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(To assist in avoiding clerical errors, please print out at the left, signing to the right.)

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February 5, 1948

Dr. E. R. Alexander
234 West 139th Street
New York 30, New York

Dear Dr. Alexander:

I am sincerely sorry that my schedule calls for me to be out of the city on the 23rd of February. I should consider it indeed a high honor to be present for the dinner in honor of the 80th birthday of Dr. DuBois, for whom I have always had great admiration and respect.

Cordially yours,

Philip M. Widenhouse

PMW:ay

March 23, 1948

Dr. Forrest O. Wiggins
Department of Philosophy
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Dear Dr. Wiggins:

When I was asked recently to recommend someone for a teaching post in philosophy to Long Island University, I gave them your name. I do not know just what your plans are but I hope you did not mind my doing this. I sent in your name because all the information which I have ever had about you seemed to point out that you are eminently qualified.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

23C-45

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
COLLEGE OF SCIENCE, LITERATURE, AND THE ARTS
MINNEAPOLIS 14

DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

April 28, 1948

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
NAACP
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

23C-45

Dear Mr. Smythe:

I thank you very much for recommending me for a teaching post at Long Island University. I am a permanent appointee at the University of Minnesota at the present time, but I am always anxious and eager to better my status in the profession.

Yours very truly,

Forrest Oran Wiggins

Forrest Oran Wiggins

Henry E. Davis

Henry E. Davis

(c. 1948)

ADMINISTRATION

Wilberforce University has three governing boards. One of these is the Board of Directors of Payne Theological Seminary. This board is composed of the Bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal Church and one person from each of the Episcopal districts of the Church. These persons are elected for three-year terms by the Board of Trustees of the Wilberforce University Corporation. Aside from the fact that the Treasurer of Wilberforce University acts ex officio for the Payne Theological Seminary and the further fact that instruction in academic subjects is furnished to theological students for a nominal fee there appears to be little relationship between the Seminary and the rest of the University.

23 - 18

For an absolutely accurate statement of expenditures of the rest of the University it would be necessary to deduct those which should be charged to the Seminary. The determination of the amount which should be so charged would have required more time than was available to the examiners and the deductions would not have materially affected the general picture of educational expenditures because only 50 or 60 students are enrolled in the Seminary.

Because of the interlocking composition of the Board of Directors of Payne Theological Seminary and the Board of Trustees of the Wilberforce University Corporation there is a sharing of the time, attention and income raising activities of certain board members between the two institutions.

In spite of these general fields of relationship the examiners concluded that the Payne Theological Seminary should be excluded from the examination.

This would leave it to be concerned with the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and the College of Education and Industrial Arts.

The two divisions of the institution with which this report deals are each controlled by separate boards. The College of Liberal Arts and Sciences is controlled by a group designated throughout this report as the Board of Trustees of the Wilberforce University Corporation. It consists, at the present time of twenty-two members of whom nine are bishops of the A.M.E. Church, eleven ministers of the same denomination, one lawyer and one housewife. This Board is self perpetuating. Eight of the members were up for re-election in 1946 and seven will come up for re-election in each of the years 1947 and 1948.[1] One of the Board members, the Reverend Charles E. Stewart is on the salaried staff of the institution, as Dean of Religion. He receives a salary of $3000 a year. Another member of the Board appears to receive a certain regular compensation although this was not reported on the schedules. The books of the Secretary and Business Manager of the University show regular payments of $105.00 a month for "entertainment". The examiners were informed that these payments go to Bishop R.C. Ransom, Chairman of the Board. Under the heading of "officers responsible to the Board" it appears that two are responsible directly to the Board without any intermediary control through the President. The first of these is the Dean of Religion mentioned above. He is responsible to the Bishop of the Ohio A.M.E. Conference. This position is looked on as one of the church appointments of the Conference and is made by the Bishop as are other church ministerial appointments.

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1 University Catalog, page 8

The second position is that of Treasurer of the University, a position currently held by the Reverend Charles J. Powell. Reverend Powell's wife acts as his secretary and his daughter works in the Registrar's Office so that the total family payroll is in the neighborhood of $6000.00 a year. This position was not established on recommendation of the President and from a reading of the Board minutes it was possibly intended more or less to aid in the establishment of the power of the Board over expenditures. He is described in the by-laws as responsible to the "Board of Control and the President" but the examiners concluded that he was primarily a Board officer and that his position on the salaried staff represents a clear case of dual control.

However the fact that the Treasurer of the Wilberforce University Corporation is primarily a Board official is not the only bad feature of the situation which the existence of this office creates.

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It appears to the examiners that his work would not be needed with a proper organization of the office of Secretary-Business Manager of the Wilberforce University Corporation. As they analyze the situation the great majority of the pre-auditing and post-auditing of expenditures is done by the Secretary and Business Manager of the University. The bookkeeping is done by this official and he is supposedly responsible for purchasing and general budget administration under the president. The existence of Treasurer of the University causes division of responsibility, lack of coordination and to a large extent the wasteful expenditure of some $6000 a year of institutional funds.

In evaluating the functions of the Board of Trustees of Wilberforce University Corporation the examiners first read the following statement in mimeographed by-laws which seemed to them to describe a very desirable situation:

> While these Boards of Control have complete control over the institution and every department thereof, their chief functions are legislative. They are to secure as far as possible, the needed re revenue for the institution and are to determine the ways in which the institutional funds shall be applied. Moreover, it is a function of the Boards to map out institutional policies and to appoint the proper executive officers to see that these policies are faithfully carried out. These boards shall receive and act upon the recommendations of the President of the University. (Mimeographed By-laws, page 14).

It was reported to the examiners that each of the two boards of control adopted the full set of by-laws. They were therefore much surprised to find, from an examination of the by-laws, numerous examples of violations of both the letter and spirit of the above quoted section on the part of the Board of Trustees of Wilberforce University Corporation. The previously described establishment of the offices of Dean of Religion and Treasurer of the Wilberforce University Corporation without any recommendation from the President and without his participation in the choice of personnel constitute two illustrations.

Another illustration might be taken from the minutes of the Board of Trustees dated June 11, 1946. It consists of a recommendation of the Committee on Buildings and Grounds. Instead of holding the President and those adminstratively responsible to him for a proper program of campus and building development, care and maintenance the Committee reported directly to the Board on such subjects as: repairs needed on farm buildings; the accumulation of trash in

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ravine; unsanitary conditions and poor dormitory management in Emery Hall, and inadequacy of water supply in Shorter Hall. This committee made directly to the Board such recommendations as following:

Recommendations

"In accordance with advice from Mr. Gordon, instructor in agriculture in the State Department and experts in soil conservation, Department of Agriculture of the State of Ohio, we recommend that fifty sacks of lime be spread over the eighty acres of farm land, over a period of four years. This means a total of two hundred sacks at $3.85 per sack, a total cost of $770.00 or $192.00 per year.

"That closer supervision be given over men in Emery Hall, that their rooms be kept in a more sanitary condition and to prevent abuse of the building.

"That necessary steps be taken to prevent the accumulation of bottles cans, and all litter around Shorter and Emery Halls, and lawns be made in rear of buildings as well as in front.

"That a cement walk be laid from road at west end of Emery Hall to the entrance.

"That the gullies between Shorter and Emery Halls be filled and leveled off for use."

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An action of the Board of Trustees of Wilberforce University mentioned several times in the minutes was somewhat puzzling to the examiners. It refers to a survey of some sort, authorized but as yet uncompleted. Whether it was a survey intended to decrease the power of the President or to result in his possible discharge the examiners were unable to learn. Rumors were repeated to the examiners that one Board member had twenty charges in his possession ready to file against the President. It was impossible for the examiners to find definite basis for these rumors but the minutes show that some sort of investigation or survey is under way:

Page 2 Paragraph 6, July 27, 1946

"On motion of Bishop Frank Reid, a second by Bishop D. H. Sims,

a motion was passed that the Chairman appoint a committee on the office of the President, study possible changes in its operation, and report to this Board at the March meeting. Bishop Sims second was with the understanding that procedures would be had in accordance with agreements with the Joint Executive Committee. The Chairman appointed the following committee: Bishop D. Ward Nichols, Bishop Frank M. Reid, Rev. J. D. Bright, Rev. J. A. Charleston, Rev. A. Sidney King, Bishop D. H. Sims, Re. W. K. Hopes and Rev. D.V. Kyle."

Page 7 Paragraphs 4 and 5, July 27, 1946
"The changing of the Dean of Women to Councilor, and dismissal of Dean Teal, the disposition of the University farm and its equipment and stock, the operation of the bookstore, the revival and operation of the summer quarter without clear cut and workable policies being made by the board prior to these actions are some instances when the president neglected to give the board proper information beforehand. The same is true regarding the change in salaries, etc.

REPORT--COMMITTEE ON SURVEY June 10, 1946

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"To the Board of Trustees
Wilberforce University
Wilberforce, Ohio

Greetings:

"On March 6th, 1946, Bishop R. C.Ransom called us together as a committee appointed by him with the approval of the members of this board of trustees to make a survey of the total relationships of the Trustees of Wilberforce University.

"We organized the committee, electing Bishop R. Wright, Jr., Chairman with authority to conduct the survey. We met again June 10th., at which time Bishop Wright, our Chairman made the following statement which we are transmitting to you with our recommendations.

Bishop Wright's Statement

"To the Survey Committee
Wilberforce University

My dear Brethren:

"I beg to state that I have not been able to satisfactorily complete the survey owing to various delays. But I am confident I will have it completed before mid-summer.

"According to our plan and after consultation with Bishop Gregg, I engaged Dr. Reid E. Jackson, A. M., Wilberforce; Ph.D., Ohio State University, to make the survey.

After Dr. Jackson had consulted with President Wesley and Attorney Ray Hughes, he gave up the job. President Wesley and I agreed on a plan to have certain members of the University staff do a large part of the work, under direction, and in consultation with the President of the University. The President was kind enough to call each person and send him to see me when we agreed on procedure and the facts I desired, and the time, May 10, I wanted them.

"After this promise of cooperation, however, a meeting of administrative council severely criticized the authority of the Trustees and I was notified that the administrative council could not carry on the survey as I planned.

"This caused another rearrangement of my plans, so that I was not in a position to give the full survey.

"I may say that these things have only delayed, but not prevented or stopped the survey. You will find by examining the material I have in hand that the survey will be thorough, impartial, and objective, and I believe the best thing for Wilberforce. I, therefore, suggest that we finish it and make it the special order for our August meeting.

"I call your attention to the very serious stiuation caused by an administrative committee Council, endeavoring to veto an action of the Trustees, and persons elected to carry out the will of the Trustees, doing what they can to defy the Trustees authority.

Respectfully,

R. R. Wright, Jr.

"We, your committee, therefore, recommend:

"1. That the trustees reaffirm our authority to make this survey.

"2. That this board request the fullest cooperation of the President, administrative officers, faculty of Wilberforce University and every one whom the chairman of this committee may desire necessary to make this survey complete.

"3. That the $1000 advanced by Bishop Ransom be approved, and the Treasurer be ordered to reimburse Bishop Ransom when the chairman of this committee shall have accounted for the expenditures of the same.

"4. That the report of this committee should be in order of the day at a meeting to be called in August.

"5. We further recommend that any survey conducted by the faculty or administrative officers shall be made fully available to this survey committee and that this committee shall make its survey as orginally planned, thorough, complete, and objective.

Respectively submitted, Committee on
Survey of Wilberforce University
Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr., Chairman
Bishop J.A.Gregg
Bishop D. H. Sims
Rev. Joesph Gomez
Rev. Joun D. Bright, Secretary"

As stated before the examiners do not question the power or right of a Board of Control to appraise the work of its chief executive officer. They do not question the right of such a board to order a survey of the president's office or of the entire institution. However in this instance it would seem from a careful reading of the Board minutes that the survey stems from a reluctance on the part of the Trustees of Wilberforce University to part with many traditional controls and prerogatives which seem to be contrary to sound principles of College Administration.

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Because of the relatively short terms (three years) of Board members, the lack of sufficient overlapping of membership (the terms of over one-third of the members expired in 1946), the lack of occupational spread in membership (twenty out of twenty-two are ministers), the fact that at least one board member is on the salaried staff and another receives regular pay for "entertainment", and the lack of clearcut allocation of power and responsibility by the board to the chief executive officer of the University, the institution ranks close to zero under the heading of "General Control" as this classification applies to the Board of Trustees of the Wilberforce University Corporation.

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As has been pointed out, however, there is another board concerned with the general control of the University. It is designated by statute as the "Board of Trustees of the College of Education and Industrial Arts at Wilberforce University". The methods of appointment and composition of this B oard is set forth in section 7976 of the Ohio Code as follows:

> The government of such college shall be vested in a board of nine trustees..... Six members of such board shall be appointed by the governor, by and with the consent of the senate, and three members thereof shall be chosen by the board of trustees of the university. The governor shall serve six years and whose term shall begin upon the first day of July in such year. Such appointment shall be made during the session of the senate next preceding the beginning of such term.
>
> The members of the board of trustees as appointed by the government of the state of Ohio to the combined normal and industrial department and the three trustees appointed by the University as members of the board of trustees of said department shall continue to exercise their respective tenure of office as members of the board of trustees of said

college at Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio.

At the time the schedules were made out this Board included five ministers, two attorneys, one banker and one housewife. As far as the examiners could learn this Board functions according to accepted standards. They consider the President as their chief executive officer as far as could be determined from a study of the minutes of their meetings. They seem to confine their actions to the determination of broad educational policy and the appraisal of the general administration and work of their portion of the University. As far as could be determined they give the President the necessary power and authority for the administration of University affairs and hold him responsible for results.

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There appears to be some danger, however, under the present method of selection which has produced a board with a preponderance of ministers as members, that it might come to be controlled by the same group that controls the college of liberal arts. In the judgment of the examiners this would be most unfortunate because it would not establish a sufficient breadth of citizen interest among those charged with the general control of the University. The examiners recommend that the composition of the Trustees of the College of Education and Industrial Arts be changed by law so that a broad basis of representation among the citizenry of Ohio may be assured.

There is one other question that may be raised with respect to the general legal basis of the control of the College of Education and Industrial Arts. It has to do with certain powers granted to the Superintendent and Fiscal Officer of the College. These powers are set forth in Section 7981 of the Ohio Code in these words;

> They shall select a superintendent, whose selection shall be approved by the state controlling board, and who shall not be removed except for cause after due hearing before said controlling board.
>
> Said superintendent shall be the fiscal officer of said college and shall attent all meetings of the board of trustees, wherein matters affecting the revenues or expenditures of the college are involved. The expenditures of all monies appropriated for carrying out the purposes and provisions of sections 7975 of the General Code shall be made under such regulations as the board of trustees shall establish; but no contract, claim or vouchers against any appropriation shall be valid until approved in writing by said fiscal officer. No money appropriated by the state shall be used for any purpose not in direct furtherance and promotion of the objects of said college.

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The general status given the Superintendent and Fiscal Officer under the law would appear to provide a basis for separation of educational and financial control. The examiners find, however, that the Superintendent and Fiscal Officer of the College of Education and Industrial Arts now operates in such a way that unit control is maintained although a certain amount of duality of control might be possible under the law. This situation could be further strengthened by a legal provision making the President of Wilberforce University the chief executive officer for all activities, business as well as educational. This does not mean that the examiners would favor any less rigid

system of auditing all items of income and expenditure. They believe that protection of all state and institutional funds should be guaranteed insofar as is humanly possible.

The Board of Trustees of the College of Education and Industrial Arts rates decidedly higher on the score card than the Board of Trustees of the Wilberforce University Corporation. H owever since the institution was scored as a unit the unified score under the heading of general Control was only 418 out of a possible 1000 points. This score places the institution in the lowest 10 per cent of colleges and universities in the North Central Association. Moreover, the examiners believe that the institution has been given the benefit of doubt on a number of points under the heading of General Control and that in reality the situation is so serious as to jeopardize the accredited status of the institution.

It has been suggested by the visiting committees sent by the Association to Wilberforce University that the establishment of a joint executive committee representative of the two boards might remedy the bad features in the system of two-board control. Such a committee has been set up and is covered in the by-laws adopted by both boards as follows:

The Joint Executive Committee of the Boards of Control

1. The Joint Executive Committee shall be a standing committee of three members from each board of Trustees for the purpose of correlating and coordinating the program of unity for the University.

2. All questions involving the authority, integrity and

operation of these colleges in which related issues are concerned, shall be acted upon by this body and adjudicated by majority vote. Such a vote shall be regarded as final and should be accepted by both boards of trustees.

3. This committee shall have power to annul and disapprove any course duplications or degree awards of similar types by either of the colleges.

4. This committee shall have authority to integrate the work of the two colleges with the idea of efficiency and economy of operation as guiding posts. This involves; (1) cooperation by the two deans in academic administration, (2) integration of student services, (3) cooperation in plant operation (4) cooperation in the financial offices, each of these with the education of the student in view, as the paramount consideration.

5. The appointment of all persons, including deans, professors or employees whose work overlaps both colleges and whose salaries may be shared by them, shall be first approved by this committee on recommendation of the president and referred for approval to the boards.

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6. Any action of the boards encroaching upon the authority or office of the president, shall be reviewed by this committee and recommendation will then be made to the board concerned.

7. Any interference by members of the boards with details of administration, shall be disapproved by this committee.

8. This committee shall nominate the candidate for the office of president and recommend the compensation for the office. This nomination and recommendation shall be made to the boards, which will then vote upon the nomination and recommendation. In the case that these boards reject the nomination, the JOINT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE shall proceed to send another nomination or other ones until a candidate is agreed upon by both boards.

9. If one board should approve a nomination and the other decline to do so, then there is no election of a president and another nomination must be made. In no case should there ever be occasion for the election of two separate presidents. Such a situation should be reported by the JOINT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE immediately to the secretary of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, and the continued accreditation of the institution would be brought under consideration.

10. The President shall be removed for cause from office by action of the JOINT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, which shall be approved by both boards of trustees. Such action may be

initiated by the majority vote of either of the boards, which shall also constitute charges and specifications, and a recommendation for action to the JOINT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. This committee shall act upon the charges and specification as presented. The accused shall have the right of a hearing and a stenographic report of the proceedings shall be made. The decision of the JOINT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE shall be sent to each board, which will act by majority vote. The vote of both boards shall be necessary for legal removal of a president.

From a study of the actions of this joint committee since its formation the examiners find that it has been ineffective in establishing essential effectiveness and unification in the general control of Wilberforce University. It has possibly represented some advance in indicating more clearly some of the problems involved in the unification and effective control of the University. It has not, however, brought about either unified business control or unified academic control, and it has not produced a situation under which the President, faculty and administrative officers of the University can work unhampered by bickering, jealousies and institutional politics.

A set of facts which caused the examiners some concern had to do with relatives of board members and other faculty members who are now employed by the University. Many stories were told the examiners about difficulties and confusion arising from the presence of relatives or close friends of board members and faculty on the salaried staff of the institution. It is to be recognized that the current difficulties of securing well qualified employees for University service are great and perhaps justify some of the appointments of near relatives of board and faculty

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members. The examiners conclude, however, that even the current economic situation hardly justifies the employment of such a large number of relatives for an institution with the enrollment of Wilberforce University.

This somewhat extended discussion of the general control of Wilberforce University appears necessary because it is here that the examiners find the most fundamental weakness of the institution. Its weaknes in the system of general control lies back of many other weaknesses shown on the pattern map and score card.

For example it is a basic cause of the low score given under the heading of Business Administration. Two of the most important items, and which carry the largest numerical weightings, have to do with the relation of business administration to general control and the degree ofcentralization provided. The duality of business administration caused by the establishment of the office of Treasurer of Wilberforce University brings down the score on the first of these items and the existence of two separate and distinct business offices makes extremely difficult and the centralization of the business operations of the University. For example, out of a list of twenty-four business functions given in the schedules only thirteen were made definite responsibilities of the business officers of either of the two corporate divisions of the University. The business administration of the institution as a whole is weak in the division of overhead between educational and auxilary activities, in the character and adequacy of subsidiary ledgers for investments and in the whole system of budget control and reporting.

There were numerous other weaknesses in fields such as the collection of institutional revenue and methods used in the purchase of fuel. The University Book Store and Grill seems to have operated at a loss of some $845 between June 1, 1945 and April 30, 1946 and to have accumulated a total loss amounting to more than half of the original investment of $9125.15.

Other weaknesses in buisness administration are relatively insignificant in comparison with the waste of money involved in the maintenance of two separate and distinct business departments, with different fiscal years and different systems of pre- and post-auditing. The examiners estimate that the annual waste is more than the salary of the President of the University and that of a highly capable superintendent of buildings and grounds.

23-18

The financial administration scores only 216 out of a possible 1000 points which ranks the University at the 6th percentile. The institution has an endowment of only about $75,000. Almost 90 percent of it is invested in real estate and most of the remainder consists of cash awaiting investment. Endowment fund investments are a direct responsibility. No corporate trustee or investment counsel has been appointed to assist the Board in the administration of endowment funds and no annual analyses of investment holdings by an expert have been required. The fact that loans have been made from endowment funds during the past five years to other institutional funds lowers the total score on financial administration by 225 points. With the exception of general control, business administration and financial administration the

aspects of University administration were found to be creditable as the following percentile ranks will show:

Item	Percentile Rank
Personnel for academic administration	50
Personnel for business administration	50
Personnel for student personnel administration	50
Personnel for special activities	50
Academic administration	59
Student personnel administration	62
Administration of Records and Reports	45
Administration of Special Activities	95

FINANCE

On stable income per student Wilberforce University has a weighted annual income per full-time student of $387.00 which ranks it at the 83rd percentile among comparable institutions. The weighted annual educational expenditure per student was calculated as being $393 which corresponds to a percentile rank of 90. As a result of the recent campaign for funds the University has remaining an indebtedness of only $5.39 per student which represents a relatively good condition with a percentile rating of 65.

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The examiners were unable to make as complete an analysis of the income and expenditure figures as they desired because they did not have available a complete outside audit for the College of Education and Industrial Arts and because of the further fact that the fiscal years of the two parts of the University end at different times. The fiscal year for the Trustees of the Wilberforce University Corporation ends, for some strange reason, on April 30, and that for the College of Education and Industrial Arts, for state budgetary reasons, coincides with the calendar year. However, in spite of these difficulties some analyses were made. The total income for educational and general purposes, using figures for the last completed fiscal year, comes from four sources, as reported on the schedules:

	Amount	Percent
Student fees	108,193.73	19.0
Endowment earnings	3,999.00	.7
State government	393,961.70	68.8
Gifts and grants	66,400.00	11.5
	$572,554.43	100.

It would appear from these figures that the State of Ohio directly or indirectly, is furnishing almost 69 percent of the income of the University. Just less than one-fifth of the income is from student fees and just under one-eighth from gifts, grants and endowment income which would represent the special contribution of the A.M.E. Church to the support of the University. However, the contribution of the Church to the total income for educational and general purposes is not as great as is indicated by the figures reported to the Secretary of the Association in the schedules. This is due to a misinterpretation of one of the classifications by the individual who filled out the general income section (Part B) of the schedules. Included under private gifts and grants, sub-classification "(c)" was $35,796, a substantial portion of which did not represent gifts or grants, and some of which did not become available for educational and general purposes. This $35,796 of income came from the following sources:

Gifts and contributions	$9,978.00
Gifts - mortgage liquidation fund	14,700.00
Rent, Shorter Hall Dining Room	7,200.00
Commencement	775.46
Dividends, U.S. Rubber Co. Stock	72.00
Baltimore Land Grant rent	24.22
Transcripts	75.45
Publications	143.76
Miscellaneous income	2,826.09
Total	$35,795.48

Obviously $14,700 of this amount was collected for mortgage retirement and not for current educational and general expense. A number of these items should have been classified on the schedules under classification number 25, miscellaneous income, because they are in no sense grants.

Leaving aside student fee it appears that the A.M.E. Church is contributing less than one-eighth of the total amount available for current educational and general expenses of the University. The other seven-eighths and more comes from funds furnished by the State of Ohio.

An Analysis of the expenditures as reported on the schedules showed the following distribution by function.

	Amount	Percent
Administration	$116,922	21.2
Plant operation and maintenance	204,588	35.2
Instruction	233,239	40.1
Library	19,622	3.3
Organized activities related to instructional departments	7,163	1.2
Total	$581,204	100.

23-18

To the examiners these figures were of interest because they seemed to confirm the conclusion arrived at on other bases, that the double headed system of business administration somehow fails instructional budget. The expenditure of 56.4 percent of current funds for administration and plant operation and maintenance raises serious questions. It may be that some fundamental error was made in reporting financial information on the schedules. Such checking as the examiners were able to make failed to disclose such errors. If these figures are correct the examiners believe that the allocation of only 44.6 percent of all educational and general expenditures to instructional purposes represents far too little emphasis on the main purpose of a University.

There may be some possible explanation of the high percentage of educational and general expenditures devoted to plant operation and maintenance in the nature of the physical plant of the Wilberforce University.

It consists of a large number of buildings many of which are in a poor state of repair.

The buildings listed as belonging to the Trustees of the Wilberforce University follow. After each building is shown its book value as carried by the University.

Shorter Hall	$260,384.55
Auditorium	130,690.21
Emery Hall	101,553.86
Carnegie Hall Library	49,567.98
O'Neill Hall	72,641.00 belong to State
Faith Science Hall	11,966.38
Total	$623,803.98

The buildings belonging to the College of Education and Industrial Arts with their book values are:

Name of Building	Valuation
Galloway Hall (1906)	$60,000.00
O'Neill Hall (1890)	60,000.00
Bundy Hall (1917)	90,000.00
Arnett Hall (1901)	89,000.00
Home Economics (1925)	59,000.00
Poindexter Hall (1905)	6,000.00
Jenkins Hall	20,000.00
Scarborough	18,000.00
Power Plant	194,490.00
Farm Buildings	20,250.00
Minor Buildings	750.00
Farm House	2,750.00
Music Building	825.00
Mitchell Hall (1910)	84,000.00
Beacom Gymnasium (1922)	49,000.00
Laundry (1926)	7,000.00
Trades Building	22,000.00
Tawawa Hospital (1916)	31,000.00
Field House	20,000.00
13 Cottages	60,000.00
Sup'ts. and Trustees Garage	1,300.00
Athletic Fields	39,000.00
Tennis Courts	10,000.00
Sewage Disposal Plant	43,000.00
Incinerator	500.00
Spur Line	26,000.00
N.Y.A. Mechanical Building	50,000.00
N.Y.A. Dormitory Buildings (4)	140,000.00
Total Valuation	$1,204,365.00

The examiners fully approve of the building and rehabilitation program for Wilberforce University prepared and presented by the Inter-University Council of the State of Ohio, provided the system of general control for the institution is brought in line with the principles which should govern sound, economical and effective administration of buildings and grounds is provided as suggested above. The building rehabilitation and new construction "prepared and presented" by the Inter-University Council for Wilberforce University is as follows:

New Buildings	
University Library	$300,000
Girl's Dormitory	150,000
Teacher's Apartment	50,000
Home Economics Practise House	13,000
University Stadium	50,000
Student Health Building	100,000
Natatorium	125,000
Administration Building	75,000
Major Rehabilitation of Old Buildings	
Galloway Hall	50,000
Bundy Hall	15,000
Total	$928,000

The physical facilities of the University received a score of 519 out of 1000 points which gives a percentile rating of 35. On operation and care of the physical plant the score was 533 and the percentile rank 14.

832 Broadway, Room 900,
New York, N.Y.

January 15, 1948.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am sending you under separate cover a copy of Culture in a Changing World - A Marxist Approach, by V.J. Jerome. This comes with the compliments of the author and the publishers.

It occurs to me that you will be interested in Mr. Jerome's discussion of the relations of cultural developments to the struggle for a democratic society. Of especial interest should be the section entitled "Cultural Affirmation Against Racism", pages 49-55.

We should like very much to receive your comments on this booklet. Communications will reach me through the above address.

Sincerely yours,

Dorey A. Wilkerson

Dorey A. Wilkerson.

22-28

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. · WATKINS 9-1600

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Joseph B. Furst
Myer Weise

23-21-1

July 26, 1948

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Paul Robeson requested that I ask you whether you will join him in sending this statement to about 1,000 Negro leaders, requesting their signatures. He is also asking Roscoe Dungee.

I will call you tomorrow for your answer.

You will note from the enclosed materials that 140 Negroes attending the Progressive Party Founding Convention have already signed the "Statement".

Cordially yours,

Doxey A. Wilkerson

1664 W. Waseca Place.
Chicago, (43) Illinois
Jan. 3rd 1948

Mr. Langston Hughes.
New York City,
New York.

Your Honor,

Heres hoping that you have a Happy & prosperous New Year, and success in all of your undertakings during this and other years to come.
I recieved the correspondence that you maild last month, I may be anerested in about three =(3)= of the books, since I've read some of them, however I will pass along the news to others.
I Wrote to the N.A.A.C.P. the following day after recieving your letter of Dec. 18th but have not recieved an answer, and I may not, should the Executive Officers get hold of my letter. Yours Respectfully,
Cornelius E. Wilkey

23-20-62

[1948]

31-5-50

Dear Grandpa,

Please forgive me for not having written sooner. However there has been more excitement around these parts than you ever can imagine. Our room was swept by hungry flame a week ago and the memory of this terrifying experience still lingers on.---- for I was asleep at the time and came very near to being smothered. Our clothes were saved but all bedding at wall decorations and my easy chair were eaten by fire inside and out. I think that my roommate and I have recovered sufficiently so as to actually laugh now!!!

mommie wrote me about the California trip and it promises exciting times it seems. although I realize that my marks are to be taken into consideration. So far here is my record:

(1) Geometry — A, A-, B, E, E, D, A+
(2) Bible - no mark as yet
(3) Biology - C+, D(only 5 min. quiz - counts little), C
(4) Latin - very poor but coming up!
(5) English - B+, A+

of course these are only the first few marks for the May warning mark period which does not go to your parents. I am honestly striving diligently to make my marks ascend with great speed. I do hope your trip was pleasant, enjoyable and successful.

I have been asked by many of our students that were here last year if it was on your agenda to visit our honorable alma mater sometime in the Spring. I would like very much to answer "yes."! May I? In other words, will you come up to visit us on some set date in May. I would appreciate this more than you know. Here's wishing you all the luck in the world and also all my love.

DuBois

[1948]

Dear Grandpa,

I've been talking to the doctor up here who knows me just about better than anyone does or will. We were discussing college and she thinks that I should definitely go to a co-ed college down south. She knows definitely that I would not be happy in a women's New England College She suggested Hampton as first choice then Fisk and Howard Universities. I argue with her and would definitely like to know your views on the matter. I would love very much to go to Fisk or Hampton and take up nurses training. I would get some good experience this summer when I plan to work at John Hopkin's Hospital. This has been on my mind

31-5-37

for some time --- that college I mean. And as for nursing I've always wanted to do something in connection with medicine. I know not what. I like science a great deal also. Do let me know your opinion soon. Having been advised to follow this track by my doctor I feel that it more important than just a whim. And also let me know if you plan to come up soon. Please do. If you would like to see me dance in our Spring Fete day dance then come on the weekend of May 5th (Sat.)

Hopefully, All my love

Jan Bris

May 20, 1948

23-20-2

Miss DuBois Williams
West Gould Hall
Northfield School for Girls
East Northfield, Massachusetts

My dear DuBois:

I learned through your mother that you have written California and have had a reply. So that we will consider the matter settled, if I can find enough money to pay the cost; as I hope I can.

On your way from school, I believe, ~~that~~ is June 7 your mother wants you to stop here and have your ~~eyes~~ examined. Please let me know exactly when you are going to arrive.

I have just been down home. The place looks very beautiful with its shrubbery and flowers; and the family is as well as usual.

I hear that you had a nice time at your May festival and that you took good part.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

May 24, 1948

23-20-14

Miss DuBois Williams
West Gould Hall
Northfield School for Girls
East Northfield, Massachusetts

Dear DuBois:

I got your glasses fixed and sent them to you by insured airmail special delivery, on Sunday. I hope you have them. If you do not get them by the time this letter arrives, write or telephone me immediately.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[May (?), 1948]

31-5-52

Dear Grandpa,

I will need about $10:00 for bath ticket and other expenses such as food, transfer, baggage checks, etc. I'm not sure whether this will be enough because I do not know how much the ticket itself will be but I think at least 10 or 13 dollars will do it alright. I'm doing much better in english and Geometry. ~~and~~ Bible and Biology are about the same (C+) but I'm afraid that Latin isn't too good. Keep well and I'll see you on the 7th. Sign enclosed permission and send back Special Delivery.

All my love

Dan Boris

Del Bart Willetts

Sunday Aug. 29th [1948]
[enclosure]

Dear Grandpa,

Am having a "hot" (temp.) stay in Philly. I would much prefer to be home but since Aunt Virginia was kind enough to invite me, I must stay until next Sunday.

Hope you are in good health.

Del Bart

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

DuBois Williams

1948

TWENTY-SEVEN CAREERS FOR WOMEN

23-20-11

Farmer

Religious and Church Work

Retail Dealer

Insurance Dealer

Artist, Drawing, and Painting

Cartoonist

Physician

Teacher

Civil Engineer

Social Worker

Manufacturer

Banker

Real Estate Dealer

Newspaper Publisher

Newspaper Editor or Reporter

Actor

Architect

Author

Chemist

Physicist

Dentist

Nurse

Librarian

Radio Announcer

Lawyer

Tailor, Dressmaker or Milliner

[1948]

31-13-78

Dear Mother,

I am studying hard and my marks are definetly coming up! I got a B in a "Big Bible Test". I'm hoping to get another in my Biology Test. I'm getting my Geom. a whole lot better. I've had in all my back homework from Caesar in latin (& translation) I'm literally dead and I'm telling and about all marks I'm sure that I'll write [illegible] Please [illegible] give all my special love to grandma and tell her that I'll be home real soon. Did you give

the scarf ~~for~~ to Penny?
Good! Please excuse
such atrocious penman-
ship but I've be writing
a lot lately. I have
2 source themes to do,
I'll do my Biology one
here but I think that
I bring my English one
home ~~to~~ to do at Spring
Vacation.

Well Goodbye
for only a while
Don't worry
I'll write
all my time
Love
Dilbert

May 5, 1948

Dr. Eric Williams
Department of Political Science
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

23-24-59

My dear Dr. Williams:

I have been asked by The New School, of New York City, to direct a course during the scholastic year 1948-49, on "The Negro in American History." I should like very much to have you deliver one of the lectures in that course. The subject which I had in mind is the Revolutionary period from 1770 to 1815, including the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812.

The honorarium offered is the small sum of $50.00; but I think you know something of the growing influence of The New School, and if you could find it possible to take part in this course, I would greatly appreciate it.

Will you let me know if you can, if the subject suits you, and what time during the scholastic year you would be able to be in New York? The lectures take place on a week day, not yet decided upon, at 6 or 8 o'clock at night.

I shall be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

This letter also sent to: Dr. Lorenzo Greene, Dr. Charles H. Thompson, Dr. Abram Harris, Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, Dr. John Hope Franklin, and Dr. Eric Williams.
Also to Dr. Allison Davis., and Dr. Rayford Logan.
And Dr. Carter G. Woodson. Also to Dr. Irene Diggs

WEBD:lm

January 28, 1948

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

23-46-37

Dear Yolande:

I hope you have written to DuBois and made some arrangements. I am sending a letter which I had from her, and my answer. I think, of course, that her present craze is probably passing and temporary.

Also, I have thought about the house; eventually it is going to be yours, and you should have a right even now to make any decisions about it that you may wish. Of course, I have the New England desire for a permanent family home and naturally DuBois is going to think of this place as peculiarly hers and not to be gotten rid of. On the other hand, I can see the difficulty, the very great difficulties of your position. When your mother dies, and when I do, you are going to be left practically alone in a house much too large for you and far from neighbors and company. It will not be pleasant, and I am not sure that you ought to undertake it.

Renting it out or having tenants would not be feasible. If then, you think you ought to sell it, now or at least in the next year will be the time. If a depression comes, as it probably will, there will be few who will be able to buy it. I think it will not be out of place for you to look about and see if you have any real substantial offers. I think the matter of selling and buying elsewhere ought to be done under the very best advice.

Love to Mother and to yourself.

Yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:LM

[1946]

MRS. YOLANDE DU BOIS-WILLIAMS
2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE
BALTIMORE 14, MD.

Wed. night

Dearest Papa —

Your letter — or line — came today & I'm hastening to send this note to let you know we're all well

I was trying to work until I had the account copied but I know you want to hear so I'll send the rest tomorrow.

I enclose Du Bois'

22-2-4

disabusified. They are hopeful of a change of attitude so I'll just cross my fingers & pray Mama's fine & the new house keeper is O.K. - so far. Mrs. has engaged so much help about the banquet & about all her friends. "Tommy" Bell came by to see her on the way to

Lilly. I hope she means what she says & had a nice visit to Northfield- (the Hotel is lovely & so are the people) & talked with the Principal, the house-mother & the psychiatrist. They are giving her a chance to make good but admit that there's no use for her to stay if she's

Washington yesterday & of course that pleased her

Do you think of to write to Dr. Smythe, that he would have any newspaper articles about the summer for the N.Y. papers? We would like to see them.

Lots of love for everyone —

Yolanda.

March 26, 1948

23-20-1

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois-Williams
2303 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

My dear Yolande:

I have your letter. I am writing Miss Diggs and suggesting that she remove to the dormitory before April 1. She will probably speak to you. If not, you speak to her.

I shall be here until April 7. My love to the family.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

[1948]

MRS. YOLANDE DU BOIS-WILLIAMS
2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE
BALTIMORE 14, MD.

Sunday 6/13.48

Dearest Pops -

I'll try agn & get these finances right. Let me see now - first - there were two payments & DuBois - Feb - the money - the column was sent & her for things she wanted & get - clothes & be cleaned & a school trip she wanted & take. the $10 under the trip column I

31-5-36

now? Presumably the
ye are $45.02 plus
$20.00. Is that right?

I'll send the
check & the insurance
co. & one & see
how successful I can
be keeping within the
budget this month.

Miss Driggs is gone
- she moved on the 31st.
Since she had ignored
my hints & then suddenly
left I presume she got

gave her as allowance when she went back

Secondly - clothes for D. Bess - the $87.00 is the cash spent for her clothes over Feb & March. The other half is a my bill here at 2 stores which I will pay by the month.

Thirdly - the $10 marked "mine" - March is "Mice" - paid to the exterminating company.

Is this all clear

your letter - I'd love D
know what ya said. She
was very pleased D so
was I !!

Du Bois had a nice
holiday D got back safely
altho' she had D board
at 1.55 A.M. D make
connections became of so many
trains being laid off. She
promises faithfully D.
bring the marks up of
June. She wants D get a
job this summer.

Mama's doing nicely
D sends love. Mrs Matthews
says Hello. Lots of love Yolande.

P.S. D nice you have
a restful trip. Take good
care of yourself. Y.

23-16-39

April 20, 1948

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Yolande:

I am home from a pleasant trip to Chicago, where I spoke April 16. Enclosed is the receipt for the storage of your Mother's coat. I think you ought to take up the matter with her of having it re-done for your use. I have sent DuBois' registration fee for next year. Give my love to your mother and yourself.

Yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-46-38

April 29, 1948

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

My dear Yolande:

Enclosed is my check for $25.00 to pay for your mother's wheel-chair. I had thought of buying this before, but was afraid that possibly you and Mrs. Matthews would not think it wise.

Also I am coming to Baltimore. I wrote Mr. Davis and told him frankly that I did not lecture for nothing, but that I would make a special price in his case and would come if he paid my round-trip fare from New York to Baltimore and return. He expressed his willingness and sent me a check for $15.00. I shall be down Saturday, will speak Sunday at the Sharp Street Church, and Monday morning at your school. I will let you know the exact train.

Love to you and Mother.

Yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:LM

Enclosure--Check--$25.00

May 12, 1948

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

Dear Yolande:
I
I am going to Washington, Saturday May 15, for the dinner of the American Veterans Committee. I shall come up to Baltimore on Sunday and stay over Monday.

I want to talk to a nursery man and, if possible, to a painter. I am writing to the Woodbine Nurseries, who planted our shrubbery, hoping they may reply in time for me to see them. Also I am writing to the architect to suggest a firm which we might talk to about painting. Suppose you get in touch with him and have some member of the firm meet me Monday.

I have just been to Cleveland for a speech and had a very pleasant time.

I hope you and Mother are getting on.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

July Du Bois
Williams

ANDREW WILLIAMS
DISPENSING OPTICIAN
2289 SEVENTH AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

Please note this will act as a Bill as well as an Explanation of my Doubt

Mrs Du Bois Williams
for
Miss Du Bois Williams

5/22/48

PAID may 24
via check.

$3.50

1/2 Fs Rx Right Eyeglass Per Dr Paul Collins Rx of 8/27/44. Kindley note this is the only Prescription I ever have had. I am just wondering if you have been refered to me and by mistake gone to Some other opticican in the emediate Vicinity The reason for this thought on my part is that in neutrilizing the lens in the Left Eye of your specs it is quite different than that given in 1944 by Dr. Collins. upon inquering of Dr. Collins he confirms that he prescribed for miss williams in Fall of 47 As Does your Father tell me the Same thing. But Consulting my books cash that is as well as my filing records and order books which I write orders in and also the back of the Filing card which Contains the Cleants record I really have no record of any Change Since 1944 Except the Duplicate Specs lost in mail later others were Sent to replace Same. and repair of originals 1/4/45

23-20-15

May 24, 1948

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

23-46-40

Dear Yolande:

I got DuBois's glasses fixed and sent them to her by airmail. She ought to have them by this time.

Write and tell me of your interview with the painter and with the nursery man, and let me know what figures they gave.

I am quite well and hope you are. My love to mother.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

May 27, 1948

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Yolande:

Enclosed are letters from the landscape contractor and one just received from Mr. Carrington Davis.

A bill from the Winslow Press has come and I have paid it. Your paper ought to come direct to you soon.

What did the painter say?

I am off to Chicago today, but will be back June 1.

Love to you and mother.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosures:

23-40-43

[May 31, 1948]

MRS. YOLANDE DU BOIS-WILLIAMS
2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE
BALTIMORE 14, MD.

Monday.

31-5-48

Dearest Pops —

Hope ya had a nice trip & are not too tired. It very hot here.

Has Dr. Bois sent her slip for her to have that ya have to sign & say ya're expecting her? Thus has to be signed before they release her - I'm glad

estimate. He said he'd
send it here & I
could forward it to
you. He's making
a separate estimate
of (1) outside, (2) Inside -
upstairs (3) Basement.
He was here the
same day as the
men for the nursery
I think that
takes care of everything
Everyone is well

she has the glasses.

I'm sending this air-mail special so you'll get it before you get back as I come I need to have money as usual. I hope the accounts are added correctly. I went over them twice

I'm waiting to get the Pechs

I'm glad I tried. I helped the wardrobe mistress last week so no one saw me and I was glad the make-up curtain & lights. I'll be glad when school is out.

Mama's about the same & sends love.

Lots of love
Yolanda

P.S I got a funeral notice that I think refers to Alice's sister's husband - Boston. Is it her name Baker? y.

[June, 1948]

MRS. YOLANDE DU BOIS-WILLIAMS
2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE
BALTIMORE 14, MD.

31-5-51

Dearest Pops —

Just a quick note
to say I have your
letter & will look for
D. Bars Wed. D. 'd
let her get to Balto.
before 3.30 P.M. as
I cc'd get away
for school before

enough for 6 or 7 weeks
or even a whole
summer. A month would
be too much to hope
a both ends.

More soon
love -

Lots of love -- haste

Yours -

P.S. Have I received the
writing paper yet. Y.

the. Tell me how
wks she'll come & I
ca meet the train after
3.30 Wed.

I think we ca have
her ready to go by the
28th. I'll call the
Railway Express Tomorrow
& plan for her to take 3
large bags & a small
one for her to carry.
They will hold

June 24, 1948

Dear Yolande:

Here is a possibility. You remember the Manumit school where Du Bois once spent a Summer. I wrote to the Finckes, joint principals and gave them all the facts, asking them if they would be willing to give Du Bois a chance. Mr. Fincke telephoned immediately from their new site in Pennsylvania, not far from Bristol. He said they remembered Du Bois and would be quite willing to admit her. Their Summer session begins Monday June 28 and the High School in the Fall. They have a farm with school buildings, auditorium, art gallery, swimming pool, horse-back riding, etc. They have a trained staff of teachers. Du Bois would be among the few older students (sixteen is the oldest) and if she did well might next Summer act as councillor and earn some money.

There are two difficulties: the prices are high; $400 for the Summer and $1400 for the regular year. However Mr. Finke said that there were some scholarships and for us to tell him just what we could afford to pay and they would see just what could be done. Secondly, it would probably be ~~impossibility~~ impossible to get Du Bois ready by Monday, even assuming she would want to go or you would want her to.

I am therefore writing Fincke a letter of which I'm enclosing a copy. The decision is of course entirely yours. Manumit is a good school preparing for the best colleges. It is more modern in method than Northfield, with more individual training and more allowance for indivuality in students. There are two or three colored students.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Virginia. Please telephone me tonight or tomorrow morning before noon.

With love,

[c. June, 1948]

MRS. YOLANDE DU BOIS-WILLIAMS
2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE
BALTIMORE 14, MD.

31-5-54

Dearest Poppa -

It has been above 93° since last Wednesday & since you know how the heat prostrates me a li'n exhausted anyway ya know why I have'nt gotten this written before. I, first was waiting to see how I came

higher grades could be obtained and so she is taking the two subjects in a six-weeks summer school at Douglass. She, Mr. Reckling says, she'll be ready for 11B with same advance credits in Science and English. Miss Fannie Howard, the counsellor advises

figure things out. Then
your letters came so
fast I had to have
time to think them
over. I'm still of the
opinion that Douglass
is best - to try any
way. Although the
marks she got there
in Latin and Geometry
are failing here, they
are passing here.
However Du Bois & I
both felt that

an Academic - college prep. course which includes 2 years latin (finished this summer) 2 years French - advance algebra, chemistry & advanced geography - & 9 course her 12 & grade English.

We discussed the matter of manners but she proposes to be here.

I don't think

MRS. YOLANDE DU BOIS-WILLIAMS
2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE
BALTIMORE 14, MD.

31-5-55

ya need worry about
the Wilson boy. I talked
to him & his father. Mr
Wilson (he's the head of
the music dept. at
Douglass) also thinks
she'd do well at
Douglass. She says
she isn't thinking
anything serious about
marriage or being

chard Mann & Lud I
think Douglas is best
& she'll finish up
year after next.
Douglas Students
are admitted unconditionally
to all college - I know
they go to Harvard
Yale & Wesleyan, Lincoln
& others.
I'll write again
in a day or two &

engaged - only he's nice company & someone & came around. She reads & has good sense plans & manages without having & a job. We'll discuss all this later - no & so that I can't write much. I'll continue & thank

send the financial statement & return the letters. Virginia called. I think I'll send D. Bars up for a weekend - she says (D. Bars says) she'd like to talk with her.

Since you'll have less expense can't we have the pier & floor done? It looks so bad & needs it so much. Mr. Peck says he can do it if I let him run right away. He has

finished the outside and it looks very very nice - a good job. Please let me know. We'll let the see and please go

31-4-9

until later I'll do that
both myself
Mama is down
for a rest I'll have to
get Jan as we do it
how and that works.
Lots of love Yolanda

23-23-3

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Ave.
New York City - 30

Apt. 13-H

[July 28, 1948]

MRS. YOLANDE DU BOIS-WILLIAMS
2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE
BALTIMORE 14, MD.

Wednesday

Dearest Papa -

Enclosed you'll find the account for June & July. Du Bois has checked with me so I think the addition is correct.

Mama is about the same although complaining of the heat a little as we all are but it's cool usually at night.

23-23-6

MRS. YOLANDE DU BOIS-WILLIAMS
2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE
BALTIMORE, 14, MD.

D. Bors finishes up her geometry & Latin - summer school next week & I hope her marks will be good. I'd see both her teachers & they say she has done very good work.

Mrs Matthews was pleased about her vacation. Miss Pratt will take her place - incidentally she's married now. She's Mrs Mariano. I sent her a silver spoon

(Stiff) for the family

The housekeeper is

doing family well but

complains & fusses

about most of the

after a time!

I'm still waiting

for a carpenter to

finish the doors so

I can have the painter

finish the outside

Since I did it

get an answer to the

last letter I am

still wondering if you are considering any work inside. The kitchen is really unbearable after 6 years of course the living-room is unfinished & the bedroom & the downstairs lavatory. I must say that Mr. Peck has done an excellent job on the outside painting.

MRS. YOLANDE DU BOIS-WILLIAMS
2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE
BALTIMORE 14, MD.

23-23-7

Sam has been working on my car for a week. He's supposed to have it ready tomorrow. Ignition seemed to be the main trouble. It stopped on me 2 or 3 times - also other minor troubles.

We were glad to hear that you'd restaurant same while

the other summers
because of the rains
& not quite so many
parties.

I heard from
Dorothy & they both
were well. How
ye are then?

Everyone sends love
& Mrs Matthews
says "Hello" and
thanks for the vacation
time. Love -
Yolande.

you're wanting during the summer. I'm too bad that Olive's baby was'nt quite perfect. I hope it coming along although. I am very tired me it was hot. Mama enjoyed seeing the Bells very much.

The yard is looking well - the grass is greener

23-23-4

June - Check - $350.00 [Enc.]

Yard	DuBois	Dairy	House	Laundry	Gas & El.	Tel.	Mo M.	Mo D.	Food
$4.00	5.00	13.22	Mo all	2.72	7.67	10.91	36.60	25.90	11.65
2.50	7.00		3.73	2.74			35.00	25.00	13.76
3.00	(Dress mats)		Repair Hoover	3.79			37.01	25.55	17.73
$9.50	12.00		10.00	8.90			35.60	25.00	17.08
			Exterminator	2.50			37.38	100.55	6.40
			3.55 Bread	3.30			181.59		13.16
			2.00 Paper	Wash lady					79.80
			19.27	24.21					
						Oil			
						21.25			

$350.00 check
75.00 Mine
$425.00 Cash on hand

Total Spent $479.97

425

54.97

[Enc.]

July 23-23-5 check $350.00

Yard	DeBois	Dairy	Hanna	Thirsk	Insd	Gas & El	Laundry	Food	Misc
Bathing things	19.75	10.95	6.25 (Fuller Brush man)	36.20	29.15	8.57	1.06	15.11	Widdy Present $6.41
Bahamas	27.00			35.60	25.30		1.32	11.29	
Allowance	5.00			35.00	25.15		4.85	19.15	
car fare & lunch	7.70		13.61	35.00	25.30		2.48	10.19	
	59.45		17.00	141.80	25.00			5.42	
4.50			Farm new & repaired 7.50		$129.90		2.50	11.80	
4.50			Kitchen chairs 9.00 - Bench			Del.	3.00	9.60	
3.00			4.01 - Board			9.47	4.00	17.09	
2.50							3.50		
3.00							22.71	99.65	
17.50			$59.37				Wash woma		

$350.00 check
75.00 Mine
$425.00 Cash on hand

Total Spent $559.37
425
134 37

August 24, 1948

23-416-41

Mrs. Yolande DuBois Williams
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

Dear Yolande:

I leave here Thursday, August 26, at 1:15 P.M. Standard Time, arriving in Baltimore at 6:16 P.M. Standard Time (6:16 P.M. Daylight Saving Time), via Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. You need not meet me; I will take a cab.

With love,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:HHS

[September, 1948]

MRS. YOLANDE DU BOIS-WILLIAMS
2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE
BALTIMORE 14, MD.

Dearest Pops -

I received your check and was most thankful, as you always know I am short - Sept. I had not gone below the $200 mark [illegible] checking account so I manually do begin Oct.

Mama is fair although she begin to notice the [illegible] of medicine

31-5-60

We got a new housekeeper — the day school opened. — the former one went to her. She's the best we've had. She stays no night — an excellent housecleaner — cook — & a lady & very few words but pleasant. I was very glad to get someone of the type of school.

Dorothy, Mrs Cook & some of our friends feel very bitter about the N.A.A.C.P situation & want Russ who

that ye remarked upon
when ye were here. Dr.
Diggs was dropped by and
said it was just the
gradual breaking up he
expected. We keep her
as quiet as possible as too
much talk makes her
hysterical. Everyone else
is doing well. Dr. Boas
seems to be taking
Douglas. I know all of
her teachers - they report
she's fine so far.

petitions they ca sig— Of came
Dorothy Knew Wolfes type &
former small masturers (in
hearing me talk so she
was to surprised). Did ya see
the eclutar (the Rpro?. I &
was very fine & D the
point & quite enchignant
in your behalf - imagine
Mr. Carl!!! However - as
Mrs Cook said, there
could hardly be any
difference & opinion
in any thing so despicable
Carrie Catcliff was

MRS. YOLANDE DU BOIS-WILLIAMS
2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE
BALTIMORE 14, MD.

saying one day - school
" He never has backed up
[illegible] was right
to say or do - he
moved if he likely to
do so now & we admire
his spunk ". Mrs Mallory
says she's going to
scratch Walter's eyes out
if she can get to him !
School is about
the same - with a

31-5-59

increased enrollment of 2300 - or 2400 but my classes are large, not as usual I'm glad to say.

Thanks again so very much for the check - hope you're keeping rested & well. Everyone sends love -

love -

Yolanda.

[1948]

MRS. YOLANDE DU BOIS-WILLIAMS
2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE
BALTIMORE 14, MD.

Monday

Dearest Papa -

Your ~~letter~~ card check received for which I was very grateful.

We are getting along fairly well - Mama is just about the same.

Dr. Bass is doing well & Douglass & I struggling - I stayed home 3 days with a heavy cold & O.H. ran

31-5-58

paying the painters

Bolts have finished
& everything looks very
nice - I am especially
pleased to get the front
door done - the back -
where the bushes have
been moved & the
hedge pulled - looks
especially well.

I have forwarded
any mail that has come
Dad I mentioned
that Lillie Mae Hubbard

except stay indoors - only
I do & have to - & try &
get plenty of rest & the
housekeeper is quite
offended.

I'm enclosing the
bill which came for
the gardener - I mean
the landscape man
but have not seen
anything for the
pantry. I thought you
said you'd furnished

Came over & see them.
She stayed one Saturday
one & came back
& dinner Sunday.
Jack Bond (who
is teaching at Morgan) came
over & saw me — also
& she was tickled & clear
& see him & hear about
Mrs Bond. Jack says
his mother is very feeble
& almost completely helpless
Her's is from age (86) not
a stroke. I think I've covered
all the news. Mrs Matthews
sends regards —
Love from everyone —
Yolande

[December, 1948]

MRS. YOLANDE DU BOIS-WILLIAMS
2302 MONTEBELLO TERRACE
BALTIMORE 14, MD.

Sunday night

Dearest Papa -

Your telly and check was gratefully received. I'm trying to keep careful account during December to see how we're coming out financially. Of course we must manage somehow as long as Ya have the burden of the help to pay. I'm doing the best I can. There is only one thing that is imminently necessary — and that is window shades. We'll

31-5-49

- 497 Willoughby Ave - Brooklyn -
Mrs Margaret Welmon
Mrs Anna W. Miller
Mrs - Alec - Miller
} family

He said strange part is that they were all down here Thanksgiving to visit some mutual friends in Town. They were out here 2 or 3 times - Mrs Welmon had dinner with us & Mama was so pleased to see her. I presume that the trip was too much for her but

discuss it when you come down. I want to do the most inexpensive thing. And there are falling apart.

Dr. Bass' report was very good - she seems to be the Austrian Freak of Tenn. & Penn. I imagine talking to Virginia & Sadie has influenced her toward Penn. & Sociology & Law there.

Before I forget it - please send a message to the Welmon's - Mrs Welmon died night before last - suddenly - from a heart attack. Their address is still the same

Margaret said that she insisted on coming to Baltimore. She said she wanted to see Mrs. D. Boss. They called me about 2 A.M. Saturday & I talked to Margaret ago last night. I don't know when the funeral is. I didn't ask. I don't plan to send flowers - not being able to afford anything at this time. You do what you think best but do send a message because they always ask for you & they'd appreciate it.

We'll be looking for - the 24th as you said - glad you're coming down - hope the weather is nice for you - Lots of love, Yolande

Req for speech

INTERNATIONAL HARVESTER COMPANY

180 NORTH MICHIGAN AVENUE

CHICAGO 1, ILLINOIS

IVAN L. WILLIS
VICE PRESIDENT

June 1, 1948

23-26-9

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

You may recall that after the Friday afternoon meeting at the Stevens Hotel I introduced myself and asked you for a copy of the excellent talk you gave. I am taking advantage of your suggestion that I write to you at your office.

If you have plenty of available copies, I could use three or four as Mr. Fowler McCormick said he would also like to have one. If you do not have more than one copy available, I would appreciate receiving it and will have additional copies made here.

Very truly yours,

Ivan L. Willis

June 9, 1948

Mr. Iran L. Willis
International Harvester Company
180 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago 1, Illinois

23-26-10

My dear Mr. Willis:

I am very sorry not to have sent you a copy of my speech before this; but it is in the hands of Dr. Weaver of Chicago for copying. I have written him asking him to hurry the copy back to me, and I shall send you the text as soon as I can get it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

January 16, 1948.

NOTICE OF SPECIAL MEETING OF MEMBERS OF
THE WENDELL L. WILLKIE AWARDS FOR JOURNALISM

At the direction of the President, a special meeting of the members of the corporation, The Wendell L. Willkie Awards for Journalism, will be held at 1624 Crescent Place, N. W., Washington, D. C., on January 30, 1948, at 11 a.m. to discuss plans for reorganization and for the transaction of such other business as shall come before the meeting.

If you are unable to be present at the meeting, please sign and return the enclosed Proxy.

Very truly yours,

Marquis W. Childs

Secretary.

230-35-1

[Enclosure]

PROXY

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS that I, a member of the corporation, The Wendell L. Willkie Awards for Journalism, do hereby constitute and appoint Mrs. Eugene Meyer and Marquis W. Childs, or either of them, as my attorneys and agents for me in my name, place and stead, to vote as my proxy at the special meeting of members of The Wendell L. Willkie Awards for Journalism to be held on Friday, January 30, 1948 and at any adjournment or adjournments thereof, upon any question which may be brought up before such meeting, including the election of directors.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF I have hereunto affixed my hand and seal this day of January, 1948.

_____(SEAL)

23C-35-2

Office of
Dr. J. Finley Wilson
1915 Fourteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

December 24, 1948

23-39-62

We are writing to ask you to join with us in issuing a Call for a Legislative Assembly and Rally for Civil Rights, to be held in Washington, D. C. on February 11th and 12th, 1949.

If there is one mandate that is clear in the recent election it is the mandate to enact the civil rights program of the new administration and pave the way to wipe out the blot and shame of discrimination and segregation against our Negro citizens.

Group after group of Americans from all walks of life have come to recognize that our professions of democracy do not square with our practices toward our own Negro citizens. The repercussions abroad are evident. At home the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America has called for an end to segregation as an essential step in building our democracy and our faith.

But there is a wide gap between pronouncement and action. Only recently the size of that gap was revealed by the report of a distinguished group of citizens concerning the gross discrimination that exists in the nation's capital, governed by the Congress and the Administration. And there are numerous and powerful forces at work to prevent action against discrimination and segregation - forces in and out of Congress that stand in the way of civil rights legislation, forces in the states that would perpetuate segregation both legally and illegally. Only last week the newspapers carried stories about the resurgence of the Klan in the southern states.

We feel that it is essential at this time to close the gap between our professions and our actions by a demonstration of united support for a legislative program to wipe out segregation. The Congress will have before it the Fair Employment Practices Bill to wipe out discrimination in economic opportunity, an Anti-Poll Tax Bill that will enable the Negro citizen and millions of white citizens to assume their rightful place as voters in our democracy, and an Anti-Lynching Bill to wipe out the infamy of lynching.

In addition, we must move to abolish the system that prevents Negro citizens from achieving full and equal status in Federal employment and to wipe out the gross discrimination that exists in the nation's capital.

(more)

Only the united efforts of many groups will ensure the passage of such a program against the great forces that are arrayed to perpetuate discrimination and segregation.

We are therefore inviting you to join us in sponsoring a Civil Rights Legislative Assembly to be held in Washington the weekend of February 11th and 12th, ending with a giant Rally for Civil Rights on the Birthday of the Great Emancipator, February 12th, a day which is not now celebrated in any fitting manner in the nation's capital.

We feel that such an assembly of representative leaders would have a profound effect on the Congress in stimulating the passage of the legislation that is basic to preservation of our system of equal rights. We feel that such an Assembly and such a Rally, coming one month after Congress has had a chance to deliberate the legislation, will do much to ensure the passage of adequate legislation.

We are asking you and a number of other Negro and white leaders in American life to join us in issuing the enclosed call to such an Assembly and Rally. The enclosed card is for your convenience. We look forward to hearing from you. Will you write us any suggestions you may have as to who should be invited and any other suggestions you may have to make both the Assembly and Rally effective.

Very sincerely yours,

23-39-63

Dr. A. Finley Wilson, Washington, D. C.

W E B Du Bois

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, New York, N. Y.

Benjamin E. Mays

Dr. Benjamin F. Mays, Atlanta, Ga.

W. H. Jernagin

Dr. William H. Jernagin, Washington, D. C.

O. Ward Nichols

Bishop O. Ward Nichols, New York City

John Wesley Dobbs

John Wesley Dobbs, Atlanta, Ga.

William Holmes Borders

Dr. William H. Borders, Atlanta, Ga.

uopwa/16-33

May 6, 1948

The Winslow Press
Worcester
Massachusetts

Gentlemen:

Enclosed is a sample of paper and envelope. Will you kindly duplicate this order with the same or similiar paper, and with the same printing. I should like 100 envelopes and 100 sheets of paper. Let me know the cost and I will remit.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure--sample.

lectures

23c - 38 - 21

January 19, 1948

Mr. J. Raymond Walsh
Station WMCA
1657 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Walsh:

The enclosed is the manuscript of the talk which Dr. DuBois is to record for you tomorrow. Your secretary requested a written copy of the talk, if possible, since it might be necessary to make copies for distribution. This refers to the National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East.

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

[Station: WMCA]

File Church Peace Union

June 15, 1948

Mr. Peter Straus
Station WMCA
1657 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Straus:

In accordance with instructions from the office of Mr. Hermann Voss of the Church Peace Union, I am enclosing some excerpts from the speech to be delivered by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois on June 17, Town Hall. I hope this material will serve your purpose.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

Enclosure

230 - 38 - 54

Petition

23-19

April 14, 1948

Mr. Estemore A. Wolfe
3392 Scovel Place
Detroit 8, Michigan

Dear Mr. Wolfe:

Your letter of April 13, addressed to Dr. Du Bois and requesting four copies of the NAACP petition, AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD, has just arrived. We have turned it over to the office that handles such requests.

With thanks for your interest, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

The children's bill of rights

Together with equality of the sexes and the right to a job, we must base any sound program which seeks honestly to solve women's needs on the principle that the entire adult population of this country must, as its first responsibility, recognize the rights of children.

Women have too long been held almost solely responsible for the life and growth of each succeeding generation, which is the only real wealth any nation possesses. Before the rights of any adult comes the Rights of Children. These rights can be simply stated:

Every child should have

- an equal start in life
- equal opportunities for health, safety and personal welfare
- equal opportunity to be educated to the fullest degree of his abilities
- equal opportunity to use his skills, his talents, and his abilities in his job so that he can make his fullest contribution to his country...

And finally, he should have the right to grow up in a nation at peace — a world at peace — without the constant fear or threat of war.

Henry A Wallace

from an address to Founding Conference, N. Y. State Women for Wallace, May 8, 1948

Have you the courage to work and fight for what you know is right? To help build a new party and elect Wallace and Taylor in '48? Work with . . .

WOMEN FOR WALLACE

MRS. ELINOR S. GIMBEL. *Chairman*

CLARK FOREMAN. *Treasurer*

39 Park Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

May 12, 1948

Woodbine Nurseries
614 Highwood Drive
Baltimore, Maryland

22-34

Gentlemen:

Before the war, when I was building my house, your firm undertook the laying out of the shrubbery on the grounds and other matters. I have need now for someone to see that the shrubbery is cut out, as it is too abundant, and there are other things to be done.

I am going to be in Baltimore, Monday May 17. My address is 2302 Montebello Terrace and my telephone number is Hamilton, 9015. Could you send a man out to talk to me sometime during the day?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

TELEPHONE, SYKESVILLE 277

Baltimore Home

WOODBINE NURSERIES

CONTRACTORS

WOODBINE, MD.

May 17, 1948.

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois,
2302 Montebello Terrace,
Baltimore, Maryland.

22-34

Dear Dr. DuBois:

With reference to your phone message of this date we wish to express our pleasure in the fact that you have not forgotten us. We are led to believe that our past endeavors in connection with the beautification of your home grounds have proved satisfactory.

By virtue of the kind approval of yourself and other customers we have gone into a larger field, namely, Government, State and Municipal contract work and have not done private work for several years. However, we would hasten to take care of your desires were it not for the fact that we have contracted for certain work that will not permit any delay in completion.

We are recommending the services of Mr. W.L. Kone, 147 Burke Avenue, Towson, Maryland, for your approval. We are personally acquainted with Mr. Kone and with his work. We feel that he will deal with strict honesty and we know that he is highly capable. A copy of this letter will be forwarded to Mr. Kone.

Thank you Doctor, for your kind consideration and please accept our sincere personal regards and best wishes for Mrs, DuBois and yourself. We will drop in and chat with you at our very first opportunity.

Cordially,

WOODBINE NURSERIES

William A. Brunaugh.

William A. Brunaugh.

WAB:r
cc: W.L. Kone

ROLLS
BUTTER
EGGS
CREAM
MILK

RR 1173
Cab 40
" 100
" 40
" 100
Bk, Sc 40

~~ZOCHARD~~
~~48 Ward~~
~~K.C CALL~~
~~C. BOIS~~
~~EMMA~~
~~TAILOR~~
PAINTER
~~NURSEYMAN~~

Rosenwald
Ga Negro a man
Dr Servant & Nurse

Night Cart

30 CP
1 76
1 93 3
1690
1.63

1080
100
51

26
179
07

1173
280
40
207
1.700

May 20, 1948

Mr. William A. Brunaugh
WOODBINE NURSERIES
Woodbine, Maryland

22-36

Dear Mr. Brunaugh:

I thank you ver much for your kind letter of May 17. Mrs. Du Bois had a stroke of paralysis and has been pretty helpless for the last two years; but she is comfortable

I have written to Mr. Kone.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

May 5, 1948

Dr. Carter G. Woodson
1538 9th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

23-24-60

My dear Dr. Woodson:

I have been asked by the New School, of New York City, to direct a course during the scholastic year 1948-49, on "The Negro in American History." I should like Very much to have you deliver one of the lectures in that course. The subject may be one of your own choosing.

The honorarium offered is the small sum of $50.00; but I think you know something of the growing influence of The New School, and if you could find it possible to take part in this course, I would greatly appreciate it.

Will you let me know if you can, and what time during the scholastic year you would be able to be in New York? The lectures take place on a week day, not yet decided upon, at 6 or 8 o'clock at night.

I shall be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Incorporated

MARY McLEOD BETHUNE, President — LOUIS R. MEHLINGER, Secretary-Treasurer

THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY
and
THE NEGRO HISTORY BULLETIN

CARTER G. WOODSON
DIRECTOR AND EDITOR
1538 NINTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

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May 12, 1948

22-32-12

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, New York.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have yours of May 5 requesting that I deliver one of the lectures in the course under your direction. I thank you for the honor you do me; but because of my heavy schedule, I am not obligating myself to render any service except what is required in the promotion of my own work.

Respectfully yours,

C. G. Woodson,
Director.

ljc

[Workshop ...]

ROBERT K. SPEER, PH. D., GENERAL EDITOR
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
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TELEPHONE
GRAMERCY-7-7511

HINDS, HAYDEN & ELDREDGE, INC.
PUBLISHERS
105 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

January 16,1948

23-14-24

Dr. Rachel Davis DuBois
Workshop for Cultural Democracy
204 East 18th street
New York City 3, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you very much for your kind letter of January 13th about the reference book on cultural contributions.

I believe your idea is an excellent one that should be very successful, and I do hope you get some quick results.

Unfortunately for us, we have made so many commitments to publish numerous series of large textbooks that our management has instructed us strictly to concentrate all our energies and manufacturing facilities on these texts to the temporary exclusion of other worthwhile publications except for those already started.

Much as we would like to work with you, it will be a long time before this is possible - how long no one knows.

If a Foundation is going to help, why don't you consider requesting also additional funds for printing the first edition of the book? This phase of the project might be rejected, but there would seem to be no harm in asking. I know of several good books printed this way by Foundations in the past and with excellent results. Were not Mr. Stuart Chase's books published that way?

If I think of any suggestions, I'll be glad to call you promptly.

Cordially yours,

Samuel Smith

Samuel Smith

[Workshop for Cultural Democracy]

file Rachel Davis DuBois

January 22, 1948

Dr. Gordon Mirick, Director
Curriculum Service Bureau
433 West 123rd Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Mirick:

Dr. Rachel Davis DuBois and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois have asked me to inform you that they will appreciate your attending all meetings of the Encyclopedia Committee of the Workshop for Cultural Democracy, whenever it is convenient for you to do so. Notices of such meetings will be sent to you whenever the group convenes.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:lm

23-27-38

Dr. Rachel Davis DuBois,
Director

Charlotte A. Scott,
Executive Secretary

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23-27-63

WORKSHOP FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

Founded in 1934 as the Service Bureau for Education in Human Relations

Leadership Training
School and Community Programs
Consultant Services
Publications

204 East 18th Street
New York City 3, N. Y.
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February 3rd, 1948

Dear Board Member:

We regret that you were not present at the meeting yesterday of the Executive and Finance Committee to hear the discussion because there was evidence of great life in our organization and though several people were absent, real action was taken which will be reported to you in due course.

Will you take the time to secure a copy of the February issue of The Womans Home Companion and read the article which begins on page 34, DO YOU KNOW YOUR NEIGHBOR? by Helena Hunt Smith. You will be agreeably surprised by the recognition given to your organization and its methods.

There will be a general meeting of the Board Members soon at which time many significant happenings will be presented to you.

In the meantime, if you would like to meet with the Finance and Executive Committees a warm welcome is extended to you to do so. The next one will be held on Monday, February 16th - a cafeteria luncheon meeting at the Central Branch Y W C A, Lexington Avenue and 53rd Street at 12:30 p. m.

Cordially yours,

L. Hollingsworth Wood

L. Hollingsworth Wood
Treasurer

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[WORKSHOP FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY, FEB. 9, 1948]

MINUTES of February 9th, 1948

The Executive Committee and the Finance Committee of the Workshop for Cultural Democracy, met in joint session at the Central Branch Y W C A, Room 1006, 12:30, for a cafeteria luncheon.

Present: Mr. Gordon Nugent, Mr. L. Hollingsworth Wood, Mr. Harry Starr, Mrs. Gabriel Hamburger, Mrs. Murray Galves, Miss Elizabeth Gillian, Dr. Albert Murphy, Mr. S. A. Rudnick of Albany, Dr. R. D. DuBois and Mrs. Charlotte Scott. Drs. Whalen and Eisenstein sent their regrets. Dr. Frederick Thorne, although expected, was absent. No word was received from Dean Carman.

The meeting was called to specifically implement plans which have been discussed from time to time regarding the raising of funds, and to learn about the proposals made by Mrs. Sidney Greenbie which include the offer of her services during the month of April.

Four steps were agreed upon. Personal contact with prospective donors must be made, rather than the reliance upon letters. For this purpose a corps of volunteers must be assembled. Advertising for them in a liberal paper such as P. M. and contacting agencies made up of liberals where people with spare time may be recruited were the two methods settled upon.

23-27-64

The volunteers will be briefed by Mr. Nugent, Mr. E. Lentz, the publicity man for the National Board, Y M C A, whom Mr. Nugent has interested in the work, and Mrs. Gabriel Hamburger who has very successfully raised a goodly amount for the Workshop. There will be two types of service for the volunteers; one, assembling reprints and other publicity about the Workshop for a kit to be used with prospects. The other service would be the actual calling upon people and soliciting contributions. From this reservoir of volunteers, it is expected that a person will be found to head up a three months trial campaign at a salary contingent upon the amount of money he is able to bring in.

The Workshop was directed to make contacts with its own devotees in various neighborhoods to get a woman in each locality to become a fund raiser in her vicinity either through home parties or by going from door to door interesting people who can give from $2 to $10. Mrs. Galves has offered her services during the month of February to help draw this project together.

The Committees called upon Dr. DuBois to make no new commitments above her teaching schedules for the month of March, but to devote her time to organizing and directing the volunteers with specific goals in mind. It was stated that so many plans have been made in the past, but no one carried them out and the Workshop will not get a basic nest egg until the Director uses some of her time for this purpose.

Mrs. Hamburger stressed the fact that for the large donations, two people must call on the prospects, a Board member along with Dr. DuBois in some instances, and in others two Board members. The office must be geared to making the necessary contacts and following through on them.

The next meeting will be Monday, February 16th, 12:30 p. m. in Room 1006, Central Branch, Y W C A, 53rd and Lexington to which all members of the Board of Directors are invited.

Reported by Charlotte A. Scott

(WORKSHOP FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY)

NEW YORK, N. Y.
MAR 17
6-PM
1948

MAU

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
N A A C P
20 W. 40 th St.
N. Y. C.

23-27-20

[March 17, 1948]

I am calling a cafeteria luncheon meeting of our Board Members for Monday, March 22nd at the Y W C A Central Branch, 610 Lexington Ave. Unable to give room number at this time.

Please be present.

Ira Eisenstein, Vice-Chairman
WORKSHOP FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY
204 East 18th Street
New York, 3

Or. 4 - 3193

INFORMED by phone you cannot attend 3-18 Smythe

R. D. DuBois
Cultural Democracy

March 22, 1948

Mr. Ira Eisenstein
Work Shop for Cultural Democracy
204 East 18th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Eisenstein:

This will confirm my telephone conversation of March 18 that Dr. DuBois is out of the city and will be unable to attend the luncheon meeting of Board members on Monday, March 22. The Doctor is not due back in New York until April 18.

However, your notice shall be brought to his attention when he returns.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

23-27-11

Dr. Rachel Davis DuBois, Director

Charlotte A. Scott, Executive Secretary

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June 21, 1948

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecomb
New York, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

We have all experienced that miracle of release at our festivals when, across all barriers of race, custom, or creed, we begin to talk and sing together about old and simple things--the change of seasons, the games of childhood, the bread that mother used to make. But many people write to us wanting more background materials in order to develop a more sympathetic and imaginative leadership for mixed groups.

So I am delighted to tell you about Music and Women by Sophie H. Drinker. She opens with many charming descriptions of the functional use of music and the beginning of religions in the primative rituals associated with the ever-changing round of birth and death as symbolized by the waxing and waning of the moon. She tells of the ancient meanings of symbols we still spontaneously use in our own neighborhood festivals. She pleads earnestly for the restoration of music to its ancient function of group inspiration and group healing, under the leadership of women as mothers and teachers. This is not unlike what we ourselves have been saying in the class for Parents at the New School for Social Research in New York City. And she makes the profound observation that, in the beginning, the arts of music, of healing, and of religions were one. We who have experienced what a psychiatrist calls the "mild therapy" of our Neighborhood-Home festivals know that, in a sense, this is still true.

The kinship of Mrs. Drinker's thinking with our own is shown in her description of one of our Festivals on pp. 29. 292.

Read Music and Women. Take notes on it. Go back to it for suggestions and inspiration. Speak to your librarian and your bookstore and see that this book is available for all who are interested, as we are, in bringing psychiatry, musicology, anthropology, and the arts to a focus in creating a rich and meaningful social experience in our mixed social groups.

Very sincerely yours,

Rachel Davis DuBois

Rachel Davis DuBois

RDD/g

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22-34

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Sorry I was mislead as to the weeks when I called - its next weeks not this

October 13th, 1948

FORMAL NOTICE

The annual meeting of the BOARD OF DIRECTORS of the WORKSHOP FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY will be held on Thursday, October 21st, at the Parkside Hotel, 18 Gramercy Park South (20th Street) from 12 noon to 2 p. m. This will be a luncheon meeting.

The balcony has been reserved for our use in order that we may have a quiet place for our discussion.

If you have not already done so, please let us know whether we may expect you so that the necessary arrangements may be made at the hotel.

A card is enclosed for your convenience.

Cordially,

Rachel

Rachel Davis DuBois

RDD/g

This is a follow-up of our telephone call several days ago.

[Workshop for Cult. Dem.]

November 7, 1947

Mrs. Rachel Davis DuBois
204 East 18th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. DuBois: I am enclosing some material which Dr. DuBois asked me to send to you. This is all the data we have in our files. However, I shall keep looking for the material on Mr. Merrick, and should it come to light, it shall be forwarded at once.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:hs

23-27-72

23-14-22

Dr. Rachel Davis DuBois, Director

Charlotte A. Scott, Executive Secretary

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Fri.

Dear W E B D;

This is to welcome you back & to say that we missed you last Mon. for lunch (excellent food by the way) at Dr Covello's school at 116th & East River. The other 3 men Dr Meng & Dr Eisenstein with Dr Covello were so interested in the roles & aim Institute for Cultural democracy that at their request, we are meeting next Mon. at same place at 1, o'clock. They especially want you to be present. I told them you'd be back Tuesday Eve. - so here's hoping. Affectionately Yours

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December 2, 1948

Mrs. Rachel Davis DuBois
Workshop for Cultural Democracy
204 East 18th Street
New York 3, New York

23-14-23

My Dear Rachel:

I simply could not get to the meeting today. I attended and spoke at a meeting of the American Jewish Council last night and did not get started early enough this morning to do my work and attend your conference. I am sorry.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

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AN AUTHENTIC RECORD OF NOTABLE LIVING MEN AND WOMEN IN EVERY COUNTRY THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

WORLD BIOGRAPHY

COMPILED AND PUBLISHED BY
INSTITUTE for RESEARCH in BIOGRAPHY
INCORPORATED 1934

296 Broadway New York 7, N. Y.

Office of the Editor

230-13

December 13, 1948

Prof. William E. B. Du Bois
20 W. 40th St.
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Professor Du Bois:

I have the honor to announce the publication of your biography in WORLD BIOGRAPHY, comprising two volumes, now ready for delivery!

WORLD BIOGRAPHY, the Fourth (1948) Edition of the Biographical Encyclopedia of the World, is the best world record of notable living persons published, and you will find Volume A-K (which was released earlier this year) in many Public Libraries, Colleges, Universities and other reference sources.

I shall be glad to have you accept this invitation to join the list of distinguished world leaders who have subscribed to this history-making work. The enclosed card makes available to you a special pre-publication price for the complete two-volume set of WORLD BIOGRAPHY.

Sincerely yours,

S. A. Kaye, Editor.

[enc]

The New York Times Book Review

"Who's Who"--on a Global Scale

WORLD BIOGRAPHY. Fourth Editions of the Biographical Encyclopedia of the World. 2 Vols. 5,120 pp. New York: Institute for Research in Biography. $25.

WHEN a revolution overturns a Government in South America, when a Greek Cabinet falls, or when a Chinese war lord is ousted, there is usually a period of confusion while newspaper offices try to get acquainted with unfamiliar names and careers. At such times "Who's Who" on the American or British model may be of no help, although the British book has long made it a practice to include some foreigners. A "Who's Who" of greater scope is needed, and that is what the publishers of "World Biography" have undertaken to provide.

Tested for a fortnight on the reference shelves, the two huge volumes bound in bright red have proved fairly adequate. Out of eight Greek party leaders, the names and records of all but two were quickly turned up. Here, also, was a Chinese war lord, unknown to fame, who might have been troublesome to trace otherwise. Here was the full name and credentials of a Brazilian delegate to the United Nations. When revolution visited Peru recently the name of the new "strong man," Gen. Manuel Odria, could be verified, but the sketch of his career was lacking in details.

"World Biography" claims to have assembled 40,000 lives of great men—which should remind us that great men are not so numerous in a world population of 2,000,000,000. Here are 16,000 Americans, 4,000 British, 2,500 Scandinavians, 1,400 Canadians, 1,300 French, 1,200 Russians, all mixed in alphabetical order with unnumbered Italians, Czechoslovaks, Spaniards, Mexicans, Argentines, Irish, Dutch, Poles, and so on. Some sixty nations are represented. While for American and British names this represents duplication of "Who's Who," American and British, which most reference libraries will not be willing to abandon, there remain some 20,000 sketches which could not be readily found elsewhere.

L. V. UPDEGRAFF

23a-13

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1948.

NEW WORK LISTS 40,000 BIOGRAPHIES

2 Year Task Said to Have Cost $250,000—Leaders of Many Nations Included

A two-year task of compiling 40,000 biographies of artists, educators, scientists, jurists, and military, business and political leaders in sixty-five countries ends today with the publication of "World Biography," a two-volume book of 5,120 pages, by the Institute for Research in Biography.

The book, which weighs twenty pounds, was compiled at the cost of $250,000, it was said, and with the aid of scientific and cultural groups, Government authorities, and United States embassies and legations throughout the world. The first printing of 6,000 has been sold almost entirely to libraries, colleges and universities, newspapers, magazines and radio stations.

The United States has 16,000 men and women listed; Great Britain, 4,000; the Scandinavian countries, 2,500; Canada, 1,400; France, 1,300, and the Soviet Union, 1,200.

"The Russian Embassy in Washington cooperated to the fullest extent," the institute said. "But, the listing of 1,200 Russians represents real digging, real getting behind the 'Iron Curtain.' It's as much as we could obtain. And we got those persons important in the Soviet satellite states as well."

Questionnaires, which were filled out by most of those listed, asked "full name, occupation, education, marital status, children, resumé of character, memberships in organizations, awards and honors, books published and office and home addresses."

George Bernard Shaw described himself as "Irish author and playwright, Nobel prize winner." Mr. Shaw said that he was a "descendant of Shaigh, third son of Macduff, Thane of Fife, Scotland, slayer of Macbeth."

U Tin Tut, the first Burmese Foreign Minister, submitted his biography shortly before he was assassinated in September. Dr. Chaim Weizmann, president of Israel, and Shigeru Yoshida, the new Japanese Premier, also are included.

[Enc.]

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296 Broadway
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Send me the Fourth (1948) Edition of **WORLD BIOGRAPHY** containing my biography, at the special pre-publication price of $22.50.

Enclosed is check for $..... in full payment for ..... copies.

Signed.....

Address.....

City and State.....

[If you prefer to pay for the book after delivery, at the regular price of $25, please indicate here.] ☐

230-13

WORLD FEDERATION OF UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATIONS

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JAN MASARYK

Secretary-General
JOHN A. F. ENNALS

American Office
45 East 65th Street
New York 21, N. Y.

Telephone: BUtterfield 8-8000 — Cable Address: WORFEDUNA

Chairman
Executive Committee
ROBERT C. DEXTER

Treasurer
N.J.C.M. KAPPEYNE
VAN DE COPPELLO

April 26, 1948

Dear Sir,

There has been a general realisation among the member nations of the United Nations that human society is in dire need of an international law which would punish and help to prevent the sort of atrocities which were committed during the past war.

It is of great importance that not only the delegates to the United Nations should handle this vital issue to humanity, but that people all over the world should be acquainted with this problem, with its grave consequences, and what is being done about it. Right now a special committee is meeting in order to put into final form a convention on the crime of genocide which is to be presented to the General Assembly in Paris this Fall.

The World Federation of United Nations Associations has been actively lending its support to publicising the needsfor an international law to outlaw the heinous crime of genocide. Yet, in spite of our active campaign we feel that the bulk of the people are not aware of the action being taken and are hardly familiar with the relatively new term of genocide. Since American public opinion is going to play an important part in strengthening the American position and in expediting action, we would like to enlist the support of your organisation in this matter.

We are enclosing a fact sheet on genocide, and we wonder whether your organisation would distribute a bulk quantity of these. They will be mailed to you free of charge.

We hope that your organisation will realise the importance of the problem. Your assistance in bringing this issue before the public eye would be deeply appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Julia Stuart
Liaison Secretary

European Office: 1 Ave. de la Paix, Geneva, Switzerland — Telephone: Geneva 21220 — Cable Address: WORFEDUNA

May 11, 1948

Miss Julia Stuart
World Federation of United Nations Associations
45 East 65th Street
New York, New York

Dear Miss Stuart:

Your letter of April 26, enclosing the leaflet, "Fact Sheet on Genocide," has just come to our attention. Thank you for sending it.

We would like to distribute this material, but will you please send another copy and the accompanying letter to Mr. Madison Jones, Administrative Assistant, NAACP, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York. Mr. Jones handles such matters and I am sure a letter to him will start action. I am informing him that he may expect to hear from you.

With thanks for your courtesy, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:s

[WORLD PEACE DAY COMMITTEE, JULY 15, 1948]

Translate, Reprint, Broadcast, Post, Distribute.

No more Hiroshimas LAST APPEAL No more war

File War

Wherever you are and whoever you are
we are calling
YOU
(the Key [redacted] figure for World Peace:

Join the March of Peace
on
World Peace Day
August 6, 1948

War is man made and can be eliminated by man. Peace is the only ethical and reasonable form of living. PEACE IS POSSIBLE -- if all mankind promote and prepare,
Justice and good will to all instead of oppression and persecution,
negotiations instead of armament, cooperation instead of separation,
ONE WORLD OF UNITED NATIONS.

World Peace Day shall be a start towards a World Peace Movement. The World Peace Day Committee is ready to become an international clearing and coordination center for peace planning and propaganda. We invite all organizations, churches, peace societies, professional and trade, women and youth organizations, cooperatives, etc. to join our efforts.

July 15, 1948 THE WORLD PEACE DAY COMMITTEE

****

(continuation of the last published list, until July 13th.

Azikiwe, Dr. Nnamdi, Director, Zik's Press (Nigeria)
Balch, Emily G., Winner of Peace Nobel Prize (USA)
Barth, Dr. Theol. Carola, Christian Democratic Union, Committee of Evang. and Catholic Women (Germany)
Cooke, Flora J., Educator (USA) Chairman Com. on Education and Relief for Japan Church of the Brethren (USA)
Cosyn, M. R., Vice President, Belgian Section, World Movement for a Federal Government (Belgium)
Cruz, Federico, Bahai Preacher (Philippines)
Davies, Rhys, M. P. (England)
Dittrich, Franz, Chairman, Austrian War Resister's League (Austria)
Drevet, Camille, Secretary, Voluntary Civil Service (France)
Duschka, Reinhold, Council Member, W.R.I. (Austria)
Efford, Lincoln, Secretary, The Peace Union (New Zealand)
Fleming, Marjorie, Chairman, Branch of W.R.I. (South Africa)
Gayagoy, Tomas D., Attorney (Philippines)
Hammer, Walter, Youth Leader (Germany)
Hsiao, Dr. Yunlay, Publisher-Editor, Die Weltkugel, East-West Correspondence, Berlin and Hupeh (China)
Hunter, Allan A.,Clergyman (USA)
Lacaze-Duthiers, Gerard, writer, founder of library of Artistocraty (France)
Louvet, Louis, Editor, C'est qu'il faut dire (France)
Manning, Leah, M.P. (England)
Oestreich, Prof. Paul, (Germany)
Parizek, Arthur, General Secretary, Ergocratic Party (Austria)
Sadayasu, Prof. M. (Japan)
Schiffler, Dr. Charlotte, Christian Democratic Union (Germany)
Schwimmer, Rosika (USA)
Sen, Dr. Samar R., M.A., Ph. D. (India)
Sundstroem, Erland, Editor (Sweden)
Theodosius, P., Governor, Berg-Sinai-Mission(Austria)
Tottoc, Zacharias, Member of Municipal Council (Philippines)
Tsao, Richard S., Editor, Ta Kung Pao, (China)
Van der Plaata, Anni, W.R.I. Correspondent f. Holland
Veran, Emile, writer, (France)
War Resister's League (Austria)
World Movement for a Federal Government, Belgian Section.
Zeigner, Dr. Erich, Mayor of Leipzig (Germany)
Day, Hem, Pensee and Action (Belgium)

New Committee Members:
Hitotsuyanagi, Dr. and Mrs. William Merrell Vories (Japan)

****

Financial contributions (urgently needed) may be sent and made payable to the Treasurer:

Mrs. Harold N. Geistweit, 609 Santa Ray Avenue,
Oakland 10, California, USA

Other communications may be mailed to the Executive Secretary:

Alfred W. Parker, 609 Santa Ray Avenue
Oakland 10, California, USA

23-23-25

FACTS ABOUT THE WORLD PEACE MOVEMENT

WORLD CONFERENCE OF INTELLECTUALS FOR PEACE

Wroclaw, Poland - August 25 - 28, 1948

Present: O. John Rogge
Albert Kahn
Otto Nathan
Ella Winter

Messages sent by Einstein and Wallace.

Organizational Section of Resolution:

"We propose that cultural congresses for peace be convened in all countries, that national committees for peace be formed everywhere, that international ties between men of culture of all countries be strengthened in the interest of peace."

Resolutions of the Congress adopted by individuals. American delegation voted 23 for, 2 abstentions, 7 against.

An International Committee was set up to sponsor a Peace Congress to be held in Paris. O. John Rogge, member of Committee.

INTELLECTUALS & WOMENS' INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION ISSUE CALL FOR WORLD CONGRESS

February 25, 1949

(PEACE CONFERENCE HELD AT WALDORF-ASTORIA, NEW YORK CITY)

March 25, 26, 27, 1949

WORLD CONGRESS OF DEFENDERS OF PEACE (Details on attached sheets)

April 20 - 25, 1949 • PARIS

CONTINENTAL PEACE CONGRESS

September 5, 1949 - Mexico City

Present: O. John Rogge
[redacted]

COMMITTEE OF WORLD CONGRESS OF DEFENDERS OF PEACE

October 27-30, 1949 - Rome

Decision: Delegations to be sent to governments, including U.S.

DELEGATION TO MOSCOW

March 7, 1949 Present: O. John Rogge, Rockwell Kent, Johannes S[illegible]

COMMITTEE OF WORLD CONGRESS OF DEFENDERS OF PEACE

March 15 - 19, 1950 - Stockholm

Present: O. John Rogge
Albert Kahn

Elected as member of Committee of World Congress: Rockwell Kent

Decision to issue a world peace appeal against use of the atomic bomb, known as the STOCKHOLM PEACE APPEAL.

(See Attached Material for additional details.)

COMMITTEE OF
BUREAU OF WORLD CONGRESS OF DEFENDERS OF PEACE

May 31, 1950 - London

Agenda: Stockholm Peace Appeal
Second World Congress

BUREAU - (Enlarged) COMMITTEE OF WORLD CONGRESS OF DEFENDERS OF PEACE

August 18, 1950 - Prague

Present: Prof. Fletcher
Dr. Du Bois
Charlotta Bass
Elizabeth Moos
O. John Rogge

BUREAU OF COMMITTEE OF WORLD CONGRESS OF DEFENDERS OF PEACE (Preparations Committee)

October 6, 1950 - Prague Present: Shirley Graham, Elizabeth Moos.

October 25,26, 1950 - Prague Present: Elizabeth Moos

November 10, 11 - 1950 - Prague - Present: Elizabeth Moos

WARSAW CONGRESS

November 16, 1950 - Warsaw

List of delegates attached.

23-26-33

May 6, 1948

Dr. Louis T. Wright
218 West 139th Street
New York, New York

My dear Dr. Wright:

Enclosed are the last findings of the Life Extention Examiners. I will be glad to have you look them over.

I have been meaning to come by to see you. I shall call you up on the phone pretty soon and make an appointment. I trust you and the family are well.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm
Enclosure

Yale University Library,
New Haven, Connecticut

September 21, 1948

23-39-126

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the gift mentioned below, and I beg you to accept our sincere thanks.

Faithfully yours,

Librarian

For The James Weldon Johnson Memorial Collection of
Negro Arts and Letters:

Manuscripts of W. E. B. du Bois:

The World and Africa. Original script with manuscript corrections.
Sacco and Vanzetti, a play - fragment.
Ethiopia.
The New Negro Church.
The Black Belt of Arkansas.
The four closing pages "Of the Coming of John."
A Litany at Atlanta.
Proposed Answer to Boston - fragment.
Two odd pages of manuscript.
Letter to editor of the New York Herald-Tribune with corrections.

To W. E. B. du Bois, Esq.
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Yale University Library
New Haven Connecticut

James T. Babb
Librarian

September 23, 1948

W. E. B. du Bois, Fsq.
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. du Bois:

23-39-125

We are delighted to have the manuscripts listed on the enclosed acknowledgment to add to the Johnson Collection.

I look back with pleasure to the evening with Mr. Van Vechten when I met you. I hope that we may have the opportunity of entertaining you in New Haven sometime.

Sincerely yours,

James T. Babb

JTB:ba
Enclosure

[YALE - Dixwell Group]

THE DIXWELL GROUP

University — An Interracial Fellowship — Community

Dwight Hall Yale University
586 Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut

Lecture

22-33-10

January 19, 1948

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
Assistant to Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Dear Mr. Smythe:

Thank you for your letter of November 7, 1947, suggesting that Dr. DuBois could possibly appear before the Dixwell Group sometime in January. I regret that our plans for the month of January precluded scheduling a lecture by Dr. DuBois.

If possible, we should like to have Dr. DuBois speak for our group at a public meeting in February. We would prefer a date early in the month.

May I hear from you with regard to this matter in the very near future?

Very truly yours,

Charles L. Fielding

Charles L. Fielding
Chairman

Feb 12, 13 & 14

[YALE-Dixwell Group]

January 21, 1948

Mr. Charles L. Fielding, Chairman
The Dixwell Group
Dwight Hall
586 Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Fielding:

Thank you for your letter of January 19, which has just arrived. Dr. DuBois could appear for you on any of the following dates:

February 12, 13, or 14

After you have considered these dates and come to some decision, I would appreciate hearing from you. Thanking you for your courtesy, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Hugh H. Smythe
For Dr. DuBois

HHS:s

22-33

COPY

[Yale Dixwell Group]

THE DIXWELL GROUP

University — An Interracial Fellowship — Community

Dwight Hall Yale University

lecture

January 28, 1948

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
N.A.A.C.P.
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Smythe:

Thank you for your letter of January 21. The university calendar has become crowded for the next few weeks. We feel that in view of this situation, that our organization could not offer a representative audience for Dr. DuBois.

Thanking you for your cooperation, I remain

Very truly yours,

Charles L. Fielding

Charles L. Fielding
Chairman

23c-29-55

[Young]

901 Tremble St
Wil. 30, Del.
11-16-48

My dear Dr WEB—

You don't write to me, you don't love me anymore but I am still steadfast.

23-28-7

This is a copy of a wire I have sent to your damn Bd of Directors (i.e. the NAACP). Isn't it okeh?

I'd like to join the opposition staff!!!
I was in NY the 14th - 16th of Oct but got no response from your telephone or from your house-phone!

Love,
Pauline

I was so broke I had to come back to Wilmington.

P.

December 17, 1948

Miss Pauline Young
901 French Street
Wilmington 30, Delaware

23-29-9

My dear Pauline:

Thank you for your kind letter of November 16, I appreciate it and shall hope to see you one of these days.

I think everything is going to turn out all right, although of course I am going to leave this organization. I will let you know later just what happens. I was sorry to see you return to Wilmington but I know you are glad to get back.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Wallace

Young Progressives of America

39 PARK AVENUE NEW YORK 16 NEW YORK

lecture, 1948
completed

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Margaret Bush Wilson, Mo.

23-48-8

December 9, 1948

Dr. W. E. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Ave.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

The National Student Division of Young Progressives of America has called a National Student Conference to take place December 27 through 29 in Detroit, Michigan. Present at the conference will be representatives of student clubs of YPA and other interested campus organizations. The conference will launch among the 300 campus clubs of YPA nation-wide campaigns to repeal the draft and end Jim Crow and quota systems in education. These campaigns will be the cornerstones of progressive student activity for the months to come.

Young Progressives would be honored to have you, as an outstanding leader of the Negro people, and as one who has contributed much to their struggles address the student conference of December 27, 1948, on the fight against Jim Crow and quota systems in education as it relates to the whole struggle of the Negro people for freedom.

If you find it possible to attend our conference, please let us know at your earliest opportunity.

I have enclosed a copy of the Call to the National Student Conference, the Program of Young Progressives of America and the latest issue of its official organ, the Young Progressive for your information.

Sincerely,

Walter Wallace

Walter Wallace, Secretary
Student Division

uopwa-16
WW/cc

[Young Progressives of America]

December 15, 1948

23-48-9

Mr. Walter Wallace, Secretary
Student Division
Young Progressives of America
39 Park Avenue
New York 16, New York

My dear Mr. Wallace:

Answering your letter of December [redacted],
I regret to say that I could not undertake to be present
at the Detroit meeting. I am sorry.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBDlm

[Youth of All Nations]

NEWS

TOOK

RELEASE DATE FEB 17 1948

1948

YOUTH OF ALL NATIONS, INC.
16 St. Luke's Place - New York 14, N.Y.

Walker 5-0696

XXXXYXXXXXX WAtkins 4-1358

Sample

OUR TELEPHONE NUMBER HAS BEEN CHANGED TO : WATKINS 4-1358

IMMEDIATE

A CALL TO THE WORLD'S YOUNG

TO TELL HOW THEY ARE WORKING FOR WORLD PEACE

A call to Earth's young to tell how they are working for a war-less world is being issued by Youth of All Nations, Inc., from its headquarters at 16 St. Luke's Place, New York. Through every available medium, boys and girls, young men and young women in every accessible country and island on the globe - including the islanded stateless in DP camps - are being asked to speak out on the following questions:

1. What are your own most urgent problems?
2. What do you believe the youth of your own country can contribute to the building of a peaceful world?
3. What are you as an individual doing in this respect? and what would you like to do?
4. If you belong to a youth organization of any kind, in exactly what ways is your group working for world-peace? (When all groups have been heard from, the whole story will be told.)
5. In what countries would you like to have letter-friends? and would you like us to try to arrange such letter-friendships for you?

In explaining this wholesale sounding out of youth, Miss Clara Leiser, Founder and Executive Director of the organization, commented, "Whatever may be 'settled' or left unsettled by Foreign Ministers or UN, no top-level decisions can alone cure the human sickness that plagues our planet. We have got to allay the fears bred in people who are ignorant of each other's deepest - and best - natures. Across my desk come thousands of letters begging for assuagement of a hunger that goes even deeper than that of the stomach. Especially the young plead out of full hearts for intellectual and spiritual contact with contemporaries beyond their national boundaries. They grope for assurance that we adults, who robbed millions of the right to happy childhood, are at least going to help them live the rest of their lives in some degree of that human dignity we talked about so much during the war."

Youth of All Nations, Inc., begun during the war as a simple effort to help newly arrived refugee children make letter-friends in various states of the U.S.A., has evolved into a sort of correspondence course in humanity. By a unique system

of individual and group ideas-and-hopes exchanging, it seeks to help the young of all nations, races, and religious beliefs to understand - and so to like each other better.

"In a brilliant recent speech, heard by far too few," Miss Leiser went on, "Pearl Buck observed that although youth in the U.S.A. is provided with endless 'activities,' the content of its life is very thin. The young people are not enough a part of what is going on in the world. They are being cheated if they aren't made aware that their own town is a part of the world community, and the quickest way of developing a feeling of kinship with that community is by learning from human beings themselves."

23C-45

Youth of All Nations, Inc., now offers that opportunity to all young people everywhere, whether they live in great cities or tiny hamlets. A sort of underscored invitation is issued to young Americans. "If they only knew," says YOAN, "How fervently the others want to learn what they are really like - and whether Hollywood and the radio do them justice - they would quickly open their warm hearts and good minds to someone young elsewhere on the globe."

Flexible and forward-looking adults who want to keep in touch with young ideas are invited to support the work, and to become Associate Members.

To the young of all ages who want to know how those in other countries think and feel, who want to learn about other people's traditions, customs and experiences, work and play, troubles, hopes and dreams, YOAN says, "Send your answers to the five questions above to 16 St. Luke's Place, New York 14, N.Y. - and if you can remember, please enclose a self-addressed and stamped envelope for our reply." *****

*****What we'd LIKE to ask is that they send 10¢ to cover PART of the cost of paper, application blanks, etc. Would your general policy allow that?

NOTE TO EDITOR: This is a non-profit organization. No-one receives a salary, and we are dependent on the support of individuals who recognize the fundamental worth of what we are trying to do. Our expenses are considerable - PAPER alone costing what it does! Do you suppose you could help us by asking financial aid editorially? That would be wonderful. We'd like to say to everyone, "Deduct it from your income tax and add it to your eternal credit."

THANKS!!

Clara Leiser

Our telephone number has been changed to: WAtkins 4-1358.

[Youth of All Nations]

Data in re Clara Leiser, Founder and Executive Director of YOUTH OF ALL NATIONS, Inc. Offered to aid editors and others in deciding what kind and degree of support to give an organization conducted by someone having the background indicated.

- -

Born in Milwaukee, Wis. Graduate of University of Wis. (Course in Humanities)

Positions Held:

1. Asst. Editor and Advr. Mgr., Wis. Journal of Education (official magazine of Wis. Educ. Assn). Resigned; in favor of travel.

2. Research Analyst, Court of General Sessions (criminal), N.Y. Co. Resigned to do various kinds of war-work (non-salaried) made possible through years of observing the rise of Nazism.

3. To help young refugees make friends, and to help acquaint young Americans with some phases of their over-seas contemporaries' life, established the organization later incorporated as YOUTH OF ALL NATIONS, INC. (The name was democratically chosen by vote of the members.)

Travels: Europe - primarily England, Germany, and Poland, but including brief visits to a dozen other countries as well - 1929; 1931; 1932-3; 1935; 1937; 1939.

Books written, compiled, collaborated on, edited and translated:

Jean de Reszke and the Great Days of Opera (1934)

Lunacy Becomes Us (1939)
Refugee (1940)
Skeleton of Justice (1941)

All documented accounts of one or another phase of Nazism. All used by U.S. government agencies and others during the war.

Biographer of and Literary Executor for the poet-scholar, Wm. Ellery Leonard.

(All writings officially banned from Nazi Germany; in 1940.)

Intensive study of the implications of the post-war position of the U.S.A. in world affairs. Particular attention to the post-war problems of youth.

Concentrated study of the Displaced Persons Problem and practical work to alleviate it.

RESPONSIBLE FOR THE FIRST APPEAL EVER MADE TO YOUTH THE WORLD OVER, TO EXPRESS ITS OPINION ON POST-WAR PROBLEMS AND PEACE-BUILDING.

The program for YOAN was initiated in the realization that it would be even harder to win peace than war, and has evolved into fundamental significance for the world.

Signature: Clara Leiser

83C-415

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

23-25-81

1201

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NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

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NHF25 INGL DUPLICATE AND CORRECTED COPYCD CAPETOWN VIA RCA 52 FEB 17

NLT CEDRIC DOVER=

:FISK UNIVERSITY NASHVILLETENN=

:DR DUBOIS: CONVEYING HEARTY CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR ATTAINING THE 80TH YEAR OF YOUR LIFE, FROM THE BROWN SOUTH AFRICA AND MYSELF. MAY YOU BE SPARED TO SEE THE REALIZATION OF YOUR GREAT IDEAL EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL MANKIND=

1 2 3 4

:C ZIERVOGEL | SOCIAL WELFARE OFFICER | TAFELBERG HOSTEL | CAPETOWN SOUTH AFRICA. 1235P.

TIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

March 2, 1948

Ziff-Davis Company, Publishers
350 5th Avenue
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

We have recently had brought to our attention OUR AMERICAN GOVERNMENT, by Wright Patman. Since this seems to be the type of book that we should like to bring to the attention of the audiences we reach in speaking and writing, we would appreciate your sending us a copy for examination. After we have looked it over we shall be glad to return it.

With thanks for your courtesy, I am

Sincerely yours,

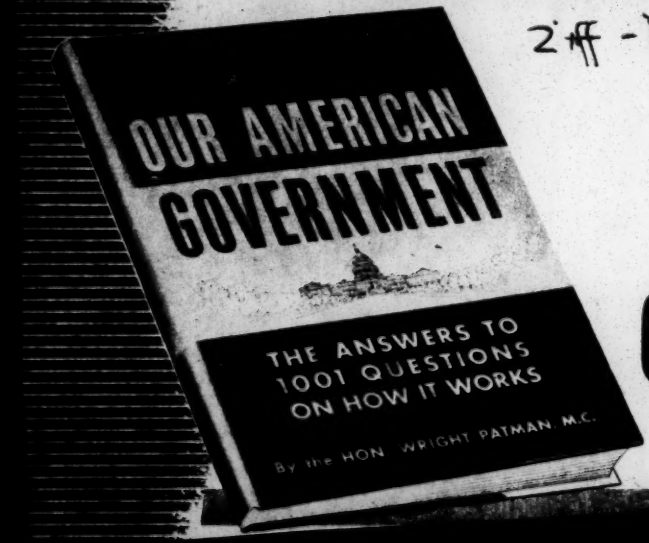
Hugh H. Smythe

HHS:LM

23C - 45

Ziff - Davis

Answers Questions About Our Government the Way a Dictionary Answers Questions About Words



Completely indexed. Illustrated with color charts and reproductions of Freedom Train Documents. Clothbound $2.75. Paperbound $1.50.

"Every American can read this book with profit since it answers correctly so many questions which are not completely understood by so many good citizens."
— *Harry S. Truman*

"I found it most interesting and instructive, and would not be without it."
—*Bernard M. Baruch*

"It is a book for the whole family."
— *Thomas L. Stokes*

"It should be a very useful guide to those who want to know how our government works, and the questions are well selected to cover the whole field."
— *Robert A. Taft*

"The better our citizens understand the precepts, principles and functions of the Republic, the better they can fulfill their responsibilities and safeguard our priceless heritage of democracy. Your book will do much toward making such information readily available."
—*Dwight D. Eisenhower*

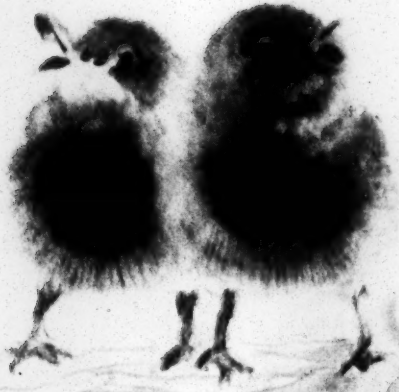
OUR AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

by the Hon. Wright Patman, Member of Congress

23-25-82

The very best
of
GOOD WISHES

Many, many happy returns!



Don't need a
little bird to tell
Your Birthday's due -

Couldn't forget a thing like that
Thinking so much of
You!

One of your greatest admirers,
Camilla

Curie 1948 I

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois
20 W. 40 St
New York. 18. N.Y.

25-24-22

22-40-122

LA LOS ANGELES
NOV 26
1 AM
1948
CALIF.

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

"Burghardt Du Bois"
20 W. 40th St
New York 18. N.Y

Nov. 17

File
"Queer Letters"

I just read one of your books. Vastly amusing. You ignore the fact that the great men who signed the Declaration were all White — anglo-Saxons — of English descent. So were the men who in the Civil War literally saved you — Grant, Sherman, Lincoln — et al. The English control the greatest Empire in history. Greatest names in history — English. Newton, Darwin, Shakespeare and Tennyson and Burns. The poor Irish & Germans who pretended to despise, could improve their lot & go into society where you would never be admitted. The great civilizations of the past were all white, but they fell when their pure white blood became polluted by black blood. It's tragic, Dubois, you being mulatto. Even Jefferson & Lincoln considered Negros inferior. If you believe in re-incarnation pray that in the next life you may be born a Chinaman. In South Africa 3 million whites control 40 millions of malodorous half apes — niggers. Every American's stomach sickens at sight of a coon. But we whites are compassionate. Now down South the whites are pure Anglo-Saxon, the Southern Europeans — the North were mongrelized by the Far brush tribes coming to the U.S.A. No Dubious, it won't wash, your outpouring of hate, your poor frustrated creature. I am English & enormously proud of it. Who would not be. We all the dominant race — the poor niggers never had any civilization. Just care me. Don't you wish you could change into a white man? But you are doomed to remain a coon — just a cocoanut. A fixed term. But be happy in the thought that you have some white blood — hinde your degree of intelligence. I wish you luck Dubious. You are too far beneath me to rate much attention. If no only negros & negresses are so evil smelling your tribesmen in the U.S. will never get equality. Nature withheld it from them. But good luck & good health to you. You are a very amusing

Woolly.

I've just seen movie 'Africa Speaks'. Voice of the jungle. Such primitive, revolting cannibals. Your relatives, Dubois. These half apes are funny, too. But mostly obnoxious. Even the Yellow races despise them. Negros - lowest & most inferior of all God's creatures. Those poor 'Irish & Germans you affected to look down upon. How you envied them their pure Caucasian blood & their white skins. And their offspring grew up to order, you dirt. How you exude the white jealousy of the superior white race. The race to which you owe everything good & decent. In Dixie the whites keep their blood from being polluted by negroid. In Russia there is no dislike of black creatures. Why? Because they are but few. To be close to blacks is to despise them. They are loathsome. How Dubois, you'll never get social equality in the U.S. - or anywhere else. Be happy as you are. After all, God loves you & He has a special Heaven for his inferior creatures. We whites are enormously proud of our heritage. And we Anglo Saxons control the world. Would you be an Dorlon Faucus - make the bargain - just to be a white man for even one day. How your little negro soul would exhult. The white blood - the modicum of white blood you have has already polluted by your French relatives before they came to america. Not - that it's you got your little sense. If you are Shut out - excluded - true - why don't you go back to the Congo. You could strut there before the natives. You are an amusing woolly coon. Dubois - all americans - North and South - despise you - but they are too polite to say so. Every other race on earth despises the negro. But good health to you darky. Continue to pour out your hate. You are such an obvious, funny shine

22-38

Circular letter

WASHINGTON, D.C. JAN 4 9-PM 1948

SAVE THE EASY
BUY U.S. BONDS
PAYROLL SAVINGS

UNITED STATES POSTAGE 3 CENTS 3

Mr W. E. B. Dubois.
c/o N.A.A.C.P. 69 5th Ave
New York, N.Y.

[c. Jan 4, 1948]

1

22-38

Well girls This is the last to be described to you The time is up for talk we must do some thing now or hereafter it will never do to stand idole on let this rotten nation of ours control the combined World as long they can control the subjected races they will do it. harlem People have had a fair Trial I find every way right with harlem but the right way. The crowns are given to the soldiers as a just reward if harlem dosent take it others will it is some thing to done an not talked out. we are at the Parting of ways you must take it or leave it to others I notice some Talk of mixing races. there is only one white invited I do want some talks with some real bible People before the conflict come on the bible students are the best bible readers on the questions I find nothing in harlem to ask for I can see the bible students later but the soldier girl an ofay must come or counted out. girls study my Plans on the Trip. come where I live at 423 ridge St N. W walk a few steps down the alley to the shop I am about the shop. in the evening. we will arrange for the night in a few minutes an you girls leave Take a street car to union station there you get lunch if you have time get a ticket an go right seeing Till about 7 o. Clock let the Lord Put you down at

the corner of 4th on ridge to either 6th on ridge
to then walk the half block on ridge at
To the alley at first door the alley is clear
I will be in the shop when you come
my body is gone from 9 a.m. To 9 P.m
sixth day in the week. you could spend the
night if you wanted to it is a license
Place of no body has a rite to break it ope
I will buy too new blankets when you come
there is too 9X12 rugs all ready to use
dont notice the People with talk the god
spoke by me I am the only man that can
help you if you come I will crown you
bride with stars with my own you must
match the calling not too light or too dark as you
must be under 26 years of age. this is
some thing you can't do anything about. I am
not going to be taken with any divided races
at harlem neither chicago Military is
my route or none. there is no body can send
me to the army unless I choose to go yet I am
made up and any body to go other wise I would
never have spent the time I have spent on
the question the gods chowdly laid their hands
on some like me in case you dont come
good by harlem meet me further up the road
Jan show me what rite of god you can
demand I would be glad to see you
coming I will be good to you I like nice

22-38.

ladies when they give me that. let me say this any God or nation that has a death struggle in their face an stop argue foolishness, is a fool an have not the race of heart. it aint nothing but down right foolishness to argue at me who can change a man, God sent To the weak minds of men it Please the gods to send me what wrong have I done leave all other, quit drink. The two girls I will meet. The bible students later I dont no how soon I will see them tho I go the other way.

Robt U.C.

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o N.A.A.C.P.
20 W 40
New York N.Y.

22-38

[c. March 20, 1948]

22-38

/

girls & no women there is a world of women wouldnt make a brute of themselves if they knowwod how. while women learn the how
● to Perfect women from babies & find some women differ while both Prove to be all right one say use corbolated vaseline the other say white Vaseline all the difference & find the corbolated Vaseline ... dirt in it When Put on a mans Peter women use these things dont have babies our while women knows about that more than colored, while some women wouldnt do that neither have a man yet where one wont an nother will is the way the world goes, more over & dont expect your girls to go bout trying this if you does & will see it am tell you all about it. if you be in China. now listen you out side girls come here because your hearts one like me was here it is true & am a god sent man, on it is good one like me could. other wise the great aims of to day or future would have been in bondage to Europe. so the situation stands now it
● would take (25) more years to get the People on the right tracks or the right People come to the front & Purpose no further orgulment & am welcoming your kid Purly because & seen just such things as you describe to me all but the man & refuse To take a man. such are not needed & described The Place Time on again in looking around

I find more than I said I have a fold up cot up stairs that big sift setter at the heater is a bed setter good springs right by the heater you could stay all night if you like no body goes in nor out only through me sense it is cold shoping hours is from 10 AM to 5 PM backs of this my lady is Part sick in bed if she was well she up she would not look at you about the shop. listen according to my visions of long ago Two Women are all due to come at the break or end one a medium tall bright color the a medium short dark redish color medium stout. I look spare for those of late only one was bright. my talk is direct to those of other lands because the gospel an kingdom of Christ was sent to them through me or my declaration. these young girls was sent here as champions the best of their nations had to offer for freedom cause on humanity they come to match the world at its best only to Prove themselves idolers of the hour to regret their moments in tears the long argument ends on not a single Person elected. there will be no more choosing nor invideing women to come to me neither will I take them if they come to me. send the Peoples children home an get ready for the battle I was sent on will go. I will lead it gods way or lead it in hell so we end the ladies question let them meet me at the close of armageddon

I say boys get ready all the World are ready but we. lets see how many you got an who all you got how many in a group how many go To each Place lest under stand each other on train our People we are not in line with the World let each group have their on captains an leaders we will not mix with any body nor race only in case of a hand full. we want a crew of good drivers. We want Cobs. an waiters. send men to look about his on destination so as to do fast Work an stir up the World from coast to coast observe to caution on dont Publish no set time I will be on the home beat where the devil himself is at. there is not enough of us here to be devided like in India an other nations. god are not in the big mind an the stout heart you never will convert the world all of one belief every mans way is right to him an the same is applied to races an nations. a race or nation with out god is a heathen an counts nothing. your stage an Toy leaders dont no what to do with People your lifes Work has been centered on what the other fellows are doing. Humans opinion has never been right an will never be right. gods Way is the only way right for the human world an all things that had life. god created all these things to [redacted] world of his own under his law in their respective Times an season. god has choosen us to do his bidding To the world not of our opinions but by his laws an directions. in what way could the god of heaven

22-38

set up a kingdom if not by his directions anything
else would be an abomonation to god on subject
to failure as germany Japan an Italy. it is wrong
to halt the women but the actual things needs to be
regulated is omitted because of the Workmen are the
People remain in darkness under the Tim Pan
leadership theory making ways of their own leaving
the ways of god unsound. we dont understand
each other in our divided frame work & are in the
middle of too opposing forces neither one is right
if the big Power's strengthen the weaker side of india
against the majority. then to undercut the pillors
here would enlarged the fight a head brother against
brother this dividing brother against brothers is
a bad thing in case you looose you are sure
to be Kill all most with out trial you have to
beat god to beat me I see you only in a
muddle with your life at stake. the united states
is going to support the nehru. which means material
an men if nehru undermine this aid. what about
the aid behind the musolems under the oath of
foreign flags Take america out the nehru will
be taken in the battle unless nehru use
america to win his fight which would bring in
all europe with england an Kill of a world of
People frightly too many People would die of
hunger an disease. let the attack be made every
where at one set time cover the world over which
would undo all Plans an Preparation at once

22-38

an no great Properation could be made leaveing the rest of the World easy Meat while the big Powers are Planning their way in the fight. We should at least think of more than Women an office big wigs an high hats. in closing out the Women you can send too of these girls to me just too lone girls. if they choose to come tho I am silent on their question, I will not the white nor berry, not now later I will take a bible student girl but not now just keep the women questions out & will not answer their subjects I am in the middle an not on either side I done the best I could Writing People from all over the World is at an end if you dont see trouble now you never will I am the fight right or wrong I made no choice as yet as to what side I will take dam stout hearted fools your bigoness will fade an Perish by the earth the meek will inherit the earth till your great women they are welcome to keep that

Bolt D.C.

137-53 Holly Ave.,
Flushing, N.Y.
Feb. 11, '48.

Dear Sally:

How I should love to attend the dinner to Dr. Du Bois on the twenty-third!

But I am completely Flushing-bound this bitter weather. My upstairs tenant has been home ill for four months. I have lost my furnace and handy man (whom I have had for about twelve years) He has shoved out further on the Island

So it is up to me to stay near home and keep the place warm day and night. No closing the door to and sneaking away for a few hours.

Why couldn't Dr. Du Bois have been born in May or June! It would have been so much more considerate.

23-25-47

But seriously, I am very upset at having to miss such a brilliant and interesting affair. I do hope that the weather will be favorable on the twenty-third and that the dance will be a great success.

My love to you and kind regards to Doctor.

Ever sincerely,

Bonnie.

23-25-48

17 Sawin Street
Roxbury Mass.
Feb. 20. 1948

23-25-9

Dear Cousin William:

I tried to see you Sunday, but I was late reaching the hall, and you know the crowd that was there, so many people couldn't get in, and I were so disappointed. It never entered my mind I couldn't get a seat. I had

promised Mrs. Lonon Pres. of the Tubman House to represent Cousin Frances at a mortgage burning ceremony, but it was postponed, but it made me late reaching the hall.

I have been so lame this winter, I have not been ~~going~~ going out as the walking has been so bad; as it is I have had 2 falls.

Mae Roberts was there and tried to reach you before you left but she couldn't. She is mothers twin brother's daughter (William Adams.)

You are marvelous Cousin William. The people that couldn't hear you, (were turned away) couldn't understand why the meeting was not held in Symphony Hall, as everyone wants to hear you.

Alice says you have a birthday coming. I wrote to her and told her I did not think I could get

to a stationery store [3]
and one seldom gets
what you want at other
stores, but I hope you
may have many more
years of health and
happiness.

I am going to
write to Cousin
Nina soon.

Our best wishes
and love and may
God bless and keep
you.

Sincerely
Julia

23C-38-28

THE

Mrs. Roosevelt Requests More Politeness in U. N.

By The Associated Press.

PARIS, Oct. 13—Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt urged Russian and other Communist speakers in the United Nations today to be more courteous.

"Remember," she told the Social Committee, "no one who lives in the world is perfect."

Her brief remarks followed attacks on alleged racial and other discrimination in the United States, Britain and South Africa made by Russian and Yugoslav delegates.

Committee to

Made in United States of America

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THE CONCEPT "JIM CROW"

HUGH H. SMYTHE

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

32.28.25

IN ANY field of endeavor terminology is a necessary tool and the development of concepts is basic to the functioning and workability of that field. The social sciences have been rich in this regard, to such an extent that the development of concepts has on occasion led to confusion and hindered rather than helped in the clarification of problems. However, in this accumulation of terminology, particularly in sociology, a term of importance is sometimes overlooked and this apparently has been the case in regard to the concept "Jim Crow." Even a brief examination of the term reveals that by all standards for the acceptance of a term as a sociological concept, "Jim Crow" rightfully belongs as a permanent part of the language of the discipline.

Although the writer has been interested for some time in the sociological implications of "Jim Crow" and its concommitants, discrimination and segregation, particularly with reference to Negroes, recently legal proceedings in the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York impressed upon him not only the widespread use of this term but the sociological unawareness of it and the consequent need for "official" sociological recognition of the phrase. In a case involving the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Company as defendants, the Railroad moved that the court strike from the plaintiff's amended complaint the phrase "Jim Crow," stating that the term was "scandalous, impertinent, and/or immaterial." The plaintiff, however, contended that the term was used in context properly and correctly and was a common and accepted part of standard American English, with a meaning generally understood and carrying a significant societal connotation, particularly associated with the separation of Negroes and whites within the framework of society in this country.[1]

While there is no absolute criterion as to the range of operation of sociology, sociologists are in basic agreement that this field relates particularly to the forms and activities of the associational life of mankind. Its concepts, therefore, are those which have emerged in the course of analyzing those associational forms and activities. The word or term may be, and frequently is, used in some other field. As Sapir says, "The birth of a new concept is invariably foreshadowed by a more or less strained or extended use of old linguistic material."[2] Even a brief examination of the term "Jim Crow" indicates that it unquestionably relates to the associational life of human beings, and that its extension into the popular vocabulary is based upon old linguistic material.

The earliest public use of "Jim Crow" appears to have been in 1832, when a song and dance by that name, which apparently originated in Cincinnati, was introduced to New York.[3] In 1841, the term was first used in Massachusetts to apply to a railroad car set apart for the use of Negroes. The phrase, then, has a somewhat more dignified origin than is ordinarily attributed to it by those who have considered it only as an opprobious comparison of the color of the Negro with that of the crow.[4]

The term itself has become so inseparably affixed to the laws separating the races in public places that at least two states, North Carolina and Maryland, are known to have indexed the laws on that subject under "J" in some of their annual compilations of statutes.[5] The *Century Dictionary*[6] contains several definitions of "Jim Crow," and Krapp, in *A Comprehensive Guide to Good English*,[7] points out that this phrase has been so frequently used that it is accepted as a part of standard American English and has been for many years.

Eubank[8] contends that the question, however, is not whether the concept is used elsewhere, but whether as used in sociology it signifies "an idea that is distinctive and essential to itself." Many a term used in popular parlance, when sociologically defined, has a meaning all its own, and which it

[1] Berta Mae Watkins v. Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Company, 42–413 U. S. (1948).

[2] Sapir, *Language* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1921), p. 16.

[3] V. Loggins, *The Negro Author* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931), pp. 356.

[4] *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, I, p. 546.

[5] G. T. Stephenson, *Race Distinctions in American Law* (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1910), p. 208.

[6] *Ibid.* See Vol. V, 1913 edition, p. 3233.

[7] George P. Krapp, *A Comprehensive Guide to Good English* (Chicago, 1927), p. 342.

[8] E. E. Eubank, *The Concepts of Sociology* (New York: Heath, 1932), p. 37.

did not have until sociology gave it a unique content.

A review of the use made of the concept "Jim Crow" reveals that it has become so much a part of the social pattern of America that its ideational expression unconsciously connotes a distinctive situation. Thus, although this commonness of understanding makes it societary, the essential distinctiveness of applying it over a long period almost exclusively to social situations involving the Negro as a subordinate entity and whites as a superordinate factor, has given it a connotation, when used in the context of the American language, of a specific sociological circumstance or condition.

Sociologically, "Jim Crow" is a concept intelligently interpreted in connection with the concept "accommodation." It refers specifically to a human group in the United States functioning on a basis of inequality in the social system which has resulted in social stratification and segregation. It infers that in the stratified societal pattern of the United States a caste-like group exists (in this instance the Negro) which has been assigned to a low position and for which the contacts with the group on a higher level are regulated; the term "Jim Crow" is thus used succinctly to describe this situation to which the Negro has become accommodated.

In substantiation of the above, one has but to consult the literature of sociology and other disciplines to assess the validity of and to recognize the specific meaning and general acceptance of the concept "Jim Crow." It is found widely used in the works on ethnic research in sociology, especially those concerning race relations and pertaining to the segregation of Negroes or to the discrimination practiced against them in various aspects of society; e.g. the studies of Dollard, R. A. Warner, Fairchild, Powdermaker, DuBois, Drake and Cayton, Rose, and Cox.[9] In the series of studies concerning Negro youth prepared for the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education,[10] reference is made freely to "Jim Crow." Gunnar Myrdal, in his epic on the Negro problem in the United States,[11] employs the term, and it is used in the series of studies on the Negro sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation and done under the direction of Dr. Myrdal,[12] as well as in the symposium volume of Negro thought and opinion published by the University of North Carolina Press and edited by Rayford W. Logan.[13] It was used by Robert E. Park,[14] and it is found in introductory textbooks in sociology.[15]

But the currency of the concept has not been confined to the literature of ethnic sociology alone. It has found currency in writings in political science,[16] education,[17] economics,[18] history,[19] and

[9] John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), p. 180; R. A. Warner, *New Haven Negroes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), p. 190; H. P. Fairchild, *Race and Nationality As Factors in American Life* (New York: The Ronald Press, 1947), p. 197; Hortense Powdermaker, *After Freedom* (New York: The Viking Press, 1939), pp. 43, 349; W. E. B. DuBois, *An Appeal to the World* (New York: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1947), p. 51; St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, *Black Metropolis* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1945), p. xxix; Arnold Rose, *The Negro in America* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948), pp. 190–191, 213–217; Oliver Cromwell Cox, *Caste, Class, and Race* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1948), pp. 430, 451–452, 468, 496, 577.

[10] Ira De A. Reid, *In A Minor Key* (Washington, D.C., 1940); Allison Davis and John Dollard, *Children of Bondage* (Washington, 1940); E. Franklin Frazier, *Negro Youth at the Crossways* (Washington, 1940); W. L. Warner, B. H. Junker, and W. A. Adams, *Color and Human Nature* (Washington, 1940); Charles S. Johnson, *Growing Up in the Black Belt* (Washington, 1941).

[11] *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944), pp. 191, 578–581.

[12] M. J. Herskovits, The Myth of the Negro Past (1941); Charles S. Johnson, *Patterns of Negro Segregation* (1943); Richard Sterner, *The Negro's Share* (1943); Otto Klineberg, *Characteristics of the American Negro* (1944). All of these volumes were published by Harper & Brothers, New York.

[13] Rayford W. Logan, ed., *What the Negro Wants* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), p. 300.

[14] In his introduction to Bertram Doyle's *Etiquette of Race Relations in the South* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), p. xxiv.

[15] R. L. Sutherland and J. L. Woodward, *Introductory Sociology* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1940), p. 389.

[16] H. F. Gosnell, *Negro Politicians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935), pp. 36, 339.

[17] Buell G. Gallagher, *American Caste and the Negro College* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), pp. 86, 96.

[18] Herbert Northrup, *Organized Labor and the Negro* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944), pp. 2, 234.

[19] John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York: A. A. Knopf. Inc., 1947), p. 338; Herbert Aptheker, *To Be Free* (New York: International Publishers, 1948), p. 124.

philosophy.[20] As early as 1837 it is found in a biographical volume entitled *Jim Crow*,[21] and more recently in an autobiography of W. E. B. DuBois.[22] It is to be found in source books,[23] in the writings of foreign authors,[24] in popularized versions of studies on race relations,[25] and in official reports of the United States Army.[26]

Many of the nation's newspapers, both general and specific, recognizing the accepted meaning and widespread usage of the term "Jim Crow" to describe the proscriptive social practices under which the Negro exists in the social milieu of the United States, have consistently used it in text material and in headlining articles;[27] and this includes even the august *New York Times*.[28] Publications other than newspapers, such as professional journals,[29] popular magazines,[30] liberal magazines,[31] and organs devoted to intercultural relations[32] make use of the term. One writer was so aware of the general understanding of the phrase that he used it as the title of one of his works.[33]

The field of law has incorporated the concept in its writings; and legal scholars, writing on various phases of civil rights especially, employ the term "Jim Crow," as Konvitz, Mangum, Carr, Ming, and Stephenson demonstrate.[34] Several legal digests refer to the concept, particularly as it applies to railroad cars set aside specifically for the

[20] Buell, G. Gallagher, *Color and Conscience* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946), pp. 97, 107, 131.

[21] Jim Crow, *Life of Jim Crow as Written By Himself* (Philadelphia, 1837).

[22] W. E. B. DuBois, *Dusk of Dawn* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1940), pp. 55, 72, 236, 254.

[23] *The Negro Handbook: 1946–1947*, edited by Florence Murray (New York: A. A. Wyn, 1947), p. 36; *Negro Year Book, 1947*, edited by J. P. Guzman (Tuskegee, Alabama: Tuskegee Institute, 1947), p. 353.

[24] J. W. Gregory, *The Menace of Colour* (London: Seeley Service & Company, 1925), pp. 52–56.

[25] Louis Adamic, *A Nation of Nations* (New York: Harper & Brothers), 1945, p. 221; Edwin R. Embree, *Brown Americans* (New York: The Viking Press, 1943), pp. 163, 173, 196; Robert Weaver, *The Negro Ghetto* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1948), p. 63; W. Stegner and the Editors of *Look*, *One Nation* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1945), chap. 9, pp. 197 ff; Scott Nearing, *Black America* (New York: The Vanguard Press, 1929), p. 172; Paul Lewinson, *Race, Class and Party* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1932), p. 35; Charles S. Johnson, *The Negro in American Civilization* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1930), p. 361; Ray Stannard Baker, *Following the Color Line* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1908), pp. 30, 112, 219, 305; B. Schrieke, *Alien Americans* (New York: The Viking Press, 1936), p. 146; L. H. Hammond, *In Black and White: An Interpretation of Southern Life* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1914), pp. 71–72; John L. Hill, *The Negro: National Asset or Liability* (New York: Literary Associates Inc., 1930), pp. 226, 228.

[26] *Memorandum*, November 10, 1943, Secretary of the Army. Report by Brigadier General B. O. Davis to the War Department on condition of Negro soldiers in U. S. camps.

[27] *The New York World-Telegram*, January 12, 1948, "... decide whether restrictive covenants, the Jim Crow agreements in residential housing ..."; *The New York Post and the Home News*, May 4, 1948, "Liberals Hail New Era in Jim Crow Realty Ban;" *The New York Sun*, January 21, 1948, "Firemen Don't Want Jim Crow Union;" *The Washington Post*, January 20, 1948, "Jim Crow Law School Unacceptable;" *P M* of New York City, June 10, 1948, "The Senators and Jim Crow (an editorial by Max Lerner); The New York *Daily News*, May 4, 1948, "Highest Court Rejects Jim Crow Realty Ban;" *Birmingham World*, April 30, 1948, "Dr. B. E. Mays Among Group in Protest of Army Jim Crow;" *The Norfolk Journal and Guide*, April 17, 1948, "Jim Crow Relented;" *The Chicago Defender*, May 29, 1948, "No Comment on Jim Crow Army Charge: Royall."

[28] May 27, 1948. See article headlined, "Draft Bill Faces New Hurdle as Civil Rights Rider Looms," p. 1.

[29] *Journal of Negro Education*, *Journal of Negro History*, *The Annals*.

[30] *Collier's*, *The Saturday Evening Post*, *Liberty*, *The New York Times Magazine* (published on Sunday), *Ebony*, *Our World*, *Negro Digest*, and for its use in earlier years in such magazines consult *Putnam's Monthly*, V. (January, 1853).

[31] *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, *Survey Graphic*.

[32] *Common Ground*, *Phylon*.

[33] Earl Conrad, *Jim Crow America* (New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1947).

[34] Milton R. Konvitz, *The Alien and Asiatic in American Law* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1947), pp. 15, 20; Milton R. Konvitz, *The Constitution and Civil Rights* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1947), pp. 23, 136f, 138; Charles S. Mangum, *The Legal Status of the Negro* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940), pp. 182, 214; Robert K. Carr, *Federal Protection of Civil Rights* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1947), p. 15; William R. Ming, Jr., *An Appeal to the World*, (edited by W. E. B. DuBois) (New York: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1947). See chap. IV, "The Present Legal and Social Status of the American Negro," p. 51; G. T. Stephenson, *Race Distinctions in American Law* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1910), p. 208.

use of Negro Americans.[35] The term has most recently received national importance through its inclusion in the report of President Truman's committee on civil rights.[36]

Even this brief examination demonstrates that wherever the term is used it commonly applies to the social position of the Negro in American society. "Jim Crow" as used in a sociological context thus indicates for a specific social group the Negro's awareness of his badge of inequality which he learns through the operation of a "Jim Crow" concept in his every day living. This pattern of existence has become so much a part of the nation's social structure that it has become synonymous with the words "segregation" and "discrimination," and at times when "Jim Crow" is indexed some authors have indexed it as a cross reference for these terms.[37]

Considering the importance attached to ethnic research, which has been well illustrated and documented in a recent issue of the *Review*,[38] it would seem to be sociologically significant and highly worth while that a precise interpretation and evaluation be made of the concept "Jim Crow." The increasing significance of this general descriptive term, in the light of sociological analysis of ethnic groups, and of the Negro in particular, in connection with its use, undoubtedly calls for its inclusion in the permanent terminology of the discipline. Even from what has been set down here its worth as a conceptual tool in clarifying ethnical constructs applying to the Negro is evident.

Long ago "Jim Crow" should have been given recognition and a place as a concept in sociology pertaining to ethnic group relations, along with such other terms as class, caste, marginal man, cultural island, Negro, white, and the like. It is to be hoped that this brief examination will stimulate further research towards securing additional experiental evidence with which to validify the acceptance of the term "Jim Crow" as a concept in sociology.

[35] A. L. R. *Word Index and Annotations*, I, p. 534; 10 *American Jurisprudence*, p. 1008; X *United States Digest* (Word Index), 1930, p. 216.

[36] Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, *To Secure These Rights* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947), pp. 59, 89.

[37] See Carr, Franklin, Gosnell, Myrdal, Powdermaker, and R. A. Warner in sources previously cited. Consult index pages of these works under the term "Jim Crow."

[38] Leonard Bloom, "Concerning Ethnic Research." *American Sociological Review*, XIII, 171–182. Discussions are by Charles S. Johnson, Edgar T. Thompson, Ira De A. Reid, R. M. Williams, and A. W. Lind.

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23-16.

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961 North, .1 Tunis, .2 Tripoli, .3 Fezzan
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963 Abyssinia and Ethiopia
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.9 Twentieth Century
.91 First World War
.95 Second World War

974 Northeastern states

975 Outheastern states

976 South Central

977 North Central

978 Mountain

979 Pacific Coast

[1948?]

~~would not consider them.~~ I therefore stopped attending the Board meetings, since my advice was not needed and the meetings simply ratified matters already discussed and decided.

One sugestion however made made August I, I946, was approved by the secretary ; this was a petition to the United Nations on the disabilities of American Negroes. The Board approved this plan in September and the petition was ready for presebntation in

23-36-5

Memo Between White & DuBois 1944 - 1948

Board and Room:

February 11-20
February 20-March 16

ΣΙΔ

22-38

Acknowledged
By Smyth

45

DEES

Read by Smythe
3-18-48

Rev Robert Mosby
7 Pleasant Street
Hartford, Conn

23C-4/6

Dr. Moran,
Acting President,
Howard University -

Dr. Mordecai Johnson
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

2·4-5-4-4·4·4

$$\begin{array}{r} 27 \\ \times\ 5 \\ \hline 135 \\ \times\ 5 \\ \hline 675 \end{array}$$

The African Roots of Peace

Problem from Durban – the facts

The many Africas

Greece & Rhodes
Rome & Carthage
Egypt & the Greeks
Black Africa & Islam
Portuguese Congo
Atlantic

The modern Powers

Sudan
Ethiopia
Kenya & Uganda
Tanganyika
The Rhodesias
The Union
Portuguese
West Africa
French Africa

The Common Denominators

Color & race
Investment & income — Education
Anti-British Nights

Asia,
The Treaties

23-33-9

Civil Rights for N. Amer 1948

Recent widespread discussion
of minority emancipation
asking + taking
an extraordinary fight
The background 1900
Influences
Race concept lies behind
Rape of Negro
Segregation perfected + unchanged
Crime + Lynching
No vote in South Shorts

23-21-4

The fight
The fundamentals - Wealth + culture
Science + arms
Inter-race - South
The keys - Urban - Work, employment + union
N.A.A.C.P. - The resident platform

The record
the intellectual accomplishment
? not can do all, but potentials does should be do
recognized
Negroes in College + school
illiteracy
health
work.

Discussion
The hopeless outlook
unity, money
The record
working + mass media
Talking + mass media
investigation
Courts

91 in Ohio + 1 (1948) Teachers whole colleges 40 + 39
77 in Ohio + Service
5 called C.H Turner, Carver, Drew, Just
12 on State board

Male Expectation of life at birth 1900 - 32.5
1944 55.3

1936, 34 250 Negro churches 164,531 000 property + 123 82, 000
Average
school $ 28, 00 a year

140 [illegible] magazines 2 million circulation

164
12
176

16-5-W. 131 SL

Okla 3-3216

31. RACE DEBATE UNITED NATIONS

31. EDUCATION AFTER PROFITS

31. AFRICA & INDIA

31. STRIKES, SOUTH AFRICA

32. KENYA

32. PHYSICIANS

32. 1946 IN AFRICA

33. Royal VISIT

33. NIGERIAN CONSTITUTION

33. DIVISION OF COPPER INCOME

33. COMMUNISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

34. GOLD COAST COUNCILS

34. NEGRO SOLDIERS

34. BRITISH COLONIAL PRODUCTS

34. INDEPENDENT NORTH AFRICA

34. GROUNDNUTS

34. UNITED STATES CAPITAL

34. SOUTH AFRICAN DEMONSTRATION

34. STRIKE KENYA

34. THE NEW BLACK AFRICA

35. UNITED DARK SOUTH AFRICA

35. GOLD AND CHEAP LABOR

35. STRIKE, SOUTH AFRICA

35. RHODESIA

36. MADAGASCAR

36. FRENCH ==UNION

36. SCOTT---SOUTH AFRICA

36. NO COLONIALISM

36. AFRICA AS MILITARY BASE

36. COMMUNISM IN AFRICA

36. AURIOL ON AFRICA

36. UNION CONFERENCE

36. STRIKE, KENYA

37. BASUTO. & UNITED NATIONS

37. SUPPRESSING NEWSPAPERS

37. KENYA AFRICAN UNION

37. SOUTH AFRICA

37. NATIVES' COUNCIL, SOUTH AFRICA

38. VOTING---S. RHODESIA

38. LABOR UNIONS, SOUTH AFRICA

38. W.F.T.U. PRAGUE

38. HISTORY, LIBERIA

38. AMERICAN CAPITAL

38. TUNIS, STRIKE

38. MEDICINE

39. U. N. & COLONIES

39. HEALTH AND EDUCATION IN THE BRITISH COLONIES

39. NIGERIA IN LONDON

40. BASUTO

40. REFERENDUM IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA

40. STRIKES, UNIONS, KENYA

41. EWE

41. EDUCATED AFRICANS

41. EDUCATION

41. COLONIAL PROFIT

42. STRIKE, WEST AFRICA

42. WHITES IN AFRICA

42. WAGES IN S. RHODESIA

42. URANIUM

42. DEMOCRACY FOR NATIVE AFRICA

42. EDUCATION, NIGERIA

42. UNREST IN SOUTH AFRICA

43. EXPLOITATION IN EAST AFRICA

43. BIG BUSINESS IN AFRICA

43. CAPRICON AFRICA

43. GOLD COAST

43. AFRICA AND AMERICA

43. STRIKE, CAMEROONS

43. STRIKE, GOLD COAST

43. POVERTY, WEST AFRICA

A DECLARATION OF CIVIL RIGHTS

We Make The Following Declaration
As Americans, Deeply Committed To
Our Form Of Government And Our Way
of Life:

It is useful at any time to re-examine day-to-day practices in the light of professed beliefs. Such an examination seems especially appropriate today, because: Many fellow citizens, especially in our Southern States, are unashamedly advocating ideas of racism and white supremacy, contrary to American democracy; truth and justice are not bounded or divided by parallels of latitude--this is one country and one people, governed under one constitution; a rapidly changing world requires a new analysis of the meaning of equality and freedom adequate for new conditions; Finally, the United States today is bidding for world leadership. Practice at home of what we advocate abroad, is the only road to effective leadership.

With these ideas in mind, we, the undersigned citizens of the Southern States and of the United States, have taken a fresh look at our American heritage of freedom and equality for all, and how it works out in actual practice. We present here our findings and conclusions in all sincerity, hopeful that our efforts may stimulate others to undertake a similar discipline.

We still believe all men are created equal, and are endowed as men with certain rights which each must respect and guard to the other.

We take these rights to include equality before the law, and freedom from any discrimination bolstered by law; a right to vote; freedom of expression; an unrestricted access to all institutions supported by taxes for the public welfare, schools and hospitals not excepted; equal pay for equal work; equal opportunity to receive training and to gain employment and the right of unsegregated transportation, housing and assembly.

For many of our citizens enjoyment of these rights is denied or abridged by laws and conventions contrary to justice, and to the aims and purposes of this republic. We recognize the habitual and cultivated prejudices upon which such discriminations are sustained; we recognize the need of protections in law, and in the enforcement of law, to these rights, in our day.

While we are gratified at what progress has been made, past achievements should serve as an incentive to greater progress and not as an excuse for our failure to meet present obligations.

This nation was founded with the declaration that all men are created equal and are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights.

We are proud that these words were given to the world by a Southerner, Thomas Jefferson.

23C-32-53

Closely associated with the idea of equality and the political democracy built upon it is another concept basic to American culture, the idea of the brotherhood of all mankind. It was given to us many centuries ago in the Hebrew-Christian tradition,--"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

We understand the historic conditions that gave rise to our present plight. However, those conditions long ago ceased to exist, although their effects endure.

Discrimination inevitably means lower living standards for those who discriminate as well as for those who are victims of discrimination. Although the South is one of the richest regions in the United States in natural resources, the average citizen in a Southern State has an income forty percent lower than that of a citizen in a non-Southern state.

Today we are bound by economic, political, and ethical demands to abolish segregation and discrimination against racial, religious, and national groups.

To bring American ideals and deeds into closer harmony, we offer the following proposals:

I. FOR VOLUNTARY INDIVIDUAL ACTION: To speak out against discrimination when it is confronted in a particular case; to guard against prejudice in thought, word, and deed; to cultivate the habit of thinking of all persons as individuals, rather than as members of a group.

II. FOR VOLUNTARY GROUP ACTION: (By educational, religious, fraternal, labor, business, professional, civic, and other groups.) To inform and educate their members as to present inequities and injustices, and to secure their consent and approval of changes in constitutions, by-laws and practices needed to establish these rights.

III. FOR LEGISLATION: (a.) Repeal of existing laws in violation of these principles, notably all laws that force public distinctions based on color, religion, or national origin.

(b.) Passage of new legislation at federal, State and local levels to serve as a shield to the civil rights of the citizens, including the rights outlined above.

###

YOU MAY _____ ADD MY NAME TO THIS STATEMENT:
YOU MAY NOT _____

SIGNED:

ADDRESS:

TITLE:
(For identification only)

830 - 32 - 54

The Fabian Society, planning for the Labor Government, puts the [1948] matter this way: In the period from 1950 to 1955, joint English, French, Belgian, South African and Egyptian planning should be agreed upon; and could in twenty years change the face of Africa and of its place in world economy as much as Russians have changed the face of Soviet Asia. Such joint action could reproduce TVA's in the valleys of the Nile, Congo, Niger, and Zambesi. This twenty year development program would create an enormous source of supply of primary products and a large new market for manufactured goods. For this, there must be provided, labor, power, transport, homes and social services for the white workers who immigrate to direct this development. in this way capitalist exploitation of the colonies can be carried on by a planned development of their resources, based on sharply rising living standards for the native people and the effective participation of these people in the organization and administration of this development.

23-39-2

This is a heartening and interesting forecast, but how far is it really inspiring the thought of the investing world? In the discussion and planning, contradiction and overtones appear. For instance, in June, 1948, a member of Parliament pointed out that possibly more good could be done for England by investing in marginal land and rough grazing land and bringing it

23-39-32

It was said in the House of Commons January 20, 1948, "Labor is one of the problems that has never been properly faced by the originators of this scheme, it is thought that the African native is a source of cheap labor... We have to give the native primary education, better food, and more incentives.

If production is started before labor supply is in the right position, the difficulties will be accentuated. They should have good villages with their own schools and hospitals, and they should be better fed, and given a higher standard of living so that they would be able to do the work. Before any steps to increase production are taken, these provisions must be made."

The determination of white leaders in Africa to dominate the blacks is continually expressed. In the Union of South Africa, two million white people are ruling ten million colored and Asiatics without giving them voice in government, and keeping them in economic dependence and povery. In Kenya, the same policies are being pursued.

When the Rhodesia National Affairs Association met is Salisbury Southern Rhodesia,--N. H. Wilson developed the idea of "Capricorn Africa," to include all those states between the Equator and the Tropic of Capricorn, that is Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, the Belgian Congo, Angola, the two Rhodesias, Nyasaland, Mozambique, and the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and a portion of French Equatorial Africa. Capricorn Africa, with an area slightly larger than the United States and a population ~~x~~ between 35,000,000 and 40,000,000 would have natural resources richer than those of the United States, except in the matter of petroleum. Wilson's credo was that it is the predestined role of Capricorn Africa to help the nations of Western Europe to complete economic recovery. Capricorn Africa will embrace only colonial countries where white European political control is to be permanent.

23-39-31

JAMAICA, N.Y.
FEB 24
11-PM
1948

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

330-45

Mr. Smythe
Secy To Nat'l W.E.B. Du Bois
N.A.A.C.P. Nickie Bldg.
West 40th St.
New York. N.Y.

Please edit.

HEADQUARTERS
176th Military Police
Jefferson and Sumner Avenues
13th Armory
Brooklyn, New York

Telephone:
GL 2-4477
Mon. and Tues.
7:30 to 10:30PM

22 July 48

Subject: NEWS LETTER.

TO : 1. Selected personal friends.
2. Distinguished persons whom I respect and whose cooperation and support I humbly seek.
3. News agencies. News Papers, et al.

1. By command of the Governor of the State of New York, Thomas E. Dewey, the undersigned, Arthur P. Hayes, was appointed Lt. Colonel, Infantry, New York National Guard, assigned to the State Detachment, detailed to the Corps of Military Police and attached to Headquarters 176th Military Police (Federalized). The Special Order in which this announcement was made was signed by Ams T. Brown, Brig. Gen., The Adjutant General, The State of New York and was dated 28 June 48.

2. On July 12, 1948, by order of Brig Gen Burns, Colonel Harold F. Greir, Chief of Staff, 42d Division, New York National Guard, in Special Orders No. 21, directed that Lt. Colonel Arthur P. Hayes, Inf (Cav) assume command of the 176th M.P. Bn. vice Lt. Col. MYLES A. PAIGE who is relieved from command thereof pending promotion to the rank of COLONEL and transfer to the State Reserve List. Colonel Paige is a Judge in the General Sessions Court, Brooklyn, N.Y, and a prominent citizen of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Area.

3. Lt. Col. Hayes started his career as a high school cadet in Washington, D.C. in 1913. He entered Georgia Institute of Technology as a military flying cadet in Sept. 1917. He attained the rank of 2nd Lt during WW 1. He served with the 9th US Cavalry in the Philippines, at West Point with the Cavalry Detachment, as Asst to PMS&T and later as PMS&T at Tuskegee Institute, as Asst Dean of Men and PMS&T at Lincoln University, Missouri and as Dean of Men and Professor of Military Science and Tactics at Prairie View State College, Texas. In WWII Col Hayes served with the Air Forces at Tuskegee Army Air Field, Selfridge Air Base, Godman Field, Fort Knox, Ky and several other Air Installations. He served as Commanding Officer of several units, Executive officer, 98th Service Group and 477th Bombardment Group, Group Air Inspector, Group Legal Officer, Group Administrative Inspector, President of Special Courts, Investigations Officer and Reclassification officer. Col. Hayes is listed in Who's Who in New York.

at 8:00 PM

4. On Tuesday, 27 July 48, at the 13th Armory, Sumner and Jefferson Avenues, an Evening Parade (a military ceremony) will be given under the command of Colonel Paige in honor of Lt. Col. Arthur P. Hayes upon his assumption of command of the 176th MP Bn. The public is invited to this military program which is scheduled to include the parade with a 30 piece military band, moving pictures, a band concert until mid night and social gatherings in the several headquaters for officers and enlisted men with their families and friends. Reserve seats have been set aside for guests of Colonel Paige and Lt. Col. Hayes on the ground floor.

5. Colonel Hayes has invited his personal friends to visit the 176th MP Bn during its oncampment at Camp Edwards, Mass on Sunday, 22 Aug 48. Former students of Tuskegee, Lincoln Univers Mo. and Prairie View State College may use the "pass-word" SEY AH for reserve seats at the Armory on 27 July 48 and at Camp Edwards for immediate entrance to Colonel Hayes' Headquarters, 22Aug48.

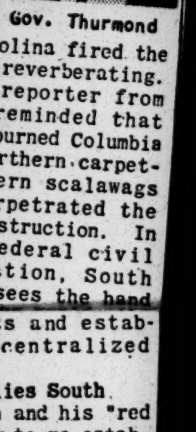
6. Colonel Hayes is concurrently in command of the 101st Composite Squadron, 113th Air Force Base Unit, Mitchel Field. The 101st Comp Sq is composed of veterans of WW 2 who are pilot fighters and bomber fighters, most of whom served with the famous 99th Fighter Squadron. This unit is tentatively scheduled to fly mass formation in an over-night mission to Lockbourne Army Air Base during Labor Day period, 3-6 Sept 48.

Arthur P. Hayes, Lt. Colonel, 176th M.P. Commanding.

TRUMAN RIGHTS BILL REMINDS SOUTH OF '65

BY ARTHUR SEARS HENNING
(Chicago Tribune Press Service)

Columbia, S.C., March 25-A lot of political indignation is being uncorked in this state against President Truman and other northern sponsors of the civil rights program the President is asking congress to enact.



Gov. Thurmond

Echoes of the Civil war in which South Carolina fired the first shot are reverberating. The inquiring reporter from the north is reminded that Sherman's army, burned Columbia and that the northern carpetbaggers, southern scalawags and Negroes perpetrated the horrors of reconstruction. In the proposed federal civil rights legislation, South Carolina again sees the hand of the [illegible] out state rights and establish a highly centralized "police state."

Thurmond Rallies South

As Wade Hampton and his "red shirts" rode forth to re-establish white supremacy 75 years ago, Gov. Thurmond of South Carolina is rallying the south to defeat Mr. Truman and the civil rights program which would impose a federal ban on race discrimination. Press and rostrum ring the changes on the charge that Truman has catered to the votes of minorities--the Jews when he high pressured the partition of Palestine in the United Nations (and has now been hoist by his own petard) and the northern Negroes when he championed race equality.

The Truman civil rights program proposes federal laws punishing lynching, forbidding segregation of the races in interstate transportation, banning poll taxes as a qualification for voting, and prohibiting racial discrimination in hiring and firing employes. But the issue, say the southerners, is not civil rights but state rights to deal with such matters without dictation by Washington.

Would Usurp State Rights

In resolutions opposing the nomination and election of Mr. Truman or any other candidate espousing the civil rights program, the Democratic state committee asserted that such legislation would "usurp and eventually destroy the sovereignty of the states."

"We particularly [illegible]

forts being made to assume federal control and supervision of the daily lives of our people of our nation, to abridge their right of trial by jury and access even to the federal courts in their own states, to outrage and destroy the traditions, customs and institutions under which we live, to establish federal control of the right of suffrage, a right belonging to the several states from the very beginning of the government, and to set up a federal police agency or gestapo, under which our people will be subjected to all the potential evils of a police state."

Behind Governor

Similar action is now being taken by Democratic committees. The Democratic state convention in May will adopt a program of action to defeat Mr. Truman for the nomination or to withhold South Carolina's electoral vote from him, if he should be nominated.

There is every indication that the white people are almost unanimously behind the governor and the Democratic committee in the stand they have taken. Even the white Republicans are voicing no opposition to racial discrimination so far. Republican State Chairman J. Bates Gerald said he wouldn't attempt to forecast the position that will be taken by the Republican state convention on April 9. He said he has invited House Speaker Martin to keynote the convention.

Gov. Thurmond is finding great encouragement in the procession of southern governors, senators, representatives, and other Democratic leaders who are urging the drafting of Gen. Eisenhower for the Democratic nominee, which he was the first to suggest. He is convinced that Eisenhower is a Democrat, tho the general never has revealed which party he belongs to.

Says South Would Back Ike

"Is Gen. Eisenhower's stand on civil rights any different from President Truman's?" the governor was asked.

"You'll have to ask him that," Mr. Thurmond replied. "I am satisfied that he would be a candidate whom the south could support with confidence and enthusiasm."

The dynamic 45 year old governor, who served eight years on the bench and 3 1/2 years in the war, is full of argument that the civil rights program is unconstitutional.

"I am not against the Negroes," he asserted. "I am a friend of the Negroes. I want to help them. We are helping them. The two races get along well together in this state. All we ask is to be let alone in solving our own problems. Outside interference will only destroy the good relations that obtains between the races.

"I am opposed to the poll tax. I have advocated its abolition. But I am opposed to the federal government telling us we must abolish it. This type of legislation is an unconstitutional infringement of the right of the several states to prescribe voting qualifications.

"Similarly unconstitutional is federal anti-lynching legislation. The crime of lynching has been virtually stamped out in the south without outside interference. The FEPC would be an anti-American invasion of the fundamental conception of the free enterprise upon which our economic structure is erected. The right of a man to own and operate his own business is to be impaired or destroyed by governmental interference under the guise of protecting the right to work.

"Red Philosophy"

"In effect such a law would render every private business in this nation a quasi-public one. Employer and employe alike are adversely affected by this type of legislation and the concepts upon which it is based are appropriate, not to the American way of life, but only to the economic and political philosophy of the Communist party."

The governor no less vigorously opposed federal legislation prohibiting separation of the races in interstate trains and buses (the Jim Crow system)

"They talk about breaking down the laws which knowledge and experience of many years have proven to be essential to the protection of the racial integrity and purity of the white and Negro races alike," he said. "The superficial objections to these laws arise from economic rather than political causes and their sudden removal would jeopardize the peace and good order which prevail where the two races live side by side in large numbers. As a nation we have favored the protection of racial autonomy and integrity in other lands, such as Palestine and India.

Not all the Democrats in South Carolina are against Truman and his civil rights program. The Progressive Democrats, mostly Negroes, are enthusiastically supporting the President.

[1948]

23-39-60

CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS

The crisis in civil rights that faces the nation should serve as a warning to all true believers in freedom, equality and democracy.

For too long now we have mistakenly assumed that because certain rights were guaranteed us in the Constitution, they existed in fact. For too long now we have accepted the word for the deed. For too long now we have been smug in our belief that fervid declarations of the freedoms that were ours and their reality were one and the same.

The time has come to face the facts. The gap between the promise and the performance is a wide one. Negroes in the South do not enjoy equal rights with whites, and everywhere in the country they are discriminated against. Jews are plagued by restrictions which bar them from easy access to colleges, hotels, jobs. Commentators are driven off the air because they are too "liberal." Screen writers are deprived of their livelihood because they insist on their constitutional right to keep their private beliefs to themselves.

The rights and freedoms which are ours in books are not ours in real life. Nor can they be made real by further protestations of faith and pious reiterations of our belief in them. They can be made real only by enactment into law.

To that end we call for:

a. A Federal anti-lynching law.

b. Federal and state laws against restrictive covenants based on race, color, creed or national origin.

c. Abolition of poll taxes.

d. Federal, state and local fair employment practice laws.

e. Prohibition of all forms of racial, religious and political discrimination.

f. Repeal of the "loyalty" order.

g. An end to the un-American Committee on Un-American Activities.

23-39-61

"Challenge in Nigeria"

WEST AFRICAN dances and impressive shots of the newly reformed Nigerian Legislative Council; the prostrate courtiers of a traditional West African Chief and the skilled African doctors of a modern clinic; African music and song and the moving sights and sounds of a whole village gathered in a clearing in the bush to learn the English alphabet—all this and more has gone into *Challenge in Nigeria*, the most recent (No. 19) of the "This Modern Age" series. Camera and recording equipment weighing more than half a ton was taken into Nigeria by the "This Modern Age" unit. Many problems arose during the four months' stay, but all were successfully overcome.

First to show an interest in the equipment, and especially in the contents of the sound-recording truck, were the Customs authorities at Lagos. Their book of rules and regulations said nothing about sound-recording equipment. For seventeen days, it was held up while discussions took place on the question of whether it could be listed, component by component, as spare parts for gramophones.

As the sound-recording truck travelled through the bush, Africans in village after village showed the liveliest interest in it. The sound recordist played back to the African performers some of the songs, drums and music the microphone had caught. They sat in a circle around the truck, sometimes listening in awe and sometimes shouting with laughter over what they called the White Man's Ju-Ju.

Once, the sound truck was almost lost in the River Niger near Asaba, when an insecure bar on a ferry gave way. Once, the sound-recordist's interpreter, Asula, warned that about 30 miles from Jos the truck would be overturned by a playful spirit who lived hereabouts and had overturned the last car on this road. Almost exactly at the stated spot, a tyre burst and the truck very nearly overturned. The sound-recordist could find no sign of nails or broken glass on the road. The unit ranged all through Nigeria, filming and recording in the Northern, South-Eastern and South-Western provinces and in Lagos.

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...HAM KAY

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...HE NEW YORK TIMES.

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Asked whe... would consider making a cle... statement of the United States attitude toward communism, Dr. Garbett said that the conference could not discuss the "Christian doctrine of man in relation to other theories of man without taking the Communist answer into consideration as one of the competing theories as to man's status."

NIGERIAN GIRLS SEEN CHANGED BY U.S. FILMS

Young Nigerian women are demanding more voice in the selection of husbands as a result of American motion pictures shown occasionally in the West African country, according to the Rev. Peter Moore, missionary priest, who arrived here yesterday on the United States liner Washington.

Father Moore, a member of the Society of African Missions, who spent twelve years in Nigeria, said that the young women, particularly the educated, are now insisting that love be as important as the dowry in the marriage compact.

"The price of an educated girl now runs from 50 to 70 pounds British sterling," the priest said, "whereas the price for an uneducated girl starts at 10 pounds."

He added that most marriages in the Nigerian tribes are still arranged at family "pow-wows" dominated by the grandfathers of the brides-to-be.

Father Moore reported that Christianity is making progress in Nigeria. Of 25,000,000 natives, he said, approximately 1,500,000 are Christians, 75 per cent of whom have been baptized in the Roman Catholic faith.

Another passenger was Paul Siegel, former Army sergeant, who has been composing music in Europe since his discharge three years ago. He said he hopes to make arrangements for the Vienna Symphony Orchestra to come here for concerts.

Pastor Accepts Utica Call

The Rev. Arthur R. Kleps, pastor of Immanuel Lutheran Church, Lexington Avenue and Eighty-eighth Street, for twenty-two years, has accepted a call to be pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church, Utica, N. Y., and will take his new post in October, it was announced yesterday.

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[1948]

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Biography

DU BOIS, WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT

Author, and Student of race relations and African history, Vice-Chairman, Council on African Affairs. b. Great Barrington, Massachusetts, February 23, 1868; s. Alfred and Mary (Burghardt) Du Bois; m. Nina Gomer, May 12, 1896; two children Burghardt Gomer (deceased) and Nina Yolande. A. B. Fisk U., Nashville, Tenn. 1888, Litt.D., 1938, A. B., Harvard U., 1890; A. M., 1891; Ph.D. 1895; LL.D. Howard U., 1930; Atlanta U., 1938; L.H.D., Wilberforce U. 1940; studied at the University of Berlin, Germany, 1892-94, Prof. of Greek and Latin, Wilberforce U., 1894-96; Asst. Instructor, U. of Pa., 1896-97; Prof. of economics and history, Atlanta U., 1897-1910; one of the incorporators of the NAACP, Director of publications, NAACP and founder of THE CRISIS Magazine., 1910-32; head of dept. of sociology, Atlanta U., 1933-44; Director of Special Research, NAACP, 1944-48; Fellow , Am. Assn. for Advancement os Science; founder of the Pan-African Congresses; mem., National Institute of Arts and Letters; Knight Commander of the Liberian Order of African Redemption. Author: The Suppression of the African Slave Trade, Harvard Historical Studies, No. 17, 1896; The Philadelphia Negro, 1899; The Souls of Black Folk, 1903; John Brown, 1909; Quest of the Silver Fleece, (Novel) 1911; The Negro, 1915; Darkwater, 1920; The Gift of Black Folk, 1924; Dark Princess, (Novel) 1928; Black Reconstruction, 1935; Black Folk: Then and Now, 1939; Dusk of Dawn, (Biography) 1940; Color and Democracy, 1945; The World and Africa, 1947. Editor-in-chief, Encyclopedia of the Negro, 1933-45; Founder & editor , Phylon Q. Review, 1940-44; Editor, Atlanta U. Studies, 1897-1911.

Addresses: Home: 2417 North Pulaski Street, Baltimore 17, Maryland

Office: 23 West 26th Street, New York 10, New York

23-13-25

Call Mr. Jones

Call Mr. Seaman -
20-4-3943
Regarding Mr. Du Bois'
Article - in Chi. Def
Jan 3 - "Congress on Chris

23-19-10
Let you have copy
Send a copy of Du Bois article
Run 25 1000 copy reprints

141 W 14
Branch
HA-2-3488
Feb. 17 Elizabeth, N.J.

Memo

To
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motorsport to etc —

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Mail Copies ↘ Petition

Copies to Du Bois
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Yolande Du Bois Williams

Miss Hatchcock
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Miss Shirley Graham

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401 Segundo

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DR. GONZALO A. BELTRAN, DIR
Bureau of Indian Affairs
Donceles 101-28
Mexico City, D. F.
Mexico

As We See It

The NAACP Remains Silent On Some Important Questions

By Abner W. Berry

THE REVERED elder statesman of the Negro people, Dr. William Edward Burghart Dubois, asked some questions of those who lead the organization he founded—for an answer he was given the boot. But firing Dr. DuBois has not erased the questions. No amount of haggling over whether or not Dr. Du Bois released to the press his criticism of the NAACP board of directors can down the fact that the organization has not pushed its UN petition against colonial and national oppression. Dr. DuBois stated that he could not issue a memorandum on foreign policy because the leadership of the NAACP had not adopted such a policy. The board termed his action a "refusal to cooperate," in its statement terminating the 80-year-old scholar's employment as NAACP reserach director.

•

AS A MAN whose life has been spent fighting imperialism, Dr. DuBois asked, pertinently, to what end was he being asked to cooperate. He had had first hand knowledge of foreign policy of the imperialist nations as applied to the colored peoples of the world. He opposed giving a blank check to the Marshall Plan on which the NAACP leadership had not adopted a position.

Dr. DuBois has always stood opposed to imperialism. At his 80th birthday dinner he referred to the Marshall Plan obliquely as an attempt to "scare people into conformity by the threat of starvation" and spoke against those who "cloaked evil and wrong with respectability and mobbed the righteous."

More than 40 years ago he founded the Niagara Movement, forerunner of the NAACP, and issued his credo in 1906 at Harpers Ferry: "We shall not be satisfied with less than our manhood rights. . . . We claim for ourselves every right that belongs to a free-born American — political, civil, social—and we shall never cease to protest and assail the ears of America with the story of its shameful deeds toward us."

The questions which arose in my mind after reading Dr. DuBois' memorandum—and I'm sure the same is true of a great many others—are still there.

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Is the largest single Negro organization in the world to support tacitly an American Marshall Plan which ures colonial powers participating in it to speed up the exploitation of their colonial holdings? Are the Negroes to follow a policy (as enunciated by Walter White to ship reporters last Monday) which holds that the Negroes are "caught between Russia and the United States" in a power struggle on civil rights? Is a foreign policy not to be attacked which upholds British extraterritorial rule in Ethiopia and British domination of that country's courts of law? Can the NAACP executive secretary, Walter White, engage in anti-Wallace politics while the pro-Wallace position of Dr. DuBois brings upon him threats of reprisals?

I submit that these questions cannot be answered with a statement announcing that Dr. DuBois will not be the NAACP research director after Dec. 1, 1948. But that is what the NAACP board has tried to do. That answer may have satisfied the board —or the 16 members of the board who acted last Monday for the full 46. But I don't think that it will sit well with the half million or more members.

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THE COMPOSITION of the 16 voting board members was not representative of the membership. Dr. Louis T. Wright, who acted as chairman of the meeting did not vote, but those who know his anti-Communist political views cannot mistake his sentiments. At least half of those who participated in the anti-DuBois decision are active in pro-Truman politics or hold political jobs.

These include Gov. William H. Hastie; Judge Hubert T. Delaney, an associate of Dr. Max Yergan, ousted former head of the Council on African Affairs; Theodore Berry, a Cincinnati attorney who served in Washington as a political appointee; Judge Charles E. Toney of New York; Alfred Baker Lewis, well-to-do white Social Democrat, former associate of Norman Thomas, now supporting Truman under ADA auspices; and Dr. Channing H. Tobias, a member of Truman's Civil Rights Committee and director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

Well, that's enough to give the reader an idea of the representative body which gave Dr. DuBois the boot and chose to remain mum on foreign policy. It is hardly representative of the freedom-seeking mass which makes up the NAACP membership.

I think that Arthur B. Spingarn's remarks (after he had voted to fire DuBois) will echo throughout the membership and confront the board sooner than they think. Spingarn said in expressing "deep regret" for the decision he had just voted: "He is one of the greatest leaders of his race and will long be remembered gratefullyy by all who value human freedom."

I have been informed, as this was being written, that already a group of NAACP members are forming an emergency committee to study the DuBois case. The group is headed by attorney Archibald S. Pinckett, of Washington; Dr. Joseph Johnson, Dean of the School of Medicine of Howard University; and Shirley Graham, author and biographer of Frederick Douglass.

Dr. DuBois is more than a scholar and organizer and teacher and writer; he has become a tradition. The NAACP board will learn—or should learn—that cannot take on and cast off a people's tradition at will.

ACCUSED OF HAVING sold fifteen allegedly forged export licenses for $29,000, Jack Quinn, (left), a New York dealer, is shown being quizzed by a Senate committee in Washington. Quinn refused to testify on the grounds that he might incriminate himself. With him is his attorney Albert Sann.

As We See It

Walter White Forgets The Petition to UN

By Abner W. Berry

DR. W. E. B. Du BOIS is boiling mad. In fact his anger is boiling over onto paper so that all of us can look at it and examine it. I did, and found that it has nothing in common with the small anger of those who can't get beyond personal likes and dislikes. Dr. Du Bois is angry at imperialism; he thinks that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which he helped found 40 years ago, should not be used to advance a program against the colored peoples of the world.

The board of directors of the NAACP has given Walter White, the organization's executive secretary, the right to represent it as a consultant at the invitation of the U. S. mission to U. N. White leaves for Paris today, according to Du Bois, with no program relating to foreign policy except that of the American delegation.

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AS FOR THE American delegation's program, Dr. Du Bois is most bitter. In a letter to the NAACP board protesting White's consultantship as tying the "organization to the foreign policy of the present administration," he defined that foreign policy as it relates to colored peoples as:

1. Barring discussion of "our civil rights" in the UN Assembly, and refusing to allow any other nation to bring the matter up.

2. U. S. collaboration "with the imperial powers" against India and Indonesia and "straddling on Israel."

3. Despoiling Ethiopia and generally acting against the interests of colonial peoples.

Dr. Du Bois further accused some of the leaders of the NAACP of carrying on political activity in behalf of Truman while trying to silence his voice in behalf of the third party. And he warned that if the NAACP were "loaded on the Truman bandwagon . . . we are headed for a tragic mistake."

Those are angry words from a man who knows well how to direct his anger. The NAACP board has honored his request for a foreign policy discussion which it will hold today—after Walter White has sailed for Paris aboard the U. S. S. America.

Looking at White's trip to Paris from another angle one sees that the "cold war," to "contain" the Soviet Union has struck the largest Negro rights organization.

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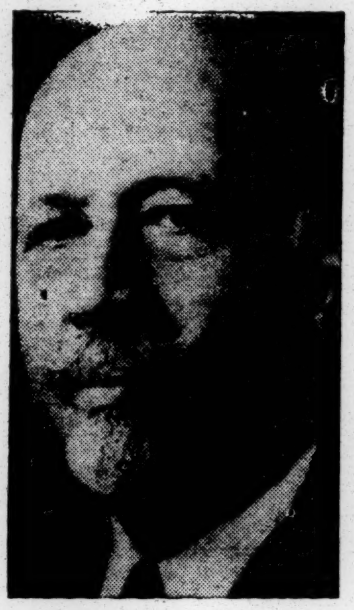
I'D LIKE to document Dr. Du Bois' angry arguments with some observations made touring the South with Wallace.



W. E. B. DuBOIS

First: one overall fact—Truman and Sen. J. Howard McGrath are practically bowing to the Dixiecrats to turn back and support the national Democratic ticket this fall. For a President who deals in civil rights phrases more freely than any other in history this is a fact worth noting for those seeking for the intent behind the words.

Where Wallace challenged the Dixiecrats and appealed to their enemies—Negroes and progressive whites—for support. Truman tries to lure them with a wheedle.

Fact Number Two: Looking down the jeering mouths of the Dixiecrats for seven straight days, it was hard to determine which group they considered the enemy to be exterminated—the Russians or the Negroes. The "enemy" varied according to location.

Then there are a few questions: What is the representative of the NAACP to be consulted on in Paris? He can't be consulted on civil rights in line with the program adopted by the NAACP and presented to UN last year—Mrs. Roosevelt and Jonathan Daniels killed that last December at the Human Rights Commission meeting in Geneva.

There is a chance that the petition—or parts of it—will be presented to the Assembly as an amendment to the commission's report. But I'm willing to bet my typewriter that the amendment comes only from a country "behind the iron curtain." As an American consultant, is Walter White, militant leader of the largest organization fight for Negro rights in America, called upon at that point to advice the American delegation on how to defeat these pesky Russians?

•

THE "COLD WAR" against Russia, the red-baiting of Henry Wallace, the "spy" hunts in America and the militant white supremacists in the South, when viewed from this perspective, are shown in their true light. Dr. Du Bois has indicated the whole tragic trend to be just what it is—an anti-Communist crusade against freedom.

I hope that Walter White took with him a copy of the NAACP petition to UN. I hope that he reads his own remarks made on Oct. 23, 1947, when the petition was presented: "The NAACP is not a political but a militant civil rights organization dedicated to the principle that no man is free until all men are free."

In the petition, Dr. Du Bois wrote: "In this great attempt to find common ground and to maintain peace, it is therefore fitting and proper that the 13,000,000 American citizens of Negro descent should appeal to the United Nations and ask that organization in the proper way to take cognizance of a situation which deprives this group of their rights as men and citizens."

Dr. Du Bois is not taking a word away from what he wrote then. He is fighting for its realization. His letter to the NAACP deserves an answer.

And before he sails Walter White should assure those whom he will represent in Paris that he is pushing the same program that the NAACP was pushing on Oct. 23, 1947.

This is no time to pull political chestnuts from the fire at the expense of an international movement for civil rights and peace.

As We See It

Running Interference Against Wallace

By Abner W. Berry

THERE IS a developing stable of Negro leaders stumping for Truman and the two-party system. Actually most of them are not campaigning for Truman; they are running interference against Henry Wallace. Some 20 Negro editors have enlisted in the cause. Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, does his bit through a weekly syndicated column. And it's quite a disgusting sight to witness the Negro editorial peashots mix with the Dixiecrat eggs and tomatoes against Henry Wallace.

White attacks Wallace from the left. He digs in the graveyard of history and comes up with the old cadaver about Jimcrow in the Department of Agriculture. I don't know about what happened in the Department of Agriculture back in the 1930's, but I do know what happened in Chicago in 1944. The same men who now carp against Wallace for what happened in 1936 were straining every muscle in 1944 to have Henry Wallace nominated as Vice-President.

Walter White was among the leaders in the movement to get Wallace nominated—or at least that is what he has led most of us to believe. I just can't understand how it is that he and the others were able to down their knowledge of Wallace's blindness to Jimcrow in 1944 and get so vociferous about it in 1948. Was it because they were acting then—and are acting now—not on principle but for a price? I just raise the question because the attacks on Wallace seem to lack a semblance of principle or honesty.

•

OUT IN DETROIT, Louis Martin, editor of the **Michigan Chronicle,** devoted almost a quarter of a page in his Sept. 18 issue to attacking Wallace from the right.

Mocking obeisance the better to red-bait, Martin's editorial declares: "We are grateful for the fine fight Mr. Wallace is asking for the full citizenship for the Negroes, but our gratitude is not big enough to encompass the Communist Party."

Martin carries the thought over into his column, "Dope and Data," in the center of the editorial page. Where he usually purrs over interesting tidbits he shrieks, hysterically, an anti-Wallace tune. He's almost glad that Wallace was attacked in North Carolina: "Mr. Wallace and his Communist backers are hollering about being crucified, but they are themselves doing a job on liberal leaders who refuse to listen to the voice of Moscow."

And he proceeds to document his hysteria:

"Walter White is under attack by the progressives because he is too close to Truman. Walter Reuther, Philip Murray, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and all the true liberals who have learned that you cannot cooperate with Communists are under fire from the reds."

•

IT'S THE SAME old noise with which organized Dixiecrats greeted Henry Wallace in the streets of southern cities. Now this isn't going to set so well with a large mass of Negroes. And there's a reason—or a number of reasons. Let's take them one by one:

1. So the progressives are attacking Walter White. Well, does being "close to Truman" force a man to close his eyes to the things that are happening to Africa today under Marshall Plan urging? Does Truman force the leader of a Negro organization to engineer the dismissal of a founder and people's statesman as the firing of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois was engineered? Does a man cease to fight for Negro rights as a condition for being for one of the two old parties?

2. Does Louis Martin, a well-informed editor of a metropolitan newspaper, know what happens in the organization of which Philip Murray is president? Let's go to Birmingham, Ala. Negro members of the United Steelworkers of America in this southern steel center are afraid to attend local meetings. A colleague of Murray's, Ben Gage, chairman of the Jefferson County CIO Council, is a party to the terror which keeps them from attending meetings. Gage is thoroughly anti-Communist and anti-Wallace—and for white supremacy.

Martin has attacked Wallace on numerous occasions, but I have yet to hear or read of any word of censure issued against this man of Murray's. Of course, the Communists oppose such people—and oppose those who do nothing against them. I wonder where Martin stands on this?

Or how does Martin view the fact that another steel workers' official, Carey Haigler, head of the Alabama State CIO Council, initiated that body's endorsement of John J. Sparkman, the Dixiecrat candidate for U. S. Senate?

3. Walter Reuther, the garrulous redhead, is a glamorous personality and quick with the words. But has our Detroit editor ever looked into the employment practices of General Motors, the union division which the "redhead" has marshaled for years? He's been quick on the anti-red trigger, but the speed is not matched in his dealings with employment discriminations.

4. Now Mrs. Roosevelt is also an anti-Communist and a "liberal." So what? So she used her liberalism to team with Jonathan Daniels last December in Geneva to kill the civil rights and non-discrimination provisions in the Human Rights Commission report.

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MARTIN'S "liberals" stand exposed by the record as traders in anti-communism who use words to hide their unity with those who openly proclaim the anti-Negro positions. But while the two old parties and their professional "liberals" debate "Communism Vs. Democracy," a theme dear to Hitler, Wallace is **doing** something about democracy in a living way.

Negro candidates are running for office in the southland for the first time since Reconstruction. A party of white and Negro citizens is being built to fight the Jimcrow system. A people and a region are arising to claim their national due.

Its' a sign of the enforced illiteracy of the times—and the ability of Big Business to corrupt—that grass roots democracy inevitably draws the "foreign agent" tag from monopoly and its camp followers.

But Wallace has shown that he doesn't scare easily. And the Communists are in this democratic struggle for keeps. I'm afraid that more of the 20 Negro editors who have declared for Truman will have cause to shriek in their editorial pages because of that.

Face to Face

Is the NAACP to Be A Fighting Organization?

By Benjamin J. Davis
Member N. Y. City Council

ON DEC. 31, approximately two weeks hence, the high-handed dismissal of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois as Research Director of the NAACP, is scheduled to take effect. The major significance of this imminent disgrace —if it should occur—is political. It goes to the very marrow of the NAACP as an organization of struggle for Negro rights, and as an organization conducted democratically, that is, in accordance with the wishes of its 500,000 members.

But it would be difficult indeed not to take note of certain particularly ruthless personal aspects of the proposed dismissal. Dr. DuBois is a distinguished scholar, author and leader—a man of unimpeachable integrity. He was one of the principal founders of the NAACP and has spent the better part of his 80 years in its service and in the cause of human freedom. Many could disagree with him—and many have —but none can deny the historic contributions he has made to the long, unfinished battle for the full, unconditional citizenship of Negro Americans.

It would seem that a man of such an eminent career, mostly devoted to the very organization that now proposes to discard him as if he were a squeezed lemon, would deserve a little better treatment at the hands of fellow officers, some of whom he sought to train. But in seeking to discard Dr. DuBois, the self-perpetuating Board of Directors are really trying to discard the NAACP's militant fighting traditions, and at the worst possible moment for the Negro's cause.

★

THE TRANSPARENT pretext for Dr. DuBois' dismissal has now been pretty thoroughly seen through by the NAACP members and by the Negro people as a whole. He was not fired because of an alleged infraction of an internal rule of the NAACP, namely that he permitted to become public his views relative to the liberation of the Negro in America and in the colonies. That was only an excuse—a smokescreen for getting rid of Dr. DuBois.

The real reason was Dr. DuBois' views themselves, which he had made known in many ways publicly and many times. These views were that the foreign policy now pursued by the Truman Administration is not liberating the Negro peoples of Africa, the West Indies and in America, but is enslaving them and denying them their freedom.

Dr. DuBois held further that the U.S. State Department had prevented the UN from considering the NAACP appeal for the equality of the American Negro and Mrs. Roosevelt, UN delegate, had threatened to resign if the UN ever considered the NAACP petition.

Finally, Dr. DuBois held that the bi-partisan policy now being followed by the Truman Administration is imperialist and reactionary, and that the way to freedom for the Negro people is in associating with all other peoples, regardless of race, creed or color, against the common imperialist oppressor. All of these and other progressive views of Dr. DuBois were expressed in the fact that he supported Henry Wallace. This caused Walter White & Co., to "see red."

—Fred Wright, in UE News (United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers)

YET THERE is no provision in the constitution or by-laws of the NAACP which requires a member or officer to support imperialism, the two-party system or Truman. In fact, political non-partisanship has long been the tradition of the NAACP. Prior to the election, however, the NAACP national leadership tried to purge every official who supported Wallace or who did not support Truman. Some of the Republican members found it necessary to protest against the NAACP convention being turned into a Democratic Party rally. The attempt to purge Judge Rainey of Philadelphia, Wallace candidate for Congress, as well as Dr. DuBois, was intended to throw fear into all NAACP members and officers. Support of Truman became the unwritten law of the organization, zealously enforced by Walter White and the 40th St. palace guard, against political freedom within an organization dedicated to uphold political freedom.

Before and after the election, Walter White would hitch the NAACP to Truman and the Democratic Party, in defiance of the NAACP's non-partisan tradition, and apparently no matter where Truman goes. He believes that the Negro's fate lay in collaborating with the Negro's imperialist oppressors, and not in fighting them. His columns in the Herald Tribune sing, not of the NAACP and the big job it has of fighting for Negro rights, but of Truman and his vague social White House conversations with Truman.

White's policy is clearly not a fighting one. It can only result in disarming the Negro people, and in demobilizing their struggles. If the NAACP does not fight Wall Street imperialism and its two-party lackeys—including Truman — for Negro rights, this potentially great organization will begin to decline, something which the thousands of Negro workers and other members do not intend to let happen.

The defeat of the dismissal order against Dr. DuBois is the first line of defense for the NAACP members who want a strong and bigger NAACP, who desire a fighting, democratic organization free from purges and reprisals against its militant forces.

Organized resistance to the discharge of Dr. DuBois within the NAACP has already reflected the sentiment of the vast majority of the members. But the fact that the dismissal order still stands demonstrates that the individual branches and members have not yet made themselves heard at the national office. For the next two weeks, no issue is more urgent or important.

COMING NEXT SUNDAY

JOBS? NO WOMEN WANTED!

By Maxine Levi

What happened when women went looking for work in the auto city

IN NEXT WEEK'S MAGAZINE

Dr. DuBois' Ouster Was 'Engineered'

By Abner W. Berry

Sixteen of the 48 NAACP board of directors last week fired Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, elder statesman and outstanding scholar. But the dismissal of the 80-year-old fighter for Negro rights is being challenged by those who have followed him in his quest for truth and freedom. A committee of leading NAACP members has been formed to "further consider" the case of Dr. DuBois and to work for his reinstatement. Committee members including attorney Archibald S. Pinckett of Washington, D. C.; Shirley Graham, New York, member of the national council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, and a biographer of Frederick Douglass; Dr. Joseph Johnson, Dean of the Medical School of Howard University, Washington, D. C.; Carl Murphy, Baltimore, Md., publisher of the **Afro-American**, leading Negro weekly, and William Harrison, editor of the weekly **Boston Chronicle.**

★

THE ISSUES in the Dr. DuBois case are clear. They were stated in his memorandum to the NAACP board of directors, dated Sept. 7, 1948, and follows in full:

"The Secretary has asked me to give him a memorandum on matters which are likely to come up at the Paris meeting of the United Nations this month and in which we should be interested. I regret to say that I am unable to comply with his request and I wish to state the reasons why.

"According to the understanding by which I joined the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1944, my fields of research were left indeterminate and largely in accordance with my desires, subject to the directives of the Board of Directors. But there was a fairly clear understanding that problems of the Darker Races outside the United States and particularly in Africa would engage most of my time. For that reason I have attended the Pan African Congress in England; prepared a petition to the United Nations on our status; written two books on democracy for colored peoples and the relation of Africa to the world. Also, at the request of the **Atlantic Monthly** I have prepared a statement on present conditions in Africa, which the editors are now considering for possible publication.

"With regard to these matters I have reported to the Board of Directors from time to time. Whether my suggestions have reached the Board, and what action it has taken I seldom know, since the Secretary does not send me copies of the agenda of the Board meetings nor minutes of the actions of the Board.

"Therefore, I have been proceeding practically without directives from the Board and without any clear idea of its attitude with regard to what might be called the Foreign Policy of this Association. In the past, for the most part, this lack was unimportant and our action limited. Today, however, the situation has changed drastically, and just as the United States has become international in its action, so the NAACP is called upon to take a stand concerning Africa, Asia, the islands of the Pacific and Caribbean, not to mention the colonial problems of all colored and oppressed peoples.

"We ought to have investigation, consultation, and a plan of action. So far as I know we have had nothing of the sort. Certainly I have not been called into consultation, nor have I been commissioned to investigate or propose a policy.

"The Secretary announces now that in the name of the NAACP he has accepted, at the hands of the Truman administration, appointment as consultant to the United States delegation to the United Nations, for the Paris meeting of the General Assembly. The U. S. delegation to the United Nations has expressed clearly its attitude towards matters in which the NAACP is interested, it has refused to bring the curtailment of our civil rights to the attention of the General Assembly of the United Nations; it has refused willingly to allow any other nation to bring this matter up; if any should, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt has declared that she would probably resign from the U. S. delegation.

"In the Trusteeship Council the United States has sided with the imperial powers; it has sided with Italy in taking all but an unimportant part of Eritrea from Ethiopia; it has opposed the best interests of India, the only nation which has defended Africa before the Assembly; it has not defended Indonesia, and is clearly straddling on Israel.

"If we accept a consultantship in this delegation without a clear, open, public declaration by the Board of our position on the Truman foreign policy, our very acceptance ties us in with the reactionary war-monering colonial imperialism of the present administration. It is certain that no influence applied in Paris is going to have the slightest influence on our delegation. Their minds are made up and their policy set. The only change that can be made is in Washington and in the U. S.

"I do not know the attitude of the Board of Directors of the NAACP on these matters, nor, so far as I know, does anyone else. But I insist that here, if anywhere, in a democratic organization seeking the welfare of the millions of colored people the world over is the place for careful knowledge of all the facts and thoughtful consideration as to just what our plans and purposes are in this crisis of the world.

"If, on the contrary, we are to be loaded on the Truman bandwagon, with no chance for opinion or consultation, we are headed for a tragic mistake.

"Our international policy concerning Africa, Asia, Indonesia, and Israel is not only being determined without consultation or investigation, but even discussion of these matters here in public have in my case been met by five

(Continued on Page 12)

DR. DuBOIS' OUSTER WAS 'ENGINEERED'

(Continued from Page 7)

threats and warnings from the officials of the NAACP not to engage in 'Political Activity.' My request for clarification of what "political activity" consists has never been answered. On the other hand, the political activity of various matters of this association has been widely known.

"I thoroughly agree that no official of this organization, salaried or unsalaried, should com-

he is a member in preparation for representation at the forthcoming meeting of the General Assembly of the UN, in view of his distribution of his memorandum of Sept. 7, addressed to this Board, before its consideration by this Board, and in view of Dr. DuBois' expressed willingness that the memorandum in question be made public before its consideration by this Board, it is the conclusion of this Board that it will not be in the best interest of the Association to continue the employment of Dr. DuBois as a staff

ical appointee in Washington; Judge Charles E. Toney, a Tammany man; Alfred Baker Lewis, a well-to-do Greenwich, Conn., social democrat and Truman supporter, and Dr. Channing H. Tobias, member of Truman's Civil Rights Committee and director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

★

ALTHOUGH Dr. DUBOIS made no immediate comment, it is understood that friends of his and of the NAACP have urged him to re- NAACP ranks and fight

Among labor's many objections to the new code is the provision for a cooling-off period before a strike may be called. Under the procedure laid down by the code, labor estimates a minimum of 80 days will elapse before it will be possible to strike for wage or other demands.

The code also allows an employer to challenge an established union each year to see whether it continues to represent a majority of the employees.

Another feature to which labor objects is the requirement that a union must have a vote of more than 50 percent of the personnel in a bargaining unit before it can be certified as the bargaining agent.

Force, Forrestal Says

OF ISRAEL

WASHINGTON (FP)—Arms production took another jump Sept. 10 as Defense Sec. James Forrestal announced that the air force would add planes worth $243 million to its production schedule

Unexpended congressional appropriations will be used to pay for the new planes. Included among them is a bomber with six jet engines reported to have a speed in excess of 500 miles per hour.

Forrestal has approved spending $104 million for an additional 213 jet fighters and longrange bombers powered with conventional engines.

White House approval of part of the expenditure is still awaited.

WAR ORPHANS AND DEPENDENTS OF ISRAELI FIGHTERS

Answer the Appeal of the Progressive Women's Organization of the

AGUDATH TARUBTH L'AM

by helping to Raise and Ship

TEN TONS OF FOOD

September 20—October 2

WHAT TO GIVE:

Cans—Milk, baby food, meat, fish, fruit and vegetables.

PACKAGES—Rice, flour, sugar, cereals, beans, peas, dehydrated soups.

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Women's Organization, Jewish People's Fraternal Order, IWO, 80 Fifth Avenue, New York City

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1 E. 167th Street, Room 5

MANHATTAN
88 Clinton Street, Second floor
2328 Broadway at 84th St.

BROOKLYN
Bensonhurst—2075 — 86th Street
Brighton Center—3200 Coney Island Ave.
Brownsville—375 Saratoga Avenue
Coney Island—3109 Surf Avenue
Crown Heights—1190 St. John's Place
East Flatbush—1124 Clarkson Avenue
East New York—608 Cleveland
Kings Highway—927 Kings Highway
Williamsburg—268½ Troop Avenue

Open Evenings

Welcome sight — arrival of food in Tel Aviv

widowed mothers without any resources.

Unable to wait for the lifting of the U.S. embargo on arms, full recognition or the much-promised but never delivered financial aid, the Progressive Women's Organization of the Agudath Tarbuth L'Am turned with confidence to the Emma Lazarus Division and all other progressives in the U.S.A. to help them organize aid for war stricken families.

We have pledged to raise ten tons of food during the period of Sept. 20-Oct. 2 and to rush shipment in October as our Jewish New Year's greeting for Independence of Israel and World Peace.

We appeal to all friends of Israel, to all who see in their struggle for independence, a struggle for world peace and the advancement of democracy to join with us.

THERE IS NO EMBARGO ON FOOD

Fill a shopping bag full of any or all the items listed and bring it to the station nearest to you.

Women! Volunteer to help the Emma Lazarus Division to canvass the neighborhoods by contacting the Emma Lazarus Division at their offices in your borough.

VOLUNTEERS CALL: Manhattan, CR 7-2312; Bronx, DA 3-7200; Brooklyn, MA 4-4787

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Queens

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES speaks at debut Middle Village Forum, Sunday night, Sept. 26, 8 p.m. 66-02 76th St. corner 68th Ave., Middle Village, Queens. Adm. 25c.

Brooklyn

WASHG YOUTH CLUB C.P. presents Forum on Socialism—"What's in It for You?" Plus: social, dancing, refreshments. Good company. 13 Graham Ave. Donation 25c.

MOVIE NIGHT! See yourself at the Yankee Doodle Rally, other shorts, at Hunts Point, A.Y.D., 1029 E. 163 St., 8:30 p.m.

Bronx

SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN will review Christopher Caudwell's "Illusion and Reality" and "Aspects of a Dying Culture." Chairman: Harold Collins. Jefferson School, 16th St. and 6th Ave. 8:45 p.m. 50c.

Dr. DuBois' Ouster Was 'Engineered'

By Abner W. Berry

Sixteen of the 48 NAACP board of directors last week fired Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, elder statesman and outstanding scholar. But the dismissal of the 80-year-old fighter for Negro rights is being challenged by those who have followed him in his quest for truth and freedom. A committee of leading NAACP members has been formed to "further consider" the case of Dr. DuBois and to work for his reinstatement. Committee members including attorney Archibald S. Pinckett of Washington, D. C.; Shirley Graham, New York, member of the national council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, and a biographer of Frederick Douglass; Dr. Joseph Johnson, Dean of the Medical School of Howard University, Washington, D. C.; Carl Murphy, Baltimore, Md., publisher of the **Afro-American**, leading Negro weekly, and William Harrison, editor of the weekly **Boston Chronicle.**

★

THE ISSUES in the Dr. DuBois case are clear. They were stated in his memorandum to the NAACP board of directors, dated Sept. 7, 1948, and follows in full:

"The Secretary has asked me to give him a memorandum on matters which are likely to come up at the Paris meeting of the United Nations this month and in which we should be interested. I regret to say that I am unable to comply with his request and I wish to state the reasons why.

"According to the understanding by which I joined the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1944, my fields of research were left indeterminate and largely in accordance with my desires, subject to the directives of the Board of Directors. But there was a fairly clear understanding that problems of the Darker Races outside the United States and particularly in Africa would engage most of my time. For that reason I have attended the Pan African Congress in England; prepared a petition to the United Nations on our status; written two books on democracy for colored peoples and the relation of Africa to the world. Also, at the request of the **Atlantic Monthly** I have prepared a statement on present conditions in Africa, which the editors are now considering for possible publication.

"With regard to these matters I have reported to the Board of Directors from time to time. Whether my suggestions have reached the Board, and what action it has taken I seldom know, since the Secretary does not send me copies of the agenda of the Board meetings nor minutes of the actions of the Board.

"Therefore, I have been proceeding practically without directives from the Board and without any clear idea of its attitude with regard to what might be called the Foreign Policy of this Association. In the past, for the most part, this lack was unimportant and our action limited. Today, however, the situation has changed drastically, and just as the United States has become international in its action, so the NAACP is called upon to take a stand concerning Africa, Asia, the islands of the Pacific and Caribbean, not to mention the colonial problems of all colored and oppressed peoples.

"We ought to have investigation, consultation, and a plan of action. So far as I know we have had nothing of the sort. Certainly I have not been called into consultation, nor have I been commissioned to investigate or propose a policy.

"The Secretary announces now that in the name of the NAACP he has accepted, at the hands of the Truman administration, appointment as consultant to the United States delegation to the United Nations, for the Paris meeting of the General Assembly. The U. S. delegation to the United Nations has expressed clearly its attitude towards matters in which the NAACP is interested, it has refused to bring the curtailment of our civil rights to the attention of the General Assembly of the United Nations; it has refused willingly to allow any other nation to bring this matter up; if any should, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt has declared that she would probably resign from the U. S. delegation.

"In the Trusteeship Council the United States has sided with the imperial powers; it has sided with Italy in taking all but an unimportant part of Eritrea from Ethiopia; it has opposed the best interests of India, the only nation which has defended Africa before the Assembly; it has not defended Indonesia, and is clearly straddling on Israel.

"If we accept a consultantship in this delegation without a clear, open, public declaration by the Board of our position on the Truman foreign policy, our very acceptance ties us in with the reactionary war-monering colonial imperialism of the present administration. It is certain that no influence applied in Paris is going to have the slightest influence on our delegation. Their minds are made up and their policy set. The only change that can be made is in Washington and in the U. S.

"I do not know the attitude of the Board of Directors of the NAACP on these matters, nor, so far as I know, does anyone else. But I insist that here, if anywhere, in a democratic organization seeking the welfare of the millions of colored people the world over is the place for careful knowledge of all the facts and thoughtful consideration as to just what our plans and purposes are in this crisis of the world.

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(Continued on Page 12)

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(Continued from Page 7)

threats and warnings from the officials of the NAACP not to engage in 'Political Activity.' My request for clarification of what "political activity" consists has never been answered. On the other hand, the political activity of various matters of this association has been widely known.

"I thoroughly agree that no official of this organization, salaried or unsalaried, should commit the organization as such to any one political party. But I insist that this rule should apply to all officials and not to a few; and I also, insist that it is not only the right but the bounden duty of every official and member of the NAACP as an American citizen to investigate, interrogate, vote, and defend his vote in every election, and I deny the right of any official to tie this organization to the foreign policy of the present administration as long as it stands against public discussion of our civil rights, for the despoiling of Ethiopia, for the delaying recognition of Israel, and in general, against the interests of colonial peoples.

"For these reasons I am not attending the committee meeting called by the Secretary for today, Tuesday, Sept. 7, 1948. And I am insisting that:

"1—Hereafter I receive the agenda for the meetings of the Board of Directors and the minutes of their meetings.

"2—There be put before the Board of Directors at their next meeting a proposal for steps leading to a declared foreign policy for this Association."

★

FIVE DAYS after presenting his memorandum to the NAACP board of directors, Dr. DuBois was called before a board meeting where the following motion was passed:

"That in view of Dr. DuBois' written refusal to cooperate with the NAACP executive staff of which he is a member in preparation for representation at the forthcoming meeting of the General Assembly of the UN, in view of his distribution of his memorandum of Sept. 7, addressed to this Board, before its consideration by this Board, and in view of Dr. DuBois' expressed willingness that the memorandum in question be made public before its consideration by this Board, it is the conclusion of this Board that it will not be in the best interest of the Association to continue the employment of Dr. DuBois as a staff member beyond the term of his present contract; that formal notice of this decision be transmitted to Dr. DuBois."

★

AS TO THE TWO ALLEGATIONS in the board motion: (1) that he refused to cooperate and, (2) that he had made public his memorandum: The memorandum, itself, states the reason for not "cooperating" in an act which he judged was against the best interests of the world's colored people.

The second allegation was denied. From what some newsmen say of the affair, there are some striking indications that a willful "leak" was engineered by leaders opposed to Dr. DuBois' political action. Dr. DuBois, being a founder of the NAACP and respected for his intellectual and personal honesty, it has shocked many of his supporters to learn that a group of his associates would impugn his morality for political ends.

Of the 16 board members participating in the DuBois decision nearly half of them were active in pro-Truman politics as opposed to Dr. DuBois' support of the third party and Henry Wallace. They included Gov. William H. Hastie, of the Virgin Islands, a Truman appointee, who flew in for the meeting; Judge Hubert T. Delaney, an associate of Dr. Max Yergan, anti-Communist ousted former head of the Council on African Affairs; Attorney Theodore Berry, of Cincinnati, O., who was a wartime political appointee in Washington; Judge Charles E. Toney, a Tammany man; Alfred Baker Lewis, a well-to-do Greenwich, Conn., social democrat and Truman supporter, and Dr. Channing H. Tobias, member of Truman's Civil Rights Committee and director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

★

ALTHOUGH Dr. DUBOIS made no immediate comment, it is understood that friends of his and of the NAACP have urged him to remain in NAACP ranks and fight for a program to advance the fight for Negro rights throughout the world. It is expected that he will issue a statement outlining the development of the controversy and the issues involved.

Meantime the committee which is protesting the action against him declared this week that his firing "was unwarranted and merits further consideration since Arthur J. Spingarn, NAACP president, himself, asserted that Dr. DuBois was 'one of the greatest leaders of his race.'" (Spingarn's statement referred to by the committee, was made after he had voted to dismiss DuBois.)

P. S. Walter White is now in Paris as a consultant to the American delegation to UN; no position on foreign policy has been reached by the NAACP board.

Unionists' Book Club

Formation of Our Book Club, Inc., which will provide workers with low-priced books on labor themes written especially for them, was announced here by Pres. Joseph Gaer of Boni & Gaer, book publishers.

Our Book Club will have four annual selections, including fiction and nonfiction. Members will receive four clothbound books, each a regular $3 to $3.50 trade edition, for a total of $6 plus a free premium book on joining.

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Open Evenings

Welcome sight — arrival of food in Tel Aviv

struggle for independence, a struggle for world peace and the advancement of democracy to join with us.

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Walter White Ducks Query on Sellout

By John Hudson Jones

Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, yesterday dodged charges by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois that he was selling out the fight for Negro rights by being a U.S. consultant at the Paris meeting of the United Nations. White, as well as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Warren Austin of the U.S. delegation were interviewed as they sailed for France on the SS America.

White gave the standard "no comment" to DuBois' sizzling charges leveled at an NAACP Board meeting Sept. 7. At that time DuBois charged the board's okay of White's consultantship "ties us in with the reactionary, warmongering colonial imperialism of the present administration."

DuBois pointed out to the board that the United States "has refused to bring the curtailment of our civil right to the attention of the General Assembly." He was referring to action of Mrs. Roosevelt and Johnathan Daniels in blocking the NAACP petition on Negro oppression from the main report of the UN Human Rights Committee which recently met in

(Continued on Page 11)

Geneva. At that time the Soviet union fought that it be included.

"What will you do about getting the NAACP petition before the UN in view of these facts?" this reporter asked White.

NO PROPOSALS

"Everything in my power," declared White, but refused to give any definite proposals for accomplishing this.

"What would be your attitude and role if another nation sought to put it before the UN?"

White's answer was "The U.S. and Russia are both playing power politics, and we Negroes are caught in the middle." Although the question was repeated White avoided answering it.

DuBois had charged that since the NAACP Board had formulated no definite position on foreign policy and was participating in the U.S. delegation on foreign affairs it accepted the Truman administration's policy of aiding imperialism against India, Israel, Ethiopia and other peoples.

White declared he personally was for a UN conducted plebiscite in the former Italian colonies, to decide their future, as opposed to returning the colonies, Eritrea, Libya, and the Somaliland, to an Italian trusteeship.

The best that this reporter could get from Mrs. Roosevelt on the NAACP petition, was that "naturally we're for human rights because we feel that understanding and acceptance of these basic rights is the one way to uproot the causes of war."

AUSTIN PRAISES ERP

In a general press conference Austin, declared the "free nations of the world are stronger . . . thanks to the European Recovery Program."

Twisting the anti-Soviet hysteria for a new angle, Austin said:

"We must acknowledge the contribution the Soviet Union has made toward promoting the unity of the non-Communist world by its aggressive tactics, its arbitrary stands and by its isolationist approach to international affairs." He wouldn't elaborate in answer to reporters' questions that this was a strange way of putting such a proposition.

Sailing also on the America was James B. Carey, secretary of the CIO, and a rabid defender of the Truman administration, the Marshall Plan, and other projects of the bi-partisan foreign policy.

White declared that after the UN meeting he would travel in Germany to investigate the conditions of Negro American troops in the army of occupation, and visit other countries and cities.

A meeting of the NAACP Board to hear the charges of Dr. DuBois was scheduled for yesterday at 4 p.m.

Dockers on

hall and in another you ask us to join with you in taking it away.

HARRISON: We will offer you what we see fit, Mr. Bridges.

BREAKS OFF TALKS

At 10:30, after a short recess, Harrison announced that there was no use continuing discussions. The employers proposed contract still stood, he said, and no changes were contemplated.

The union had until midnight to accept it as is.

If the union found it unacceptable in its present form, the offer would be withdrawn at midnight, he said.

"Changes you propose are not acceptable to the employers,"

LEADER ENROUTE TO PARIS—ew York—Walter White, head of he National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, shown with his family as he sailed for Paris aboard the SS America. Mr. White will act as a consultant to the meeting of the UN General Assembly in Paris. (Keystone)

Hands DuBois Orchids, Mr. Schuyler, Onions

To the Editor:

If being inconsistent is a sin, then George Schuyler should be the last person to point a mocking finger at the record of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois.

On occasions Dr. DuBois has admitted that he was wrong about some things. I can't recall George Schuyler ever admitting that he was in error on any matter.

Some issues back he revealed the "hokum" of the Palestine situation. Consequently readers flayed him. But he wasn't wrong. No. If there was any mistake it was made by the correspondent of the New York Times whom he quoted.

However, Mr. Schuyler has been consistent in some instances. As always he berates Negro intellectuals, who from all indications properly ignore him. Although he used to preach against the "status quo," he has always carried a blackjack and hatchet for Communists.

Today nobody does a better job than Schuyler when it comes to obscuring the issue of first-class citizenship for Americans of color. At every turn and corner he shouts "Red Menace!"

He beclouds the question of social justice with the millions of automobiles and radios colored people own.

More power to W. E. B. DuBois, who at 80, still champions the cause of freedom for natives of Georgia and Africa. He stands his ground while George Schuyler, the turncoat, runs for cover.

EDWARD PEEKS
Chicago, Ill.

NAACP Ousts DuBois, Founder

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, a founder of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, today was ousted as director of special research as an aftermath to his charges that the group was engaging in "political activity" on behalf of the Truman Administration. The dismissal is effective Dec. 31, when his contract expires.

DuBois, a supporter of Henry A. Wallace, had criticized Walter F. White, secretary of the association, for accepting a post as consultant to the U. S. delegation to the United Nations. The action, he said, was political and contrary to the best interests of the Negro peoples.

White, who made no reply to the charge, sailed yesterday for the General Assembly sessions in Paris.

The ouster action was taken yesterday by the Association's board of directors, which accused DuBois of refusing to "cooperate" with his fellow members on the executive staff in helping to prepare an agenda for the U.N. meeting.

It also accused him of violating confidences of the association and of giving the press a memo on the dispute before it had time to study his charges.

Expressing "deep regret" over the incident, the board said "it will not be in the best interests of the association to continue Dr. DuBois as a staff member beyond the term of his present contract."

NAACP Fires Dr. DuBois

NEW YORK, N. Y.—(SNS)— The National Association For the Advancement of Colored People for the second time in history has severed its connections with Dr. W. E. B. DuBois.

The NAACP told the militant leader that his services would no longer be needed after Dec. 31 when his contract expires. Dr. DuBois had held the post of director of special research.

The action was taken Monday by the board of directors at the association's offices at 20 West 40th St.

WHITE CRITICIZED

The controversy between Dr. DuBois and the NAACP came after the writer, lecturer and former college professor had criticized Walter F. White, executive secretary of the association for taking a position as consultant to the United Nations. Dr. DuBois said in his opinion the post was political and not in the best interests of the Negro peoples of the world.

The NAACP secretary sailed Monday on the America for Paris, where the General Assembly of the United Nations is meeting.

The board accused Dr. DuBois of refusing to "cooperate" with the executive staff of the association, of which he was a member. Asked by Mr. White to help in preparing an agenda for the United Nations meeting. Dr. DuBois told the board there was nothing that he could do to help Mr. White. The reason given by Dr. DuBois was that for some time he had worked on international affairs for the association and had presented many memoranda to the board about his findings. He added that he did not know whether the board ever had seen this material.

MEMO ON DISPUTE

The board accused Dr. DuBois of violating confidences of the association and of giving to the press a memo on the dispute before the board had had time to study the DuBois charges. The board concluded yesterday's meeting with the statement that "it will not be in the best interests of the association to continue Dr. DuBois as a staff member beyond the term of his present contract," and directing that formal notice be transmitted to Dr. DuBois.

This is the second time Dr. DuBois has been at odds with the association. In 1934, after twenty-four years with The Crisis, the association publication, he resigned after a long dispute with the board on the basic principles of how to fight race segregation.

Arthur B. Spingarn, president of the association, said that "it is with deep regret that the board felt the necessity of passing this motion asking for the DuBois discharge from the association staff."

"Dr. DuBois was one of the founders of the association, and for many years his voice was the voice of this organization," he added. The board could not retain Dr. DuBois and hold its own position as the top authority in the association, he said.

A group of friends and supporters gave a party last February in honor of Dr. DuBois's 80th birthday. Dr. DuBois has been active in the campaign for Henry A. Wallace.

23-39-1

	POPULATION	1948 VOTE		
ALABAMA	3,061,000	215,000	7%	Sparkman
ARKANSAS	2,000,000	242,000		
FLORIDA	2,770,000	577,000		
GEORGIA	3,444,000	418,000	12%	Russell, Wood, Talmadge
LOUISIANA	2,683,000	416,000	15%	Long
MISSISSIPPI	2,179,000	192,000	8%	Rankin
N. CAROLINA	4,061,000	791,000		
OKLAHOMA	2,233,000	721,000		
S. CAROLINA	2,117,000	143,000	6%	Byrnes
TENNESSEE	3,291,000	550,000		
TEXAS	7,711,000	1,147,000	14%	Dies
VIRGINIA	3,318,000	419,000	12%	Byrd
Total:	38,868,000	5,831,000	=	15%

VOTES IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

1912			
Wilson	6,286,214		
Taft	3,483,922		
Roosevelt	4,216,020	TOTAL	13,986,156
1916			
Wilson	9,129,606		
Hughes	8,538,221	TOTAL	17,657,827
1920			
Harding	16,152,200		
Cox	9,147,353		
Debs	919,799	TOTAL	26,219,352
1924			
Coolidge	15,725,016		
Davis	8,385,586		
La Follette	4,822,856	TOTAL	28,933,458
1928			
Hoover	21,392,190		
Smith	15,016,443	TOTAL	36,408,633
1932			
F.D.R.	22,821,857		
Hoover	15,761,841	TOTAL	38,583,698
1936			
F.D.R.	27,476,673		
Landon	16,679,583	TOTAL	44,156,256
1940			
F.D.R.	27,243,466		
Willkie	22,304,755	TOTAL	49,548,221
1944			
F.D.R.	25,602,505		
Dewey	22,006,278	TOTAL	47,608,783
1948			
Truman	24,105,812		
Dewey	21,970,065		
Wallace	1,157,172		
Thurmond	1,169,021	TOTAL	48,402,070

83C-39

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120 Broadway	Hotel Commodore	Hotel McAlpin
195 Broadway	Hotel Roosevelt	Empire State Bldg.
Cotton Exchange Building	Chrysler Building	Newsweek Bldg.
1 Wall Street	N. Y. Life Ins. Bldg.	
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ISRAELIS TO AVOID CHURCHMAN DINNER

Representatives of New State Withdraw From Participation in Presentation of Citation

Withdrawal of the representatives of the State of Israel from participation in the presentation of a special citation by The Churchman, independent Protestant Episcopal magazine, to the new state was announced yesterday by Aubrey S. Eban.

Major Eban, who is representative of the provisional government of Israel at the United Nations, took notice of the controversy surrounding the function and said the Israeli representatives were withdrawing their acceptance of an invitation to attend the magazine's annual dinner next Thursday night at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel to avoid involving Israel in the controversy.

Dr. Guy Emery Shipler, editor of The Churchman, had announced that a special citation would be given the State of Israel after Secretary of State George C. Marshall had refused to accept the magazine's annual award, Dr. Shipler asserted that Mr. Marshall changed his mind about accepting the award when an anti-Communist newsletter, Counter Attack, published an attack on the magazine and its editor.

Announcement Made by Statement

Major Eban made his announcement by issuing a statement through the Jewish Agency for Palestine. It read:

"The invitation to attend The Churchman dinner was accepted in good faith on the understanding that it was a nonpolitical, noncontroversial occasion.

"Since then, however, a great deal of controversy has been expressed about this function and in the circumstances the representatives of Israel have no alternative but to withdraw from participation.

"Their only motive in so doing is to avoid any involvement of the State of Israel in domestic controversial matters."

Absentia Question Not Raised

Major Eban had been invited not only to attend but to accept the citation, it was learned. When it was pointed out to a spokesman for Major Eban that the statement did not say whether the citation would be accepted in absentia or rejected, the spokesman said the question of accepting the citation in absentia had not yet arisen and would be considered when it did. Dr. Shipler's offer to present the award to Mr. Marshall in absentia had led the Secretary explicitly to decline it.

Dr. Shipler, who was not available for questioning on the new development during the afternoon, consulted with his colleagues and at the end of the day issued a statement in which he characterized the attack on The Churchman as "another example of an organized attack on the freedom of the press" and as one of a series "of organized attempts to suppress it [the magazine]."

"We regret that it became necessary for Major Eban to withdraw because of pressures which were brought upon him," Dr. Shipler said.

To Give Citation, Anyway

"The Churchman will, however, give a special citation to the new State of Israel as originally planned because the paper has long stood for the Jewish aspirations in Palestine. It will continue to give its support to an independent Israel."

Later Dr. Shipler added that the citation would be read by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of the New York area of the Methodist Church. An associate who acted as Dr. Shipler's press intermediary was asked who would accept the award. Plans are being made and an announcement on that will be made at the proper time, he said.

When Major Eban's spokesman was told of Dr. Shipler's statement, he said that if an offer to present the citation in absentia were received, it would be considered, but it had not yet been received.

Charges Free Press Attack

In his statement, Dr. Shipler said:

"Insidious distortions concerning The Churchman is another example of an organized attack on freedom of the press which we are defending against individuals and groups who do not subscribe to the principles of American democracy.

"The Churchman has been in existence since 1804 and its record in defense of democracy and Christianity stands in its files. We are proud of that record. The recipients of The Churchman Awards—Franklin D. Roosevelt, Bernard Baruch, Henry A. Wallace and General [Dwight D.] Eisenhower—were familiar with our policy and accepted the award with enthusiasm.

"The Churchman will continue to fight for the truth for which it has always stood in spite of organized attempts to suppress it. This journal stands with pride in the traditions of the Rev. Elijah Parish Lovejoy, the first American martyr to free journalism, killed by a mob while defending his press in Alton, Ill., in 1837, because of his stand against slavery."

Mundt Bill Held Disaster to People By Isacson, Who Denies He Is Red

Continued From Page 1

government" motivated his opposition to the bill.

Mr. Isacson contended that the subcommittee was "rushing" through the measure, while "'bottling up" the anti-lynching bill, which, he said, was directed against some of those who were "really disloyal." In the category, he placed those practicing "anti-Semitism and Jim Crow."

"In spite of your insinuations," Senator Wiley retorted, "this committee is not hastening, nor is it going to conduct a three-ring circus. We are letting Henry Wallace come here Saturday and talk for himself. You ought to come and listen."

Mr. Isacson, a supporter of Mr. Wallace's third party, asserted that the testimony of the former Vice President was a matter "not of sufferance but of right."

"He has a right to talk, but when it comes to appearing before this committee," replied Senator Wiley, "that is a matter for the committee. When I said Mr. Wallace would be allowed to come, I mean allowed."

The Senator declared earlier that "thousands of telegrams a day" were coming to the subcommittee, all demanding the defeat of the measure but few "offering any argument."

"I suggest," said Mr. Isacson, "that they come not from Communists but from rank and file people. There cannot be that many Communists."

"There were only a few in Czechoslovakia," replied Senator Wiley. "Do you want the Communists to take over here?"

Mr. Isacson, who was once accused by Senator Wiley of "avoiding" questions, did not immediately answer directly.

"I believe," he replied, "in the American form of government. It is because of my love for the American form of government that I am here opposing this bill."

"Do you want the Communists to take over here?" Senator Wiley repeated.

"Of course I do not," said Mr. Isacson.

Nixon Hits at False Claims

Representative Richard M. Nixon, Republican, of California, a co-author of the measure as it had passed the House, had asserted earlier that "absolutely false claims" about the measure had been originated by Communists and eventually picked up by "people who are in no sense Communists."

"It is," Mr. Nixon went on, "the Communist-Fascist tactic of the big lie endlessly repeated; the tactic of declaring over and over that something is exactly the opposite to what it is."

The first witness for the measure, Donald R. Richberg, a lawyer and former head of the National Recovery Administration in the Roosevelt Administration, gave the opinion that it was constitutional if only because of the Government's "inherent power of self-preservation." He argued that some critics had confused with the right of privacy "the right to keep secret a conspiracy against the public."

Also supporting the bill were the following:

Elliott H. Newcomb of the veterans' organization known as AMVETS; the Rev. John F. Cronin, an official of the National Catholic Welfare Conference who spoke, however, only as an individual; John C. Williamson of the Veterans of Foreign Wars; Colonel Paul Griffith of the American Legion, and Representative J. Hardin Peterson, Democrat, of Florida.

Board of Trade Backs Bill

Describing New York City as a center of Communist activity, the New York Board of Trade, Inc., asked United States Senators Irving M. Ives and Robert F. Wagner of New York yesterday to bring the Mundt-Nixon anti-Communist bill out of committee and to work for its adoption in the Senate.

F. W. Jefferson, president of the board, sent copies of his letter to each member of the Senate Judiciary Committee asking support for the bill.

"Certainly we, in New York City, would be naive indeed if we did not recognize the potential dangers of communism. We have the centers of communistic activity. We are the point of publication of The Daily Worker. We have our Union Square and Columbus Circle. Right from these points radiates throughout the United States this vicious propaganda."

The Committee of One Thousand of 37 Madison Avenue quoted Senator Elbert D. Thomas, Utah Democrat, as saying yesterday that "in my opinion the bill and the vagueness of its language threaten the fundamental constitutional American right to openly and freely discuss and criticize political and social ideas and institutions."

Int. Bill of Human Rights

In order to guarantee fundamental human rights, the state parties to the Int. Bill of Rights set forth and accept these provisions:

Recognition of the principle that there exists fundamental rights and freedoms. Any state is obligated to ensure these rights, by ~~initiating the~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~special [illegible]~~ though salutary international obligations, and upon request by the SG of UN shall explain how the laws of the state give effect to these rights. In time of ~~[illegible]~~ national emergency these rights within limits may be restricted, but notice of such action must be made public. Any violation of these rights may be right to the attention of the SG & by any member nation, but the violating state may request the PSS to obtain advisory opinion from the Int. Ct. of Justice, and discussion of the order by committee. If found guilty, expulsion ~~[illegible]~~ from the agency shall follow.

Human Rights Defined – Part II

Right to life, liberty, habeas corpus, no unreasonable detention when arrested pending trial and organization for unlawful arrest and ~~[illegible]~~ illegal restraint of liberty, the right to travel to and from countries. Ex post facto ~~[illegible]~~ to arrest shall not obtain. Freedom of ~~[illegible]~~ conscience, expression, speech and life ~~[illegible]~~ that does not tend to militant [illegible] shall not exist

Rpt of the drafting Committee on Art. 12 (1) Human
Rights to state, rights limited by rights of others
and org. of the State vs U.N.

Indiv. right to life, liberty and personal pro-
tection, property and to the right to ~~security~~ free choice of resi-
dence and freedom of movement within the borders of the State.
Other rights that should be understood as ~~implied~~ legal and
humanely appealed include that to a legal personality,
to content change, freedom of conscience and religion
to have, hold, and impart opinions, free access to information
and its presentation in an objective manner. ~~The right~~
The right of assembly and association is guaranteed, ~~the~~
~~right to private property~~, to attain ~~that~~ external to the
law ~~is denied~~ is denied. Freedom of opportunity in works
and professions of a public nature shall be open to all.
Trial by impartial courts and representation by counsel
is to be permitted. The right of petition not be refused.
Right to participate in government and equal access to all public
positions should be insured.

Right to arrest nationality exists, and alien expulsions,
except under legal procedures, is prohibited.

The State that guarantees every individual an education, medical
care, good working conditions, a share of the national income, public
assistance when in need, food and shelter that are ~~peaceful~~ healthful
and pleasant, a period of rest and leisure and ~~free~~ opportunity
to participate in the cultural life of the community and
to enjoy the benefits of its total structure. In Germany,
we see — p. 21 bottom

when ~~a~~ a ~~large~~ ethnic is considered numerically ~~too~~ strong
and is different from the majority of the people in respect to
physical type, language, religion, theirs physical and to establish, and enjoy certain inalienable public rights their own
schools, churches, and to use their own language ~~to~~ ~~in~~ ~~their~~
~~and other activities, such~~

23-20-46

before and in agencies of the state, and in the press and public assembly.

Add p. 2-3 Art. 47 & 48

cases as Human Rights

Drafting Cases Int. Bill of Human Rights

First Session

Report of the Drafting Comm to the Comm on H. Rights

Principle and Rationalization in Race Relations*

EVERETT CHERRINGTON HUGHES

ONE of the most distressing and dangerous of the symptoms of our sick world is the distortion of people's minds and sentiments, and of our social practices and institutions along the axis of racial and cultural (ethnic) differences. It is right and proper that students of society should direct their attention to these symptoms and to their underlying causes. This social scientists have been and are doing. Much valuable work has been and is being done. More power to the people who are doing it; to those anthropologists who have not merely accelerated their investigations into the nature of racial differences but have also launched programs of popular education to clear up misapprehensions. All credit also to those sociologists, political scientists and other specialists who have turned their scientific effort in this direction; and to those people, of various professions, who have undertaken, by bold experiment, to bring more justice into the relations between people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds. And if scholars and other persons who are themselves members of the disadvantaged groups of our society show a special penchant for studying problems of this order, no less credit is due them. It is not only their right, but also their special duty, to undertake research and action which will benefit society at large none the less for being directed especially at injustices done to the group to which they themselves belong. The others of us in social science might, however, search our professional consciences to see whether we do not passively conspire to confine Negro social scientists to study of Negro problems, women to study of the problems of women and children, and so on (for this is one of the subtler forms of discrimination — "Go up higher, brother, to the head of your own table").

The main business of this paper is, however, not to praise, but to criticize the way in which we have gone about the business of improving the relations between races and ethnic groups.

Our main fault has been opportunism, and especially an oppor-

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* From a paper presented before the Eighth Annual Convention of the American Catholic Sociological Society, December 28, 1946.

tunism of logic, a fault common enough in American social science and social action. I do not mean that there is necessarily any opportunism in the turning of our attention to the problems of our own time and country. On that point we should not yield an inch to those who would have us choose our objects of study purely on the basis of something called "the state of knowledge" without reference to what is currently going on in the world. There has undoubtedly been some opportunism in choice of problems for investigation by American social scientists; we may have respected sacred cows and may have run after the problems for whose investigation funds are easy to get. An opportunism of logic is, however, much more serious.

The main evidence of the kind of opportunism to which I refer is that we allow the direction of our research and educational effort to be dictated by the enemy, the defenders of racial and ethnic injustice. It is common for people to defend their sentiments and actions by rationalizations. In some societies a given set of rationalizations may last so long as to become traditional. In our society, we are quick to change them. We actively seek new ones; this is one of the functions for annual conventions — to find more up-to-date reasons for our old policies, interests and sentiments. Being scientifically minded, we Americans dress our new rationalizations in the sheep's clothing of science. The inequality in the position of the races in this country was once defended by scriptural quotation; now it is defended by what are called "facts" of biology and psychology. And those of us who are interested in getting new light on and more just action in the relations between peoples, take up the chase. If someone says Negroes have such poor jobs because they are biologically incapable of learning complicated skills, we set about to prove that Negroes can learn to do anything anyone else can learn to do. If then the "fact" of incapacity to learn is modified to say that Negroes are good with their hands, but not with their heads, we get busy to prove that that isn't so, either. Then someone comes along with the defense that although they can learn as well, or almost as well, as other people, Negroes lack sexual or other controls necessary to the nicer positions in our society; we chase that one. Or perhaps Negroes don't smell nice; so we start counting sweat glands. We store the sweat of people of various races in bottles and have it smelt by noses of several shapes, sizes and colors, just as advertising agencies say they do with cigarettes in their "scientific" blind-fold tests — and note with glee that women have more sweat-glands than men and that while the smellers couldn't tell what race the samples came from,

a Chinese man picked as worst of all the sweat of an Anglo-Saxon. Someone will no doubt soon analyse the oil from the skin and hair of some group unfortunately dubbed "greasers." Perhaps some day a broad-minded East Indian will be disturbed by the disgust his fellow-countrymen are said to feel at the sight of lobster-red sunburned English skin. Desirous of eliminating this unwarranted prejudice against Europeans, he will have chemists make tests; if all goes well, they will find no chemical difference between the beautiful bronze skin of Hindu vegetarians and the parboiled hide of a beef-eating Colonel Blimp.

Now I have no basic objection to the making of such tests, and none to the dissemination, to as many people as possible, of whatever findings result from them. Truth is better than error, and should be spread with the more vigor when the error is one that does great damage. What I do object to is giving the terms of the game into the hands of the enemy, who, by inventing a new rationalization every day, leads us a merry and endless chase. We attack the devil's changing disguises instead of the devil himself.

Each of these rationalizations brought up in defense of racial and ethnic injustices is part of a syllogism. The minor premise, stating an alleged fact, is expressed; the major premise, a principle, is left out. Instead of driving our opponents and ourselves back to the major premise, we are content to question and disprove the minor premise, the allegation of fact.

Suppose we take a couple of the common statements: "Jim Crow practices are justified because Negroes smell bad," and "Jews should not be admitted to medical schools because they are aggressive." The first, completed, would read something like this:

There should be separate public facilities for people who smell bad.

Negroes smell bad.

Ergo . . . . . .

The second would read like this:

People who are aggressive beyond some determined degree should not be admitted to medical schools.

Jews are aggressive beyond this degree.

Jews should not be admitted to medical schools.

The orders of fact alleged in these two examples are quite different. But they serve equally well for our purpose. The major premise is ordinarily not stated in either case by the persons who use the statement; nor is it often stated or answered by those who oppose racial and ethnic discrimination of the kinds they refer to.

I suspect — though it might be hard to prove — that the suppression of the major premise in these and similar cases is not a psychological accident. There is said to be a kind of shrewdness in the fevered reasoning of the neurotic, as well as in that of the devil. The shrewdness in these rationalizations lies in the use of implied major premises that people of our culture, those who believe in racial and ethnic equality, as well as those who use these rationalizations, do not care to bring out into the open.

Let us look again at the syllogism about odors. We are a people who can be frightened by advertisements which tell us that we will not be promoted to be superintendents of factories and sales-managers of businesses unless we smell nice; and the American woman can be frightened by the threat that she will not get her man or that she may lose him over a matter of a little unpleasant odor of which her best friend can't bring herself to speak. We are not told at what point in his rise to authority and higher income, the man must begin to make himself pleasant. Nor do we learn whether the man, who is about to be lost, had so sensitive a nose when he got the girl, or whether he picked up this nicety later. But the reference to the great — and legitimate — American dream of getting ahead is obvious enough. And it is perhaps not difficult to understand why we do not question the main premise behind the alleged fact of Negro odor.

Or let us take the defense of restrictive covenants by the statement that the presence of Negroes in a neighborhood destroys property values. The major premise would be something like this: People are justified in preventing property in their neighborhood from being occupied by people whose presence reduces property values. Now it is true that residential property values respond in some degree, under certain circumstances, to a change in the kind of people who live in the area. This may be due to the way of living of the new people, or it may be due to an attitude toward them, or to both. It is also true that Americans in great numbers try to turn an improvement in their economic condition into an improvement in their social standing by moving to a new neighborhood. This is a perfectly natural and generally proper thing for them to do. But the trouble is that there is always some later comer treading on one's heels. So that it is, in a sense, the great American game to break in where one is not wanted. It is a game that is successful just to the extent that one seems not to be playing it: to seem to play it is to be aggressive, and one gets punished for that although he may not necessarily be rewarded for not being aggressive. Herein lies the great American

dilemma, although I do not mean to belittle Mr. Myrdal's statement of it. The thought that I may be one of those whose presence in a neighborhood might — through other people's attitudes toward me — reduce its desirability to them is not a pleasant one to face, especially when combined with my own concern lest some group of people from whom I wish to be dissociated may some day threaten the neighborhood in which I have achieved a social footing and perhaps a dearly bought family house.

The preceding paragraph contains a clue to the effectiveness of the rise of alleged Jewish aggressiveness as justification for limiting their entry to the professions. We Americans do not like to talk about just what degree of aggressiveness is proper; we might find that the amount of this virtue necessary to realize our ambitions is greater than the amount which turns it into a punishable vice. I am tempted to pursue a like analysis of what is hidden in the question, "How would you like your sister to marry a nigger?" I will spare you — and myself — that ordeal. To those of you who are still college students, I recommend it as an exercise for the brain and the spine.

Let me repeat that I do not pretend to prove that the enemies of interracial and interethnic justice exercise conscious slyness in the choice of their defensive rationalizations. Nor can I prove that it is the discomfort of facing major premises about which we are fearfully ambivalent, rather than mere logical carelessness and the love of empiricism at all costs, that prevents us from filling out these syllogisms. But certainly we are ambivalent about the principles hidden in these statements. We, like those who defend the racial and ethnic inequalities of our society, are all Americans. They and we share the same aspirations; the hidden fundament of our minds is the same as theirs. I only suggest that that gives them a certain advantage over us, and that we have allowed them full benefit of it.[1]

Whatever causes it, the failure to ferret out major premises has other consequences than merely leading us on to a merry chase for facts. It leads to too much protestation as well. We counter the exaggerated statements of our opponents with exaggerations in another direction. Nearly all of the statements in favor of racial and ethnic discrimination allege faults in the minority groups in question. These faults range from serious moral defect to slight departures from the canons of good taste. In our counter-arguments, the mem-

[1] For a penetrating analysis of hidden factors in interethnic sentiment, see Ichheiser, G., "Diagnosis of Anti-Semitism," Sociometry Monographs, No. 8.

bers of the racial or ethnic groups involved appear as paragons of virtue, delightful in their manners — better, in fact, than it is common for human creatures to be.

This brings up the whole problem of the differences between people of different racial and ethnic categories. Those opposed to racial prejudices and inequalities have shown a tendency to slight, or even to deny, the existence of any differences at all. Fishberg's book on the Jews has long served as a text to prove that no one can tell a Jew when he sees him — a very dubious compliment to Jewish parents who have put forth great effort so to bring up their children that they will respect and practice conduct which the parents consider rooted in their Jewish faith and culture. All that Fishberg says about the physical characteristics of Jews may be true; and there are occasions when statement of his or other such findings is called for. But to use them to try to prove that there are no discernible or significant differences between one ethnic, or religious, group and another can lead to no good.

In the first place, overuse of such argument implies that the only basis for social political and economic equality is the lack of differences between the groups concerned. That would put our faith in the rightness of social equality on a very dubious foundation, both because it might some day turn out that there are some differences we don't know about and because it would imply, that the price of equality is the elimination of peculiar traits which some group of people may properly cultivate and cherish. Heaven knows that in our prejudiced world members of some groups are given plenty of temptation to deny that they belong to the groups in which they were born and bred, and in so doing to eliminate all identifying marks. That is a matter for their own consciences. We can only have sympathy for such victims of racial, ethnic and religious injustice. Our sympathy should not lead us to engage in counter-propaganda which expressly or implicitly denies or tones down the differences which really exist between groups.

There is, further, the danger — so cogently stated by David Riesman in an article entitled "Equality and Social Structure,"—that common people will consider the whole propaganda for tolerance a fake intended to obfuscate them. For, as Riesman says — speaking of the way into which the democratic world played into the hands of the Nazis —

> That (democratic) world denied that there was any difference between races. . . . They insisted, for instance, that only the

> ignorant and the prejudiced could find any differences between Jews and non-Jews, and sociologists supplemented this with statistics to show that, in all tangible ways, Jews were just like everybody else. . . . One can see now that it would have been better strategy to admit the differences while denying that they justified political and economic stratification in most cases. . . . For the differences *are* there, no less so for being subtle and impalpable, or being mostly culturally conditioned, not biological in origin. . . .
>
> At any rate, in the eyes of the ordinary man, there were differences between races and between the sexes and between men in general. He could not always put his finger on them, but he could feel them, and feel that there was something fishy in the liberal denials.[2]

Riesman's warning applies not only to those differences which merely distinguish, or are supposed to, one group from another; it applies as well to those real or alleged differences which imply faults. For if groups of people maintain somewhat different virtues in their peculiar cultures, is it not likely that they will differ somewhat in their vices also? A record of the problems with which practical theologians have had to deal in different times and places, and of the special questions of conscience which have turned up in the confessional in various periods and countries, and among people of different ethnic background and social position, would — I am sure — give ample evidence of differences in the sins for which people have a predilection. In this matter, it would probably be more effective to gloss over nothing; and especially not to gloss over our own sins. The doctrine of original sin, which rests equally on all, is a sounder starting point than protestation that the groups which are the special objects of prejudice do not have any special vices. For, again speaking of our logical opportunism, the use of the denial of special faults as an argument against racial or ethnic prejudices and injustices implies somehow that we who are not discriminated against are in that blessed state because at some time or other we were without special disqualifying faults or vices, and were therefore elevated to our privileged position. It further implies the right of those who consider themselves without special faults or vices to give or withhold full equality from others.

In this kind of argument, incidentally, we again play into the hands of the enemy, for in arguing so hard that groups of people whose rights we have limited are without fault we encourage the

[2] *Journal of Legal and Political Sociology*, Vol. I., 1943.

idea — implicit in the "fault" justification of prejudice and limited rights — that justice and equality are something to be earned, and that the wage is to be paid by and at the discretion of the more privileged group. This argument turns up in the statement that Negroes are not ready for full political rights and for access to all kinds of jobs, supported by a false use of evolutionary ideas — "the Negroes are only yesterday out of the jungle." "It will take another hundred years," etc.

I do not mean to suggest that the problem of the relation between faults and access to full privileges in a society is an easy one, either in theory or in practice. There are circumstances in which society withdraws full freedom from an individual because of a weakness betrayed in his actions towards others. But the principle on which this is done is not that the other members of society have the right to do this because they are virtuous. They do it not in the name of and by right of their own virtue, but in the name of the good of the community and through functionaries of the law who — although they should certainly be people of uprightness and as far above reproach as possible — act with an authority delegated by society. The principles involved are far from those implied in any rationalization which justifies one group of people, supposedly free of faults, in limiting the social privileges of another whole category of persons because of the latter's alleged faults. It is some such principle that we give consent to if we answer the "fault" argument for discrimination by protesting that the minority concerned is not different in any way from other groups. It makes us parties to a revolting self-righteousness.

Allow me to mention briefly one more consequence of the denial or glossing over of differences, and especially of faults. It has already led to a feeling, in this country, that no one not a member of a certain group may express any but the most laudatory sentiments or judgments concerning it. Even those who are members of a group are enjoined to say nothing critical in such a way that it may reach ears outside the group. Again, the abuses and misunderstandings have been so flagrant that one can understand the effort to enforce a certain censorship upon criticism of one group by members of another. But that kind of tolerance which prevents statement of honest opinion and conviction is a false tolerance. It is the kind of tolerance which requires us to look about the room, and ask of our neighbor in a whisper, "Is there a Lower Slobbovian present?" before we open our mouths to speak. Granting that a careful tongue

is an organ of great virtue, it does not follow that an honest one is less to be valued.

I have made but one point, or sung but one theme, with some variations: that it is worse than of no avail to gather and disseminate the true facts which refute the alleged facts offered in defense of racial and ethnic inequality of social rights, unless at the same time we dig out and bring to our own view, as well as to that of our opponents, the major premises, or principles, which lie hidden beneath the disguise of rationalizations.

University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Ill.

Atlanta Constitution
32-4-9

Reorganization Of NAACP Seen In New Ouster

The ousting of a former Atlanta University professor from his post in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in a row with Secretary Walter White may result in a complete overhauling of the NAACP organization and policy, says the New York Star.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, founder of the NAACP who once taught at the local Negro university, is being removed as Special Research Director by the Board of Directors following his criticism of White for taking a post as consultant on race problems in the United States delegation to the United National General Assembly meeting in Paris.

The 80-year-old DuBois, a supporter of Henry Wallace, contends White's action ties the NAACP to President Truman's foreign policy. DuBois was ousted from the NAACP in 1934 in a dispute with White, and came to Atlanta to teach. Dr. W. D. Bowden, of Atlanta University, is a member of a committee now seeking to reinstate DuBois from his latest ousting.

Meanwhile, observers note that White has been granted a leave of absence simultaneously with DuBois' dismissal.

[c. 1948]

97TH GENERAL ASSEMBLY,
REGULAR SESSION,
1947-1948

S. B. No. 258

MR. DAVIES

A BILL

To amend sections 4862-1, 4862-2, 4862-4, 4862-6 and 4862-7, and to enact supplemental sections 4862-1a, 4862-2a and 4862-11 of the General Code relative to Wilberforce university.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio:

SECTION 1. That sections 4862-1, 4862-2, 4862-4, 4862-6 and 4862-7 of the General Code be amended and that supplemental sections 4862-1a, 4862-2a and 4862-11 be enacted to read as follows:

Sec. 4862-1. The government of such college shall be vested in a board of nine trustees to be known as "the board of trustees of the college of education and industrial arts at Wilberforce university, Wilberforce, Ohio." **1** *Eight* members of such board shall be appointed by the governor, by and with the *advice and* consent of the senate, and **2** *one member* thereof shall be chosen by the board of trustees of the university. The governor shall appoint **3** *eight of such trustees, one for the term of one year, one for the term of two years, one for the term of three years, one for the term of four years, one for the term of five years, one for the term of six years, one for the term of seven years and one for the term of eight years, all commencing on the effective date of this act. Thereafter, one trustee shall be appointed each year for a term*

of eight years commencing on the first day of July of such year and serve until his successor is appointed and qualified. A vacancy in the office of trustee shall be filled by like appointment for the unexpired term.

Sec. 4862-1a. The board of trustees annually shall elect one of their number chairman, and in the absence of the chairman, elect one of their number temporary chairman. It also may appoint a secretary treasurer, and librarian, and such other officers as the interests of the college require, who may be members of the board. Such appointees shall hold their offices for such term as the board may fix, subject to removal by it, and receive such compensation as the board prescribes. The board of trustees shall do any and all things necessary for the proper maintenance and successful and continuous operation of said college. The board of trustees may accept donations of land and moneys for the purposes of such college.

Sec. 4862-2. One member of the board shall be chosen by the board of trustees of the university at a regular meeting **4** and shall hold office for **5** *a* term of three years from the thirtieth day of June in such year. *A vacancy in the office of said trustee shall be filled by appointment of the board of trustees of the university for the unexpired term.*

Sec. 4862-2a. No provision of law shall prevent the boards of trustees of Ohio state university, Miami university, Ohio university, Kent university, Bowling Green university or the college of education and industrial arts at Wilberforce university, from charging reasonable tuition for the attendance of pupils who are nonresidents of the state of Ohio.

Sec. 4862-4. The board of trustees so created shall meet in regular session at the **6** *college* twice a year. The first meeting shall be on the third Thursday in June, and the second on the first Thursday in November of each year. Other meetings may be *called and* held at such places **7** *as the board prescribes. A majority of the board present at any meeting shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a majority*

of all the board shall be necessary to elect or remove a president, superintendent or professor. The trustees shall receive no compensation **8** for *their services, but shall be paid their expenses* for **9** traveling and other reasonable and necessary expenses **10** *while engaged in the discharge of their official duties.*

Sec. 4862-6. The board of trustees shall take, keep and maintain exclusive authority, direction, supervision and control over the operations and conduct of such college, so as to assure for said college the best attainable results with the aid secured to it from the state.

The board of trustees shall provide courses of study for the training of teachers in accordance with the standards of the state department of education of Ohio, and create, establish, provide for and maintain such industrial, vocational, agricultural, home economics, commercial and business administration course of study leading to the degree of bachelor of science and bachelor of science in education, *and such other courses* which in the judgment of the board of trustees should be provided. They shall select a superintendent, whose selection shall be approved by the state controlling board, and who shall not be removed except for cause after due hearing before said controlling board.

Said superintendent shall be the fiscal officer of said college and shall attend **11** meetings **12** wherein matters affecting the revenues or expenditures of **13** all moneys appropriated for carrying out the purposes and provisions of sections 4862 to 4862-10 of the General Code, *and* shall be made under such regulations as the board of trustees shall establish *14**. *All vouchers* against any appropriation shall be **15** approved in writing by said fiscal officer. No money appropriated by the state shall be used for any purposes not in direct furtherance and promotion of the objects of said college.

Sec. 4862-7. The board of trustees shall elect, **16** fix the compensation of and remove **17** *the president, who shall be the chief*

executive officer of the college; and elect, fix the compensation of and remove such number of professors, teachers and other employees as may be deemed necessary; but no trustee, *or his relative by blood or marriage* shall be eligible to a professorship or position in the college, the compensation for which is payable out of the state treasury or a college fund. Neither shall any officer, teacher, or other employee of Wilberforce university be eligible to membership on **18** *the* board of trustees *of such college* while occupying any of said positions in Wilberforce university.

Sec. 4862-11. The college of education and industrial arts at Wilberforce university shall be supported by such sums and in such manner as the general assembly may from time to time provide.

SECTION 2. That existing sections 4862-1, 4862-2, 4862-4, 4862-6 and 4862-7 of the General Code are hereby repealed.

The following matter eliminated from the present law—see corresponding numbers with asterisks in body of bill:

1. Six

2. three members

3. one member of such board each year, who shall serve six years and whose term shall begin upon the first day of July in such year. Such appointment shall be made during the session of the senate next preceding the beginning of such term.

The members of the board of trustees as appointed by the governor of the state of Ohio to the combined normal and industrial department and the three trustees appointed by the university as members of the board of trustees of said department shall continue to exercise their respective tenure of office as members of the board of trustees of said college at Wilberforce university, Wilberforce, Ohio.

4. in each year,

5. the

42 6. university

45 7. and times as a majority of the board determines

48 8. , but shall be reimbursed

49 9. their

50 10. out of appropriations under this sub-division of this chapter

67 11. all

67 12. of the board of trustees,

68 13. the college are involved. The expenditures of

71 14. ; but no contract, claim or voucher

71 15. valid until

75 16. and

76 17. such administrative officers, not otherwise provided for in sections 4862 to 4862-6 of the General Code, and

83 18. said

23-18

Alfred Russell Wallace

Smythe

Inventions and Discoveries - 19th Century

Railways
telephone
photography
spectrum analysis
conservation of energy
the uses of dust
the antiquity of man
cell theory and embryology
chemistry, definite proportions
meteors and meteoric theory
steamships
lucifer matches
phonograph
anaesthetics
molecular theory of gases
the glacial epoch
organic evolution established
germ theory of diseases, and the function of the leucocytes
electric telegraph
gas illumination
roentgen rays
antiseptic surgery
velocity of light directly measured and earth's rotation experimentally shown

First half of 20th Century

automobile
radio
refrigeration
the assembly line
tractors
diesel power
jet propulsion
synthetics
photoengraving
world government
airplane
radar
farm machinery
electric generator
cranes
electric power
radium
plastics
radio photograph and phone
train signals and traffic lights
submarine
television
precision instruments
hydro electric power
steam shovels
electronics
neuclear energy
reinforced concrete
flood control

23-08-08

Preceding centuries

the mariner's compass	14th
the steam engine	18th
the telescope	17th
barometer, thermometer	17th
printing	15th
arabic numerals	early
modern chemistry	18th
alphabetical writing	early
electric science	18th
gravitation established	17th
Kepler's laws	17th
the differential calculus	17th
circulation of blood	17th
light has finite velocity	17th
development of geometry	3rd B.C.

Walter White Stooges for Truman and the Rotten Two-Party System

By Benjamin J. Davis
Member New York City Council

WALTER WHITE, national secretary of the NAACP, has become one of the main outposts of the reactionary Truman administration within the ranks of the Negro people.

His columns in the New York Herald Tribune, together with his whole role during the present election campaign, are aimed to keep the Negro people tied to the rotten two-party system. He is constantly supporting and apologizing for everything Truman says, does or doesn't do. His special assignment, it seems, is to sell to the Negro people the phony theory that Truman is a so-called "lesser evil" than Dewey. But, as a matter of fact, White agrees with both Dewey and Truman on one central proposition—namely, on attacking, slandering and on trying to smash the increasing strength of the Wallace-Taylor Progressive Party among Negro voters.

In donning this lackey role, White is betraying the best interest of the NAACP membership and in undermining the organization's militant anti-discrimination program. This betrayal flows naturally from White's acceptance of the imperialist Marshall Plan and of other items in Truman's bi-partisan war program. The Negro people generally— and the NAACP in particular—would pay more dearly than any other section of the population if, in November, they should follow either Truman or Dewey down the road toward war and fascism.

White, himself, tried to dump Truman for Jimcrow-Army Eisenhower (until pressure from the NAACP membership compelled him to repudiate Eisenhower). But since Wall Street crammed this sour apple down the shattered and gagged Democratic convention, White has been turning wrongside-outwards looking for reasons to wax enthusiastic for Truman. He has not been successful, for the simple reason that one cannot get blood out of a turnip.

* * *

THE best argument that White can dig up is that since the Dixiecrats are opposed to Truman, the Negroes should support him. Although this shows how bad the Dixiecrats are (many polltaxers like Tom Connally and Tom Clark are supporting Truman), it does not show how good Truman is, or that Truman is worthy of support.

Moreover, even if the Dixiecrats are fighting Truman, Truman is not fighting them. One might as well argue that because Hitler denounced Chamberlain, anti-fascist humanity should have supported Chamberlain's appeasement policies. But it was not until Chamberlain's appeasement was defeated that Hitler was destroyed. It will not be until Truman's pro-fascist appeasement of the Dixiecrats is defeated that the people, through the new Progresive Party, can drive the Dixiecrats, polltaxers and lynchers from office in the deep South.

The Dixiecrats do not want even Truman's empty and deceitful demagogy on civil rights. But there's much more to the so-called "revolt" of the Dixiecrats against Truman than the fact that it reflects the mortal crisis in the crumbling Democratic Party.

The Dixiecrats constitute an open conspiracy against the federal Constitution — specifically, against the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments. They publicly vow that they will resort to force and violence against the Negro people, and their impoverished white supporters, rather than permit the Negro people to enjoy their full citizenship rights. The Dixiecrats are responsible for encouraging the Ku Klux Klan to hold a brazen fascist convention in Atlanta, Georgia, threatening to drown the Negroes in their own blood if they sought to vote.

In the face of this open conspiracy of force and violence, and its consequent increase in lynch terror against Negroes in the deep South, Truman has done nothing.

(Continued on Page 11)

The Worker

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Joseph Roberts ---------- *General Manager*

NEW YORK, SUNDAY, AUGUST 15, 1948

42/6C/2

Colonial Primary Products Committee Interim Report. (Col. No. 217. 1948. pp. 23. 6d.) The Committee has worked to the following terms of reference: "To review, commodity by commodity, the possibility of increasing colonial production, having regard on the one hand to the interests of the Colonial Empire and, on the other hand, to the present and prospective world needs and the desirability of increasing foreign exchange resources." The commodity studies of the report include animal products, food grains, industrial fibres, citrus fruits and juices, and the use of fertilizers. The report draws attention to several general considerations which should be warnings against impatience. One of them is that every project for colonial development requires much time and much expenditure of resources before the fruits are seen. A second consideration is that in addition to the investment of resources in schemes of development, it is necessary for this country to pay for its imports from the Colonies in terms of real value. The key to colonial advance is increased production for export in the mother country. The third major consideration is the need to soften the impact of the modernization of agriculture upon the native social systems of the Colonies. Within the limitations of discussion in London, the Committee has done useful work in defining practical problems. Most of the work for their solution will have to be done in the Colonies themselves.

6. TRADE UNION LEGISLATION

In the great majority of Colonial territories, trade union legislation is satisfactory, said Mr. Rees-Williams, during an answer made to Mr. Rankin. In general, he said, steps have been taken to remove from Colonial trade union legislation all such provisions as were analogous to those of the United Kingdom Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act, 1927 now repealed. In certain circumstances, however, the Secretary of State has satisfied himself that local circumstances are so exceptional as to justify the temporary retention of certain of these provisions, but the necessity for this measure will be constantly reviewed. Compulsory registration of trade unions is a principle adhered to in all Colonial Trade Union legislation without exception.

(Not printed at Government expense)

United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 80th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

22-30

The Mundt Bill Must Be Defeated

SPEECH
OF
HON. GEORGE G. SADOWSKI
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 14, 1948

Mr. SADOWSKI. Mr. Chairman, we will all agree that the mousetrap was a good invention, but the mousetrap will also catch the family cat as well as mice; so when we bait a mousetrap we set it so that it will not catch the family kitty.

Mr. Chairman, the Mundt bill imposes disabilities merely on the basis of organizational affiliation and not on the basis of personal illegal acts. The purpose for the provision is obvious. It is to frighten everybody out of every organization except the Republican Party, the Democratic Party, and the Boy Scouts. Now, I have no objection to membership in the last two organizations. I am a member of the Democratic Party, and as a kid I was a member of one of the first Boy Scout units organized. However, a good many Republicans belong to their organization solely because their grandfather voted for Abraham Lincoln, the only liberal President that the Republicans ever had.

Now, they say this bill is aimed at Communists. What kind of Communists? Just who is a Communist, anyway? President Franklin D. Roosevelt was called a Communist by his political enemies. Some of the old guard, reactionary, Tory Republicans used to refer to us New Deal Congressmen as Communists. Yes; I would not be a bit surprised if you boys from Tennessee and Mississippi, who fought so valiantly for TVA last Tuesday, are regarded by the big Power Trusts as TVA Communists. Those who may wish to nationalize the coal mines or the railroads will be called Communists by those who do not believe in public ownership to any degree.

When we took over the street railway system in Detroit some years ago, Senator James Couzens, a Republican, who was mayor of Detroit at the time, was also called a Communist.

In this bill it is proposed to violate the Constitution and to condone such action, because we are doing so to fight communism. I say that if you can scratch the Constitution a little bit, if you can bleed it a little bit, then you can later maim it, dismember it, and amputate from it the rights and guaranties of every citizen of America.

About 25 years ago in Michigan a group of fanatics tried to cripple and outlaw the parochial school system. It took the combined efforts of all the liberals of Michigan to stop them, and we did.

This bill should make every American recoil in horror. It is the beginning of the Hitler doctrine where the Government assumes the right to punish and imprison its citizens for belonging to organizations in disagreement with the ruling authorities. It goes further; it permits the Government to punish without having to supply proof of the guilt of a citizen.

Would Thomas Jefferson, the great defender of personal rights, who himself was called a Jacobian and a radical of the worst type by the smug Tories of Boston, support such a measure? Certainly not. Would Andrew Jackson, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, or Abraham Lincoln support it? Positively not.

For 25 years before the war we witnessed the sinister growth of huge propaganda machines which slowly, but gradually, crushed free expression in the press and on the radio, and eventually destroyed or completely muzzled all democratic leaders. In Japan, Russia, Italy, and Germany the huge propaganda machines controlled the press, radio, public platform, motion pictures, the theater; yes, even music, art, science, and the pulpit.

This was intended to make the parliamentary system incapable of independent action, and the plan succeeded. If free debate of government policies had not been crushed, it is wholly possible that Hitler would not have been able to plunge Germany into a war.

This is a lesson that every one of us must learn and remember.

The beginning of such controls have recently popped out under Republican administration in Lansing, Mich., and now in the Republican Congress in Washington. In Lansing they enacted the Callahan bill; in Washington the Republicans are sponsoring the Carl Mundt bill. This Republican administration and the Committee on Un-American Activities and its big-business backers are treating with contempt the ruling of the United States Supreme Court, which held:

> If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein.

789083—25569

And if the Supreme Court decision is not enough, then let us read from the Constitution of the United States:

> Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peacably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of its grievances. (First amendment, United States Constitution.)

There is no doubt about it, this bill is designed to stifle the freedom of any individual or organization to express views on public issues.

The definitions of "Communist political" and "Communist front" organizations are couched in language sufficiently broad to bring under the bill's condemnation virtually every organization which supports a liberal view on any controversial public issue.

The Taft-Hartley law is a hot issue in this campaign and Labor contends that it seriously threatens the existence of bona fide labor unions.

This bill has the vigorous support of the Taft-Hartley boys and I believe that one of the main objectives is to black out union labor opposition in the coming campaign by frightening them and gagging them to death. Yes, under this bill any organization whose activities make it "reasonable to conclude that it is under the control of a Communist political organization" could be legally labeled as a Communist front. The chain of guilt by association is there so loosely set up that if there were one or two Communists in an organization the whole membership could be connected right back to the Kremlin.

The words, "any attempt in any manner" is language that the Taft-Hartley boys are betting heavily on. This is truly buckshot legislation. Here we have the Taft-Hartley boys firing at the whole mass of the people. They are not interested in treasonable actions of an individual Communist. They want to penalize opinions and associations, they would deny basic rights to American citizens solely because of their opinions and associations. They would usurp the functions of the courts to determine offenses and punishments. They would bully the citizen out of every constitutional right. Yes, they would drive good citizens from virtually every kind of progressive public activity.

We have recently witnessed the unwarranted discrediting of genuine liberals who have been earnestly and sincerely seeking reforms in labor, monopolies, and civil rights. This has been accomplished by smear methods, innuendo, distortion, and false propaganda through the press and radio. Now they want the Mundt bill to implement these activities.

That is the way Hitler started and when he finished with the so-called subversives every person in Germany was goose-stepping and heiling Hitler; and the people were led over the precipice into the most devastating and brutal war in history.

In this campaign the Republicans do not want to discuss the issues, the pledges they made 2 years ago. They do not want to mention the disastrous inflation that has seized the country, the exorbitant profits of big business, the neglect of our aged and incapacitated, the miserable housing situation, the phenomenal growth of trusts, monopolies, and cartelists in the last 2 years. The Republicans ripped wide open all the controls and promised the people low prices and a plentiful supply of everything, and instead gave us the "good old days of Harding," where big business and the big banking interests ran hog wild over the people.

So in this election the Republicans propose not to discuss the issues; in fact, they propose to gag and stifle all discussion with the threat of being labeled a Communist. That is the real purpose of the Mundt bill.

Yes, under the Mundt bill, organizations and individuals will be punished, restrained, and regimented solely on the basis of political opinions rather than on the basis of overt acts of disloyalty.

Because of high prices and high profits, the worker is living from week to week. He has spent all of his war savings and inflation has him by the throat.

Organized labor is now making demands for a reasonable adjustment of wages through the process of collective bargaining and through the institutions of free trade-unions. How easy it would be to use the Mundt bill to cripple the activities of the unions and to blacklist its officers and members. Very simple, every worker who goes out on strike for an adjustment of wages is a Communist or a subversive, and that ends it. Seems like someone has been studying the pages of Hitler's prewar activities. It worked in Germany, why not here?

Under the guise of outlawing the Communist Party, this bill would actually destroy the constitutional right that the citizens do now enjoy to advocate peaceful, economic, political, and social changes in our Government. This bill would place an extraordinary amount of power into the hands of the Attorney General over the functioning of any liberal or progressive organization.

Just recently the Department of Justice was holding labor leaders without bail, pending deportation proceedings. This method of harassing and discriminating against labor leaders would be encouraged by this bill. Every member of a labor union knows full well that every time his union asks for a raise, they are attacked as subversives and Reds by the company. Every fight for improved social or labor legislation, and all organizations participating in such a fight could be labeled subversives and Reds under this bill. Even now, most strikes are being termed political strikes. The recent coal strike was also called a political strike. Those who are anxious to smash trade-unions are smacking their lips in anticipation of the passage of the Mundt bill.

We in Michigan know the full meaning of the Mundt bill, which would create a police state in America, and would make out of the Attorney General the chief gaulieter. This Mundt bill had a counterpart in Michigan known as the Callahan bill. It was passed last year by a Republican legislature. In a few days over 115,000 aroused and indignant Michigan citizens signed a referendum

petition to repeal the Callahan Act. A Michigan attorney general later declared it to be clearly unconstitutional. The Callahan bill, like the Mundt bill, was intended to intimidate our citizens and to frighten them into abject servitude. But the people of Michigan were not to be bulldozed and arose in all their might and fury, and the Callahan bill is now a dead duck.

I can assure you that the same fate awaits the Mundt bill if it should be passed. Already I have received thousands of letters and telegrams in protest—far too many to list into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Many of these are from ministers and pastors. But just to show that these protests are not coming from labor organizations alone, I want to include a petition that within 24 hours received the signatures of 73 lawyers, including members of the bench:

"We, the undersigned, members of the bar of Michigan, urge you to speak and vote against the so-called Mundt-Nixon bill (H. R. 5852).

We believe this bill to be a product of mounting hysteria in our land. As lawyers, we have a special responsibility to maintain the Bill of Rights and to defend it with all of our resources against invasion from any source. This bill, under the guise of outlawing communism, will require the registration of one's political beliefs, a concept wholly at variance with our Constitution and democratic tradition. It would place in the hands of the Attorney General power to outlaw organizations which no Government official has ever before possessed by act of the Congress.

The terms used in the act are so vague and indefinite that it could be utilized to repress criticism of our existing institutions and thus subvert the democratic process and place the lid upon man's progress toward a better world. The principle embodied in this bill, of guilt by association, and requiring registration as a condition of the exercise of freedom of speech and assembly, is violative of the Bill of Rights. We believe, as the Supreme Court said in the case of *Board of Education* v. *Barnett:*

789083—25569

"If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein. If there are any circumstances which permit an exception, they do not now occur to us."

Hon. Patrick H. O'Brien, Joseph J. Beck, M. A. Guest, Hon. Carl M. Weideman, G. Leslie Field, H. W. Love, R. E. Bine, Ernest Goodman, Samuel Weisman, George W. Crockett, Harold Ryan, Sol A. Dann, Alan N. Brown, A. A. Sugar, Harry Anbender, Benjamin L. Safir, Morton A. Eden, Allen J. Davis, Fremont Sweetwine, Louis Tucker, Jack J. Kraizman, Walter M. Nelson, Oscar Freedenberg, A. G. Breene, Carleton H. McIntyre, Daniel P. O'Brien, Samuel W. Barr, Julius J. Stoorman, Harold M. Silverston, Samuel Brezner, Allen Bibb, C. LeBron Simmons, Jerome H. Brooks, Cecil Pearl, Sol Lumberg, Elvin J. Davenport, John Miller, Irving S. Wolfe, Arthur L. Robbins, Anthony Nelson, Helen C. Bryant, Hon. Joseph C. Brown, Philip F. Greco, Jack N. Tucker, Erwin B. Ellmann, Hobart S. Taylor, Jr., Edward A. Simon, Don M. Harlan, Abner A. Tatkin, Patrick S. Nertney, Brooks S. Barron, Nedwin L. Smokler, Morris Lieberman, James Montante, Gerald K. O'Brien, Hon. John Kaminski, Irving I. Boigen, Philip H. Bornstein, Hon. Frederick Palliaer, Edward A. Simmons, Charles Kaufman, William Kaufman, Donald W. Loria, Max H. Horwood, George D. Kent, Sol J. Schwartz, Isadore A. Berger, Irving B. Ackerman, N. B. Shillman, Nathan J. Kaufman, Samuel Grandon, Milton R. Atlas, Harry Gonte.

The Mundt police state bill did not get that way by accident—it had a model. The model is Hitler's early 1933 decrees through which he gave his Nazi dictatorship legal standing. These decrees are paralleled in some of the minutest details by the Mundt bill and, if it is passed, its sponsors hope to force America to take more steps along the Hitler path.

A product of the House Un-American Committee, the Mundt bill (H. R. 5852) is now up before Congress. The Mundt bill decrees, without proof, that all Communists and Communist sympathizers are conspiring to establish a totalitarian dictatorship and should be subject to $10,000 fine and 10 years in jail. Its passage would place all progressive organizations and individuals under the control of the Attorney General.

A study by the Civil Rights Congress revealed the similarity between the bill and the Hitler decrees.

There is an example: The Mundt bill provides that if any of its provisions are violated, both naturalized and native born citizens can lose their citizenship. Now look at this law passed by the Nazis in 1933:

Law regarding the revocation of naturalization and the deprivation of German citizenship (Reichsgesetzblatt, I, 480, July 14, 1933):

Section I. Naturalization made in the period from November 9, 1918, to January 30, 1933, may be revoked if the naturalization is deemed undesirable.

Section II. Citizens of the Reich sojourning abroad may be declared to have forfeited the German citizenship if they have injured the German interests by conduct violating their duty to loyalty against the Reich and the people.

An ordinance to effectuate this measure was passed 2 weeks later (Reichsgesetzblatt, I, 538, July 26, 1933). It provided:

"Conduct violating the duty to loyalty against the Reich and people will be found particularly if a German assists in the hostile propaganda against Germany or if he has tried to insult the prestige or the measures of the national government."

Despite contrary claims, the Mundt bill is intended to outlaw the Communist Party. It gives that power to one man,

the Attorney General, without any limits on the exercise of that power. All he has to do is find that the organization is a Communist political organization under the vague standards of the bill, and at a subsequent criminal trial that finding will bind the jury and the court, according to this law. Americans will be imprisoned because one official of Government says so.

But this is not a bill for one group of persons only. It covers all decent, progressive Americans. Because the Attorney General will be empowered to do the same thing with respect to Communist-front organizations.

Now look at the Nazi pattern. On May 26, 1933 (Reichsgesetzblatt, I, 293), the following law was passed:

"Section I: 1. The supreme authorities of the State, or the authorities designated by them, may confiscate in favor of the State the property and rights of the Communist Party of Germany and its auxiliary and substitute organizations, as well as the property and rights used or destined for the advancement of Communist endeavors."

And just 6 weeks later, the Nazis passed another law (Reichsgesetzblatt, I, 479, July 14, 1933):

"The provisions of the law regarding the confiscation of Communist property of May 26, 1933 (RGBL, I, 293) are applicable to property and rights of the Social Democratic Party and its auxiliary and substitute organizations, as well as to property and rights used or destined for the advancement of Marxist or other endeavors found by the Reich Minister of the Interior to be hostile to the people and state."

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Look at the Mundt bill. It is all in there. The Nazis made no distinction between the Communists, Social Democrats, or any other progressives. The Reich Minister of the Interior (Hitler's attorney general) treated them all alike—because they were all common enemies of the Fascists, no matter how much they differed on issues of the day.

Take the employment of progressives in government. The bill would make it impossible for anybody but a reactionary civil-service employee to enforce such laws as social security, rent control, housing, and labor acts. Hitler did the same.

On April 7 1933, the following law was passed (Reichsgesetzblatt, I, 175, Apr. 7, 1933):

"SEC. 1. Civil servants who have been members of the Communist Party or Communist auxiliary and substitute organizations or who have otherwise been active along Communist lines, are to be discharged from civil service.

"2. Civil servants who will hereafter be active along Marxist (Communist or Social Democratic) lines are likewise to be discharged.

"SEC. 4–1. Civil servants who by their previous political conduct do not afford assurance that they will at all times identify themselves without reserve with the National State may be discharged from the service.

"SEC. 15. The provisions regarding civil servants are equally applicable to employees and workers."

These are not mere words. They are reality. Two years after his accession to power Hitler enacted the following law (Reichsgesetzblatt, I, 1146, September 15, 1935):

"SEC. II. A citizen of the Reich is only a citizen of German or kindred blood who proves by his conduct that he is willing and able to serve loyally the German people and the Reich."

"3. A citizen of the Reich is exclusively vested with full political rights in accordance with the laws."

The Mundt bill takes away the citizenship of naturalized and native-born citizens whenever the Attorney General deems them disloyal, but if such power is vested by this law, if such a precedent is set, then the next law will soon determine, as they did in Germany, that only persons of a certain race or a certain creed can remain citizens.

The Mundt bill virtually makes the courts the rubber stamp for every decree of the Attorney General. Is this any different from the practices of the Nazis? It is not. On June 28, 1935, the penal code of Germany was amended (Reichsgesetzblatt, I, 839, June 28, 1935) to read as follows:

"SEC. II. A person is punishable who commits an act which the law declares to be punishable, or which deserves punishment in accordance with the fundamental purpose of a penal law and sound popular feeling."

"SEC. 267a. If it appears at the trial that the accused has committed an act which deserves punishment according to sound popular feeling, but which is not declared punishable by law, then the judge must examine whether the fundamental purpose of a penal law covers the act and whether the analogous application of such pena law is required."

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THE MUNDT BILL MUST BE DEFEATED

SPEECH OF

HON. GEORGE G. SADOWSKI

of Michigan

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 14, 1948

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22-39

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Our Policy in Japan and Germany

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE G. SADOWSKI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 10, 1948

Mr. SADOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a speech which I delivered today over radio station WWJ in Detroit, Mich.:

I had previously spoken in opposition to our new policy of rebuilding, rearming, and recreating a mighty and powerful Germany. Today I want to bring to your attention our policy in the Pacific.

I am alarmed that the same American industrialists and financiers who worked hand in glove with the Germans before the war, and who made agreements with the Germans, which threatened the very success of our war effort, are resuming their German connections again. They are also trying to play the same game in Japan.

First of all, on the question of whether there will be war or peace, a very interesting statement was recently made by a French Minister. He stated that there is no danger of war with Russia unless western Germany is permitted to rearm. In such case not only Russia, but all the nations of eastern and central Europe would consider such rearmament a hostile act. There are many men in Government and big business and big finance who are today strongly urging a program to build up Germany as a strongly armed buffer to Russia. These people should understand that the nations of Europe who have suffered so much during the last two wars simply will not permit a powerful military Germany to rise again. An armed and powerful Germany cannot be trusted. The small nations of Europe are determined to prevent a third world war which would leave nothing worth having to the survivors. Not only are the European nations alarmed and suspicious about the moves we make in Germany, but we are now receiving protests from Australia and the Philippines against MacArthur's plan to rebuild Japan. The people in the Pacific area fear the resurrection of the Japan military. Just recently General Draper, formerly the vice president of the Dillon-Read Co., international bankers, and who is now assistant Secretary of Defense, made a trip to Japan. Upon his departure the Japanese Minister announced that they had a very successful conference with General Draper, and that Japan was to get $1,000,000,000 from the United States. Also, just recently, the War Department had given $650,000 to Mr. Clifford S. Strike and his Overseas Consultants, Inc., who now seek to bring out a report for the rebuilding of a powerful Japan and to discredit and nullify the work of Mr. Edwin W. Pauley. The basic principles of the Pauley report were accepted by the Allies who made up the Far Eastern Commission. They decided to eliminate the huge Japanese war potential, to smash the Zaibatsu monopolies, to demilitarize Japan and to decentralize the economy of Asia and Japan in such a way that her neighbors would be given a chance to make their own goods, and not to depend for their industrial equipment on the good will of the Japanese.

The Pauley report is the carefully prepared document of some of the most outstanding experts on the Far East. The basis of the allied program as outlined in the report was to whittle down Japan's capacity to wage war. It provided also for the allocation of certain surplus Japanese industrial potential to countries entitled to reparations, especially neighboring Asiatic countries, so as to shift the economic balance and contribute to the stability of eastern Asia as a whole. This policy also provided for the complete control of Japan, especially her economic and industrial life. It called for democracy in her politics and the encouragement of all democratic forces of labor, industry, and agriculture. In order to accomplish these aims, all of the 11 nations agreed that the Japanese economy should be basically reformed, and that the direction of the economic institutions be completely changed. They agreed on control of the Japanese industrial capacity which could be easily converted to war, and they called for control over the Japanese competitive potential and her future export markets. They also agreed that Japan's steel industries were to be substantially reduced to peacetime requirements, as well as her heavy electrical machinery, machine tools, chemicals, shipbuilding, etc. These decisions were unanimously adopted by the 11 members of the Far Eastern Commission on Japan. Every one of these nations was a victim of Japanese aggression. Each nation had an opportunity to discuss the plan, to analyze it, and to express its own views. All this was done, and the final product represents the combined opinion of 11 nations, including the United States; but it seems that Mr. Strike and his associates, who were paid $650,000 of the taxpayers' hard-earned money by the War Department, are out to flaunt these decisions and hope to scuttle the program.

We know very little about the Overseas Consultants, Inc. Nor do we know whether the War Department checked the prewar connections of Mr. Strike and his associates with Japanese heavy industry, or the tie-up that these big engineering firms had with the big business monopolies, who it appears are already investing again in Japanese industry. These latest actions for the rebuilding of Japan are naturally upsetting and frightening our neighbors and allies.

The lessons of Japan and Germany have been learned by millions the world over, and when these two countries surrendered, their victims in the Far East and in Europe were confident that the Allied Powers, particularly the United States, were determined to eliminate the possibility of future German and Japanese aggressions. Now it appears that our big banking interests and our big international businessmen are wringing their hands and shouting about the spread of communism, and under this guise, they are setting the wheels in motion to rebuild Japan as a gendarme in the Far East, and to recreate it as an industrial giant of Asia. At the same time they expect the Chinese, Australians, Indonesians, and Philippines to support this kind of a policy. It is the same program that they have recently put over in Europe whereby a powerful and mighty Germany is being rebuilt.

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They expect to have Germany remain the economic master of Europe, and at the same time they expect the allegiance and support of Germany's victims. These powerful banking and business leaders have already dumped $3,000,000,000 of the American taxpayers' money into Germany since VE-day. From the War Department and the ERP appropriations they expect to dump another $1,500,000,000 this year into Germany, and this is not the end.

Because of the bipartisan foreign policy program, these big banking and big business interests are now in the saddle, and they are confident that they will be able to raid the United States Treasury of many more billions of dollars. They tell us that we will have the friendship of the German and Japanese warlords, but what will that gain us if we lose the friendship of all our allies, and all those people who have always been our friends throughout the history of our country.

These strange policies that we are now pursuing are born out of the greed and selfishness of the big cartellists and monopolists who try to have our national interests conform with their special privileges. This program will not work, and it will not give peace. We cannot follow a policy of preserving and strengthening the war potentials of Germany and Japan. We cannot pursue a policy whereby Germany and Japan will continue their dominant rule in the political and economic life of their neighbors. To do so we are only repeating the very same things which occurred after World War I, and which laid the basis for the most terrible war in history; and worst of all, we are isolating ourselves from all our friends in Asia and Europe.

For example, how could we convince the Chinese that we are rebuilding a strong Japan in order to save the Chinese from Communism? The Chinese know full well that the real victory over communism will be won in the rice fields rather than on the battlefields. We cannot ignore the Chinese demands for agrarian reformation. In Korea we have never had a program that offered more than just opposition to communism. The past week, Kimm Kiusic, Korean elder statesman, a rightist, and considered to be Korea's most influential politician, denounced our policies and compared us to the dishonest Japanese who ruled the island for 40 years. He criticized the corruption that exists and charged that we are supporting the old reactionaries. The Koreans expected land reform. In Korea vast areas of land had been controlled for years by the Japanese or by Korean puppets of the Japanese. There was a clear chance to win the sympathies and everlasting gratitude of these people by complying with their demands. Still we postponed any action in this respect.

In Greece we hear that thousands are being executed in the civil war that is going on. We have dumped hundreds of millions of dollars in military supplies and armaments, but the Greek guerrillas seem to be increasing. When one Greek guerrilla is killed all of his brothers, cousins, and nephews join in the fight to avenge his death. There will be no peace in Greece until the reactionary government abdicates or unless we force it to give to the Greek people the economic reforms that they are demanding and are entitled to receive.

In Palestine we may witness one of the worst slaughters since the war. The five Arab states, Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and Transjordan, are preparing to defy the United Nations Charter and to invade the Holy Land.

Here again, the big oil interests have joined up with the feudal Arab chiefs, and with the support of Loy Henderson and James Forrestal, they were able to upset policies that were agreed on by the United States and the United Nations.

In Italy the De Gasperi forces have recently won a great election victory. Whether the victory will be temporary or lasting depends upon the sincerity of the Italian Government in carrying out the pledges made to the Italian people to bring about agrarian and industrial reforms. Here we have a great opportunity to support the democratic forces and to make a clean break with the old reactionaries and the Mussolini Fascists.

I think that the greatest error that we can commit is to fashion our foreign policy merely in terms of anticommunism. We will fail miserably if we do no more than that. It is folly to shout and rant at communism and to do nothing to eliminate the conditions on which communism thrives. Our foreign policy must be designed to espouse and promote liberal humanitarian programs for the masses of people of the world. It must strengthen the democratic forces in other nations and not entrench reactionary interests that thirst for power.

Most of the areas of the world are bleak and desolate when we see the conditions under which the people live. In many places the people still work under conditions of serfdom in dire poverty and disease. To many of these people even a revolution may seem a welcome relief. To men in such desperate conditions a revolution may have the appeal of a swift and cleansing purgative that sweeps before it all the rot and filth of the old tyranny that has oppressed the people. To many people in the world who have been living under such desperate conditions our talk and promises of vague and remote democratic ideals have no meaning. We can talk about the glories of democracy, but those people are thinking about rice or bread. If we want the hundreds of millions of people of the world to be on our side, we must show them the way with practical programs of social reconstruction. We must stand ready to support the liberals of any country who have programs of social reconstruction for their people. There are in many countries men who may not be in the government, but who have the inner strength and vitality to formulate programs for their own people. We should support a liberal program for mass education and rural and industrial reconstruction that would uplift their living standards. We should not support reactionary elements anywhere if we want to gain and retain the confidence of the people of the world.

For 25 years before the war we witnessed the sinister growth of huge propaganda machines which slowly but gradually crushed free expression in the press and on the radio, and eventually destroyed or completely muzzled all democratic leaders. In Japan, Russia, Italy, and Germany the huge propaganda machines controlled the press, radio, public platform, motion pictures, the theater—yes, even music, art, science, and the pulpit.

This was intended to make the parliamentary system incapable of independent action, and the plan succeeded. If free debate of government policies had not been crushed, it is wholly possible that Hitler would not have been able to plunge Germany into a war.

This is a lesson that everyone of us must learn and remember.

The beginning of such controls have recently popped out under Republican administration in Lansing and in the Congress in Washington. In Lansing they enacted the Callahan bill; in Washington the Republicans are sponsoring the Carl Mundt bill. These bills, which are aimed to control thought and speech, must be opposed. This Republican administration and the Committee on Un-American Activities and its big-business backers are treating with contempt the ruling of the United States Supreme Court, which held "if there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein."

And if the Supreme Court decision is not enough, then let us read from the Constitution of the United States:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of its grievances" (first amendment, U. S. Constitution).

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22-30

Geo. G. Kedowski.
M. C.

DETROIT, MICH.

REPORT OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES ON PROPOSED
LEGISLATION TO CONTROL SUBVERSIVE COMMUNIST
ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Investigation of
Un-American Activities in the
United States

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Eightieth Congress

April 10, 1948

Necessity for Legislation -

The need for congressional action to combat the subversive activities of the Communists and their followers in the United States cannot be questioned. On March 17 the President asked Congress to appropriate billions of dollars to build up American defenses against the potential threat of the world Communist conspiracy with headquarters in the Soviet Union. It has been clearly established that the Communist Party of the United States is not an American political party, but is actually a disciplined and organic part of the world Communist movement, which has sections in every nation in the world, all under the direction and control of the master conspirators in the Politburo in Moscow. To resist the spread of communism abroad and ignore it at home would be an utterly inconceivable pattern of procedure.

During the past 2 months the Subcommittee on Legislation heard testimony on this subject from some of the outstanding legal scholars and constitutional authorities in the United States. Almost all of them, including many who have long and distinguished records as defenders of civil rights, declared that legislation must be passed to meet the activities of Communists in the United States.

In years past the Communist Party of the United States was lightly brushed aside by some as an insignificant sect of crackpots. Today it is almost unanimously recognized to be a mass fifth column operating on behalf of the Soviet Union. We are confronted with a problem of far-reaching perplexity--one of which the framers of the Constitution could have had little conception--and one that we have never faced before in our history, in its present aggravated form. Acting alone, the Communist Party of the United States does not constitute a substantial threat to the Nation but, acting as it does as the American bridgehead of the Red Army, which has directly or indirectly crushed country after country under its iron heel, the Communist Party of the United States, without question, constitutes a clear and present danger to our national security, and it is the responsibility of the Congress to act now to defend the liberties which the Communists seek to destroy.

The Nature of the Problem -

In order to meet the problem of communism in the United States, it is necessary to analyze the nature and tactics of the Communists.

The Communist movement is, in fact, a world-wide revolutionary political movement, whose purpose is by treachery, deceit, infiltration, espionage, sabotage, terrorism, and any other means, legal or illegal, to establish a Communist totalitarian dictatorship in the United States, and all other countries of the world, which will be subservient to the master conspirators in Moscow.

Certain elements are necessary for the success of the party:

1. It must operate as a secret conspiratorial organization, and when the spotlight of publicity is turned on its actions it loses much of its effectiveness;

2. It must resort to any means, legal or illegal, to accomplish its purpose.

3. The party has found that in the United States it has greater success generally, operating through front organizations who disguise and hide the fact they are Communist dominated and controlled. These front organizations feed the treasury of the party through tax-exempt contributions from fellow travelers and innocent dupes who are led to believe they are serving some humanitarian cause, rather than the interest of the Communist Party.

4. Since the Communist Party of the United States is a part of the Soviet-dominated world organization, travel and communication between the Communist Party of the United States and affiliated parties throughout the world is essential to its success. Severing the threads that bind the world conspiracy together, and which enable it to coordinate its activities on an international scale, would constitute a serious blow to the Communist Party of the United States and to the entire Communist conspiracy.

5. Membership in the Communist Party of the United States should not be confused with membership in American political parties. The party leaders are knowing and willful conspirators to overthrow the Government of the United States by any means, in order to serve the interests of the international conspiracy and of the party dictatorship in Moscow. A great majority of the party members are knowing and willful participants in this conspiracy. Only a few may not be aware of the true subversive character of the party. Around the hard core of party leadership are concentric rings of individuals and organizations, including dupes and fellow-travelers, who knowingly and unknowingly do the party's work.

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The Status of Present Legislation -

Congress has passed several laws which were directed specifically at controlling the activities of the Communist Party of the United States. The Smith Act made it a crime to advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence. The McCormack Act required registration of agents of foreign principals. The Voorhis Act required registration of organizations which are agents of foreign governments.

Witness after witness before the subcommittee in its hearings declared that the provisions of all three of these acts clearly apply to the activities of Communist Party members and organizations, and that proof could be obtained to sustain criminal convictions under these acts. The Justice Department, however, has failed to enforce these acts against the Communist Party of the United States. The Communist Party has, in fact, enjoyed a privileged status, insofar as prosecution under these laws is concerned.

During the war, while the Soviet Union was an ally, some justification for this failure might have existed, but now, when the Soviet Union and its Communist satellites are waging a cold war against the United States and the other free nations of the world, such failure to proceed under existing laws against Communists in the United States is utterly inexcusable.

The effective prosecution of Communists under existing laws has fallen generally into two categories. First there are cases in which Communists have been cited for contempt by the Committee on Un-American Activities. Although a number of contempt citations have been voted over the past 10 years, a commentary upon the effectiveness of the Justice Department's prosecution of such cases is that just 1 month ago Leon Josephson was the first Communist who began to serve a jail term as a result of sentence and conviction on a contempt charge. The record of convictions in contempt proceedings has been excellent in recent months.

The Justice Department has also begun to proceed recently against alien Communists who perjured themselves in many cases as to their allegiance to the Communist cause when they entered the United States. It is significant that in some of these cases violations occurred over 15 years ago, yet only now has the Justice Department seen fit to prosecute.

Had the law-enforcement authorities vigorously enforced existing laws against Communists in the United States, the growth of the movement would undoubtedly have been stultified, so that it would not constitute the serious threat to our national security that it does at the present time. This apathy to, and coddling of, the Communists in the United States by the Department of Justice is in great measure responsible for the magnitude of the problem with which we are faced today.

The committee therefore recommends that the Justice Department immediately institute vigorous prosecution against Communists in every case where they have been guilty of violating existing laws. The Congress cannot be expected to pass legislation directed at controlling subversive influences if such laws are to become dead letters due to the failure of the Justice Department to prosecute. The committee wishes to point out that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has done an excellent job in investigating the activities of Communists in the United States, but investigation without prosecution is not an answer to the problem.

23-27a-20

Recommendations for New Legislation -

The Committee on Un-American Activities held public hearings last year on several bills which had been introduced to curb or outlaw the Communist Party. Commencing on February 5, this year, additional hearings were held by the Subcommittee on Legislation. Perhaps the most outstanding panel of legal talent ever to appear before a congressional committee testified concerning the bills before the subcommittee. The witnesses were in virtual agreement as to the necessity for new legislation. There was, of course, some disagreement as to the proper legislative approach to the problem. The subcommittee has carefully considered the testimony of the witnesses, having in mind the following factors:

1. We believe it is essential that any legislation we recommend be strictly within our constitutional framework. We do not want it to be so broad as to possibly penalize innocent people along with the guilty. We cannot run the risk of infringing upon the freedom of all our people in order to curb the Communists who seek to destroy our form of government.

2. We feel that it is essential that the legislation be effective. Too often a cursory study of this problem leads people to believe that the answer is very simple; that all we have to do is to outlaw the Communist Party, or pass a law requiring that its members register, and that the problem will solve itself. This is not the case. The Communist Party in its operations presents a problem which is something new under the sun. It changes its spots, its tactics, and strategy without conscience.

3. The subcommittee believes that a democracy has the right to protect its very life from those who would destroy it.

Consequently, your subcommittee makes the following unanimous recommendations to the full committee.

Rejected Proposals -

Several bills before the committee attempt to approach the problem by outlawing the Communist movement as a political party. The subcommittee has found it necessary to reject this approach on several grounds. Barring the Communist Party from the ballot by Federal law would, in the opinion of the subcommittee, be unconstitutional, in that the States have the power to declare what parties and individuals may qualify for appearance on the election ballots. This opinion was shared by a majority of the witnesses before the subcommittee.

The subcommittee also finds it advisable not to report the McDonough bill. The committee, however, believes that that portion of the McDonough bill which seeks to define communism presents a salutary recommendation, and the bill which the committee is recommending contains such a definition.

The Subcommittee Bill -

The bill which the subcommittee is reporting to the full committee attacks the Communist problem on four major fronts:

1. It expands the provisions of the Smith Act by making illegal the knowing and willful advocacy of the overthrow of the Government of the United States by any means, for the purpose of subverting the interest of the United States to that of a foreign Communist power. Under this provision the master conspirators of the Communist movement in the United States can, without question, be prosecuted. While force and violence is without question a basic principle to which all party members subscribe, the present line of the party, in order to evade existing legislation, is to avoid wherever possible the open advocacy of force and violence. Under the provision which the committee is recommending, it is not necessary to prove advocacy of force and violence. It will only be necessary to prove knowing and willful participation in the foreign-directed Communist conspiracy, plus advocacy of the overthrow of the Government of the United States by any means with intent to subvert the interest of the United States to that of a foreign Communist power.

Through this provision of the bill, the law enforcement agencies will have a new weapon with which they can strike at the hard core of master conspirators of the Communist movement.

2. A great majority of the witnesses before the committee emphasized the necessity for constant and relentless exposure of Communist-front organizations. If the cloak of secrecy is removed from the purposes and control of such organizations, they will, without question, wither and die, and the party will have suffered a substantial set-back. The committee has approved those provisions of the Mundt bill (H. R. 5852) which require the registration of Communist-front organizations. This bill places the responsibility for registration upon the officials of the organizations involved, which fulfills one of the recommendations which the Attorney General made concerning the Voorhis Act.

   The bill provides for administrative hearings in the Department of Justice in those cases where Communist Party front organizations refused to register voluntarily. During this hearing the organization will be given an opportunity to present witnesses in its own behalf, as well as being provided with other safeguards. Full judicial review of the findings of the Attorney General is provided. The subcommittee believes that this provision constitutes a landmark in that it provides for the establishment of proper legal procedures which will eventually replace the ex parte findings under the present loyalty order.

   Full publicity will be given to the findings of the Attorney General in such cases, and to the registration statements. Tax exemption will be denied to contributors to front organizations, and they will be required to identify their publications, radio broadcasts, and the like, as emanating from a front organization.

3. It is essential that all Communists be removed from the Government pay roll and the committee consequently has approved that provision of the Mundt bill which specifically denies Government jobs to persons who are members of the Communist Party. The bill also provides a penalty for Government officials who employ persons knowing or having reasonable ground to believe that they are members of the Communist Party.

4. The committee believes that an all-out attack must be made on the foreign connections of the Communist Party of the United States. Without assistance and direction from abroad, the Communist Party of the United States would be a relatively impotent organization. Consequently, the committee has approved that provision of the Mundt bill which denies passports to members of the Communist Party. Additional recommendations to strike at the foreign connections of the Communist Party of the United States are included in the next section of this report.

Additional Legislative Recommendations -

1. The subcommittee recommends that the Voorhis and McCormack Act be strengthened. In view of the clear and present danger of the Communist threat, it is essential that our law-enforcement agencies be provided with several alternative weapons with which they can attack the Communist conspiracy in its various forms.

2. The subcommittee recommends the immediate consideration, by the Judiciary Committee of the House, of proposals which would require all aliens to register annually with the Department of Justice, allow the Department of Justice to hold deportable aliens in custody until arrangements for their deportation can be concluded, and provide for strict reciprocity in the granting of visas and in the treatment of aliens from Communist-dominated countries. The latter recommendation was strongly urged on the subcommittee by Admiral Standley, our former Ambassador to the Soviet Union, and by Congressman Fletcher, of California.

3. Several witnesses before the subcommittee emphasized that the Committee on Un-American Activities was one of the most effective opponents of communism in the United States. The subcommittee recommends that the McDowell bill now in the Judiciary Committee, which would raise the penalty for contempt of Congress, be acted upon as soon as possible, so that the hand of the Committee on Un-American Activities may be strengthened in conducting its investigation of subversive activities.

4. Strengthening of the espionage laws, so as to cope with the new techniques and strategy of the international Communist movement.

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Other Recommendations -

1. The subcommittee suggest that the legislatures of the various States should seriously consider legislation which would specifically bar from State employment and employment in public schools all persons who are members of the Communist Party. A coordinated attack on the Communist problem by the States, as well as the Federal Government, is essential.

2. Legislation alone is not a complete answer to the Communist problem. An attack must be made upon it on all fronts, if we are to meet it successfully. The most important element is an understanding and constant vigilance of the American citizens as to the true character, aims, and techniques of the Communist conspiracy. The many civic, patriotic, and fraternal organizations in the United States can be of tremendous service in emphasizing a program of education which will inform the people of this threat. In the words of one of the outstanding witnesses before our committee:

> The people should be informed, accurately and fully and continuously, about the nature, activities, strategy, and tactics of communism. This educational task can be in part accomplished by qualified and concerned private citizens.

Conclusion -

The subcommittee has not attempted to recommend legislation which will deal with so-called theoretical Communists in the United States. We are seeking rather to strike a body blow at the American cadre of the Soviet-directed Communist conspiracy. We believe that if its criminal activities are prosecuted, its false fronts exposed, and its foreign assistance and direction cut away, the movement in the United States, standing alone for what it is, will be overwhelmingly defeated. We are willing to permit the theories of communism and democracy to clash in the open market place of political ideas in America, but we insist that communism not be allowed to have the unfair advantages in this conflict of the unrestricted use of illegal means, the cloak of secrecy and fraud, and the assistance and direction of a foreign Communist dictatorship.

Approved by the full committee April 9, 1948.

* * *

H. R. 5852 -- THE MUNDT BILL

DEFINITIONS:

...(2) the term "Communist Party" means the political party now known as the Communist Party of the United States of America, regardless of any change hereafter made in such name; and such term includes, irrespective of its name, any organization carrying out the policies of, or engaged in the same character of activities as, the Communist Party of the United States as it now exists and operates;

(3) the term "Communist-front organization" means--(A) the Communist Party; or (B) any organization which engages in any activity intended, or which it is reasonable to believe is intended, to further the objective of (i) bringing about replacement of the existing form of government of the United States with a Communist form of government of the United States with a Communist form of government, or (ii) bringing about replacement of free private enterprise in the United States with a Communist economic system, or (iii) bringing about acceptance, in the United States, of Communist ideology; or (C) any organization which is under the control or influence of the Communist Party....

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

What Is Our Foreign Policy—Why Are We Rebuilding Germany?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE G. SADOWSKI
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 23, 1948
(Printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of March 1, 1948)

Mr. SADOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following speech that I will make over radio station WWJ in Detroit, Mich., on Monday, March 1, as follows:

What is our foreign policy? Why are we rebuilding Germany? Why does everyone talk of war instead of peace? These are questions that are being asked most frequently by my constituents. People are deeply disturbed and rightly so, and I believe that every Congressman should speak up frankly and honestly. I do not like our foreign policy and I believe that it leads to war.

I voted against the Greek-Turkish loan and I shall vote against the Marshall plan.

I have repeatedly expressed my opposition to the rebuilding of a strong and militaristic Germany. I believe that money for European recovery should go first to those countries that suffered the most in this war at the hands of the Nazis. The present policy divides Europe into east and west blocs, giving the western bloc forty billions of our dollars, as against one and one-half billions for the countries of eastern and central Europe, which countries lost over 35,000,000 people killed, and suffered twice as much destruction to their cities and villages and to their factories and farms. Most people are amazed to hear this and ask, Who is responsible?

I blame it on the present bipartisan government, which is the result of the 1946 elections, wherein the people gave a Republican Congress to a Democratic President.

The Republicans brought in Herbert Hoover and John Foster Dulles as their leaders and spokesmen. Hoover and Dulles brought in Dillon, Read & Co., international bankers, and all of their cartellists and monopolist friends, and poor old General Marshall, who is a good and sincere man, is being shunted aside and the program is becoming a part of a plan to revive Germany as the great industrial center of a European military bloc, that will restore back into power the European monopolists, cartellists, royalists, and landed aristocracy. That's why the Republican Herter plan calls for the removal of the program from General Marshall and the State Department. It is to be administered by someone approved by this Republican Congress. General Marshall will be used until Congress appropriates the money so that the big boys can get their hands on it.

Never have the American people been so high-pressured by such a tremendous propaganda campaign as they are at this time to pour out their billions in tax dollars.

A scare psychology. This is "aid to stop communism." Anything to bribe us into this deal.

To make factories run, you must have energy. Europe's source of energy is coal. The two greatest suppliers of coal for Europe are the United States of America and Poland. The Ruhr should be No. 1 source of supply. But Ruhr coal is being hoarded for Germany, only about 5,000,000 tons of this coal was made available for other nations. Poland exported about 30,000,000 tons. Seventy-five percent of Polish export coal went to western European nations, such as Austria, eastern Germany, Italy, France, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, England, Czechoslovakia. Poland's request for $60,000,000 to modernize her coal-mining equipment has not been acted upon. Why? Are the proponents sincere in their desire to rebuild Europe, or are they just interested in rebuilding Germany?

Is it not their purpose to withhold recovery in Europe until Germany has complete industrial domination again and the big boys can make their billions?

Recently, Senator TAFT made a pitiful plea for the poor Nazis' standing trial at Nuremberg. On February 24, before the Economic Club at Detroit, he was sorry that Germany had to surrender unconditionally. He deplored reparations and any plan that might adversely affect German economy. He deplored the UNRRA aid that was given to our battered allies, and he was opposed to granting a Polish loan for coal-mining machinery. And Senator TAFT is not the only Republican weeping tears for poor Germany and the monopolists.

Not one kind word for the victims of German Nazi brutality! Not one kind thought to aid them in their struggle for reconstruction! Not even a thought for Europe's orphaned and destitute children!

After a hard struggle last year, we managed to squeeze out a bare $40,000,000 for the United Nation's Children's Relief Fund. Only $15,000,000 of this money has actually gone to the children's fund. Many private and charitable organizations are now seeking private donations to the extent of $60,000,000 to implement this meager and inadequate fund.

Yes, billions for Germany, billions for European politics, billions for militarism! For the poor, for the unfortunate, for the victims of Nazi aggression, not a kind word, not a dollar, just a stone-deaf ear!

In Palestine we see a continuation of this policy. Human beings, they mean nothing. Profits from oil—that's what counts. There we have a policy laid down by American and British oil monopolists. That 10,000,000 Jews were killed, tortured, placed in slave labor camps, and now that the remaining few would like to go to their homeland in Palestine, that all means nothing. Money, profits, bigger and better monopolies, and bigger and better cartel agreements, even if made with the devil, yes, that's what counts.

Well, isn't President Truman responsible for this foreign policy? No, my friends. It's the voters, who in 1946 gave to the Nation a bipartisan government. They gave to the international bankers, monopolists, cartellists and militarists a fertile field to work in.

Today, paid newspaper columnists and radio commentators are reeking with pro-German propaganda. In 1945 they would not have dared to do it, because the stench from the cremated bodies at Oswiecim, Treblinka, Buchenwald, Dachau, and Belsen, was still fresh in the nostrils of the people. Then many an American mother was weeping for her boy killed in Italy, France, Germany, and in the Pacific.

At that time these Germany-firsters had to lie low, but now they are all out in the open, white-washing the terrible crimes of the Germans, and are creating a political climate that is ripe for the betrayal of our loyal friends and allies.

We must remember that Germany remains a spawning ground for lust, for conquest. They are not sorry for their sins, they are only sorry that they lost the war, and they hate Hitler not because he waged this brutal war, but because he was not victorious.

These Germany-firsters are trying to keep Germany's war potential intact. They are trying to keep Ruhr coal in Germany so that her neighbors cannot restore their destroyed industry. They are trying to protect Nazi was criminals. Yes; they are planning on partnership and business arrangements and to participate in German industry and German profits.

Our policy toward Germany is important because what we do in Germany will ultimately determine whether Europe and the United States can go forward in peace, prosperity, and security. For centuries, Germany's neighbors have been slaughtered and butchered by German militarists. Now, even many Germans are demanding that the German warmongers, those wealthy German families like Krupp-Von Bohlen und Halbach, Mannesman, Stinnes, Klockner, all ,those who owned the heavy war industries, the Vereingte, Stahlwerke and the coal mines, be dispossessed of their holdings, and that these properties be nationalized. Why shouldn't they be permitted to do so? Perhaps there would be no money in it for the monopolists and cartellists, is the right answer.

As to our policy in the Pacific, we hear Senator KNOWLAND, the wealthy California Republican, shouting that the United States is promoting socialism in Japan, by breaking up the industrial and financial combines owned by a few rich "Zaibatsu" families in that country. Senator KNOWLAND and American big business interests would keep on top the Jap warmonger families who misruled and enslaved their people and who together with the militarists attacked China, Pearl Harbor, and the Philippines.

We must see to it that big business does not resume its prewar "international cartel" ties with the industrial and financial combines of Germany, Italy, Japan, and other nations. It was these foreign industrialists and financiers who, with the help of American international bankers and American corporations, put Hitler and Mussolini in power, used the Japanese Emperor as their puppet, militarized their nations, destroyed trade-unions and democracy, and plunged the world into a bloody war.

The desires and hopes of the people of Europe, Asia, and the United States are all the same. Liberty, freedom, democracy—better living conditions. They want neither to go left nor right. But they are squeezed and shoved from the middle of the road that they desire to follow.

Just recently we heard the Minister of Bulgaria propose an alliance of the 100,000,000 people that live in the Balkans and the eastern and central European states. Moscow squelched the idea immediately. Why? Because she was afraid that such an alliance might turn against her. Yet to these same nations and these same people we refuse to loan a dollar, and tell them to go to Russia for help. Why? Because Churchill and Hoover told us that they were behind an iron curtain and that they are satellites. Now just recently Churchill and Hoover have played their trump card. They propose to militarize and arm the western bloc. Will they succeed? I don't think so.

European economy requires cooperation between eastern and western European countries. Trade agreements have already been completed between most of the European countries. Nationalization or socialization of heavy industries, utilities, transportation, shall continue. The era of kings, queens, dukes, and princes has come to an end—even in Greece the German King will have to abdicate. The days of the landed aristocracy of Europe are over.

Must we have wars with countries because they go socialistic? I say "No." Can we do business with socialistic countries? I say "Yes."

Should we release the gold that we are holding that belongs to socialistic countries? I say "Yes."

Secretary of Commerce Harriman, banker and railroad magnate, says that no credits will be granted to Socialist countries. Well, I say that he is wrong. We cannot turn the clock back. After the First World War many crowns toppled, the Hohenzollerns, the Czars, the Hapsburgs, the Ottoman Empire. After this war more and greater changes have taken place.

We should insist that assistance be given first to our allies—those nations in eastern or western Europe who suffered the most and were devastated the most by the Fascists and the Nazis;

That relief be handled through established charitable organizations with no political strings attached;

That all credits and loans be used for economic reconstruction and peaceful purposes, and not for military armaments;

That we work to restore the UN to greater power, not to by-pass it; in fact, the whole recovery program should be worked out through the UN.

The hour is late, but the fight for peace and security can still be won. It remains for all of us to join hands as we did during the war years and demand that our Government get back on the right track.

Germany and Christianity

REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE G. SADOWSKI
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 23, 1948

(Printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of March 1, 1948)

Mr. SADOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, now when so many Members of Congress are being driven by fear and fear propagandists and are about to make decisions on foreign policy which may have an adverse effect upon our Nation and our relations with the nations of the world, it is good to see once in awhile a ray of sunshine break through these dark and disturbing clouds.

Yesterday I received a letter from E. M. Poe, GI student at the University of Michigan. He tells of a lecture delivered by Dr. Ferenac Kiss at the church auditorium. Dr. Kiss is head of the Free Church—Protestant—movement in Hungary, and was teaching anatomy at the University of Budapest. He was released by the Russians and is the only member of his faculty that was not shot by the Germans, or is not in jail. He has been in the United States for 3 months and is making a tour of this country and Canada under the auspices of the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship. He has so far given 100 lectures.

Dr. Kiss is not only a scientist, but he is also a great Christian leader. He is not one that believes that science or new knowledge should supersede Christianity or the teachings of Christ. Although he has written an anatomy text, atlases, and 40 or 50 scientific papers, he has not forsaken the greater teachings of religion.

Dr. Kiss stated:

The problem of Russia is only secondary. It is the European organism that is primary. We used to teach that germs cause diseases. Now we teach that if the organism is weak, it will be subject to attacks of various kinds. The real cause of Europe's present plight is the lack of positive Christianity and social reform, which alone could have prevented World War II.

Russia broke from Christianity, but we must remember that the aristocracy of Europe and their close imitators, the middle classes, also decided that—

Religion was only an opiate for the masses. The top class must set an example for the masses. They have the power, the government, and the lives of the people are in their hands. Along with this power there is a great responsibility. A moral one. If the rulers become corrupt they are like a sore on an arm. Some day the whole skin underneath will slough off that dead, corrupt, and useless old tissue. While still alive and performing its function as skin and protecting flesh beneath, it will continue to be fed by the body. When it forgets its duties it dies and will be pushed off.

Germany became the leading scientific country and decided that science was greater than God. They pushed God out and substituted lectures on science for sermons on morality. They taught nothing but science in school and put all faith in armies and the military.

After World War I some tried to urge Germany back to God but the learned professors only laughed and said, "The real trouble was not lack of God, but that they had started the war too soon before science was sufficiently well developed."

So they redoubled their scientific efforts and they knew far more than the United States about a lot of things. So they tried again. Again it was the Christian countries than won the war. Then these non-Christian German scientists were called before the courts at Nuremberg. At the trials they said, "We are not responsible. We had to obey Hitler's orders. It was all his fault."

We said, "You are of the intelligent class. You are the mean of learning, of science. You are the leaders." Yes; they were men of pure science who had forgotten God, and they could not succeed.

We need science and we should learn all we can, but we must remember that we are responsible for our inventions and machines, to see that they work for the good of the people and that science does not desert the teachings of God.

In England the Government leaders admit that it was not their armies that held the Empire intact. It was their preachers, hymns, and Christian literature that gave courage to the people and held them together. Likewise in Poland, when all hope was gone, it was the faith and belief in God that held them together. Today the churches are filled and Christianity is stronger than ever in Poland. Without bulldozers, mammoth tractors and trucks, thousands of people are picking up rubble, brick by brick, stone by stone, with their bare hands and loading them on wheelbarrows and horse carts. Every visitor and correspondent who visits Warsaw and other Polish cities is amazed at the Polish people when they witness their desire to live and excavate themselves from the ruins. Poland is a great Christian nation. It is not a nation of science and scientists. But the people possess a far greater asset. It is hope and faith in God. Yes, Germany had great scientists. But no man must set himself on a plane higher than God.

A true Christian is not a fearful man. Today in Congress I believe we are being driven by fear and told to believe in the protection of science and the military. This road will not lead us to peace, friendship, and security. We must not allow German scientists or atheistic leadership to sway us.

We have recently appropriated substantial sums for the Voice of America. How much time is being devoted to bring a Christian message from us to the people of Europe? Dr. Kiss, as a scientist and a Christian leader, has a real message to deliver to the people of Europe—yes; the people that he knows so well and the conditions under which they have lived for centuries. Why not invite Dr. Kiss and other religious leaders like Monsignor Sheen to deliver a Christian message to the people of Europe? Of course, this would mean that our foreign policy would have to be changed in accordance with the Christian message that these men would send. It would mean giving help, aid, and assistance on a Christian basis.

We must send a spiritual message to Europe before we send our dollars. Otherwise, our dollars will do no good. In the Middle Ages the body of Europe died and remained dead until the Renaissance came and picked up the people's spirit. This we did not get after World War I, nor have we so far developed anything after World War II. The people are in a vacuum. They are lost in the jungle. Go to the left or go to the right. No other choice. They want to take a Christian Democratic road that goes down the middle. Perhaps our great Christian teachers will provide the leadership. I have hope, I have faith, that neither the right nor left shall prevail, because both roads lead to destruction. The world does not want leadership from militarists, monopolists, royalists, or dictators.

Real Christian leadership has a golden opportunity, and it must be kind, charitable, understanding, and not permit itself to be used by any powerful group or interests.

European-recovery money should not be wasted on arms and armaments. It should go for reconstruction, education, food, medicines, to restore farms and factories and—yes—even a few dollars to restore churches and religious institutions.

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WHAT IS OUR FOREIGN POLICY—WHY ARE WE REBUILDING GERMANY

GERMANY AND CHRISTIANITY

REMARKS OF

HON. GEORGE G. SADOWSKI
of Michigan

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

February 23, 1948

(Printed in Congressional Record of March 1, 1948)

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Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 80th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

How ERP Helps the German War Makers

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE G. SADOWSKI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 25, 1948

Mr. SADOWSKI. Mr. Chairman, I hope it has not become a sin for a Democrat to criticize monopolists, cartelists, and international bankers. If it is, then some of us Democrats are in the wrong party, and I am sure that this Democrat, the Congressman from the First District of Michigan, is not one of them.

HOW ERP HELPS THE GERMAN WAR MAKERS

The best of America went into the fight against Hitler's Germany. Young Americans died all the way from the Normandy beaches to the Elbe River so that Hitler's bloody rule could be broken. All of America's vast industrial power was harnessed in the fight.

The fight was won. And now the victory is being thrown away.

Before our eyes, Germany is being rebuilt. It is being rebuilt for the same despicable pack of militarists, cartelists, and Junkers who made Hitler's war machine and who still remain in Germany. The process has been going on for more than 2 years. At first it was done in secret. Now with the ERP the rebuilding of Germany has come out into the open.

A reconstructed, cartel-ridden Germany is the very heart of ERP. Without Germany you would have no ERP. The matter was never stated more bluntly than by one of the men who drafted the Marshall plan, the former Under Secretary of State, Dean Acheson. On June 25, 1947, Acheson said:

> Putting in working order the German production is considered by the American Government as the cornerstone of the plan which the European countries will be able to elaborate within the framework of the Marshall plan.

So the record shows that ERP is the capstone in the building of a new Germany which in every important respect is like the Germany which twice in our lifetime set loose untold destruction upon the world.

A CLEAN BILL OF HEALTH FOR CARTELS

During the war no one dared say a good word for the German cartels. The facts were too painfully clear. The cartels were the huge monopolies which strangled democratic life in Germany and turned a whole nation into a war machine. Hitler himself and the vicious thugs around him owed their jobs to the support of the cartelists.

Today the German cartels have been given a clean bill of health by our own Office of Military Government under Gen. Lucius D. Clay. It took a year and a half of military occupation before a law ordering the dissolution of the cartels was passed in February 1947. Now the law is set aside. All cartels, except those producing consumer goods, are to be let alone.

The branch of military government which was supposed to break up the cartels has been cut in strength from 150 people to about 25. A plan was ready for the breaking up of the Henschel Co. Henschel had a monopoly on railroad locomotives. They also produced tiger tanks and other weapons of war. Now by the new order, Henschel is to be let alone.

The man who is supposed to carry out this order which treats cartels so tenderly is named Richardson Bronson. The facts came out when he told his staff about the order and they could not stomach it.

Over Bronson is Phillips Hawkins. Hawkins is the son-in-law of Brig. Gen. William H. Draper, Under Secretary of the Army, about whom I spoke last July, and I shall have more to say later. The order which saved the cartels originated somewhere between Clay, Hawkins, and Bronson.

All these facts were broadcast to the world by Delbert Clark, reporter for the New York Times. I regret to say that no congressional investigating committee saw fit to delve into these facts. It seems to me such an investigation should precede any serious attempt to render proper and effective aid to meet the needs of the peoples of Europe.

However, if a newspaperman whose statements have not been denied in any way is not sufficient witness, I have further evidence to offer. I have received, and I submit for the record, a memorandum signed by 19 courageous men and women. These 19 were members of the staff of the decartelization branch of military government. They felt so strongly about the outrage committed against the good job they were trying to do that they jointly signed a memorandum to General Clay setting forth the

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facts in the situation. It is interesting to note that the orders Bronson gave to his staff, saying they came from General Clay, were entirely oral. Apparently no one had nerve enough to put such orders in writing.

OFFICE OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT
FOR GERMANY, UNITED STATES,
Berlin, Germany, APO 742,
March 13, 1948.

Subject: Decartelization policy.

To: The military governor, office of military government for Germany, United States, APO 742, United States Army.

1. On March 11, 1948, Mr. Bronson called a meeting of all the members of the Decartelization Branch and read excerpts from a memorandum which he said you had approved and had been approved in principle by the State Department. This memorandum announced a new policy for decartelization. In the opinion of the members of the staff it virtually repeals the decartelization law and contravenes the July 15, 1947, directive. We asked Mr. Bronson to furnish us copies of this memorandum and he refused. Therefore, many members of the staff prepared memoranda and we herewith respectfully submit a composite version for whatever clarification you might consider necessary.

2. Mr. Bronson stated that your orders were as follows:

(a) No deconcentration action is to be taken against enterprises in the capital goods or heavy industry field but only against enterprises having monopolies in consumer goods.

(b) No action is to be taken against vertical integrations.

(c) The only standard to guide our future proceedings is a rule of reason.

(d) No action is to be taken against Henschel, although the Bipartite Decartelization Commission had found it to be an excessive concentration within the terms of law No. 56, and no action is to be taken against VKF.

(e) Enterprises against which no action is contemplated are to be officially given a clean bill of health soon.

(f) Violations against trade practices provisions of law No. 56 are to be pursued and eight such cases against now unknown companies are to be submitted by May 2, 1948.

3. It appeared to be the unanimous opinion of the staff of the decartelization branch, or at least no contrary opinions were expressed, that the order given by Mr. Bonson excludes from decartelization action the principal group of monopolistic enterprises which the law says must be eliminated. We do not believe that such amendatory restrictions should be made except by either repeal or drastic revision of the law itself. The law does not draw any distinction between capital goods industries and consumer goods industries. On the other hand, it is our view that monopolies in the capital goods industries are far more frequent and more repugnant to the purposes of the law than are concentrations in consumer goods industries. The effect of such an amendment, we believe, would be to leave the fundamental concentrations of economic power intact while engaging in little more than harassing attacks on the smaller companies. This, of course, aside from being in contravention of the law would tend to make its enforcement unpopular and completely ineffectual.

4. We also think there are very serious objections to giving immunity to "vertical integration" since the law makes no such exceptions; we believe that to give a "clean bill of health" to subjects of investigation is contrary to all established principles of law and law enforcement; and we think that being guides by a "rule of reason" rather than standards in the law offers many obvious dangers.

5. Since it is inevitable that such a new policy, given only by verbal instructions, has produced a state of demorialization throughout the staff we respectfully request that you give us a clarification.

6. It is of importance to add that no solicitation was made in behalf of this memorandum. The following members of the staff are among those who voluntarily asked to join in this expression.

Johnston Avery, Francis W. Laurent, John J. Barron, Charles Rotstein, R. R. Rathbun, David Denson, Charles C. Baldwin, Alexander Sacks, Fred Levy, Irene Ball, George J. Stanger, Samuel L. Kobre, Henry Heymann, Charles A. Dilley, Virginia M. Marino, Kathryn R. Beaty, Clifford A. Russell, Harry Gabermann, Leslie Grant.

Copies to: Hawkins, Bronson.

It is hard to realize that the men who are saving the German cartels once took orders from the wartime Commander in Chief, and the greatest American of our times, Franklin D. Roosevelt. To rescue the firm of Henschel which made Tiger tanks is an insult to the memory of Roosevelt. On September 6, 1944, the late President wrote to Cordell Hull, saying that action against monopolies was part of the best and strongest tradition of American life. He said:

> Unfortunately a number of foreign countries, particularly in continental Europe, do not possess such a tradition against cartels. On the contrary, cartels have received encouragement from some of these governments. Especially is this true with respect to Germany. * * * The history of the use of the I. G. Farben trust by the Nazis reads like a detective story. Defeat of the Nazi armies will have to be followed by eradication of these weapons of economic warfare.

So a great man's words go unheeded.

Let no one say that we have only just recently begun to go easy on the German monopolies. All this has not happened recently as part of the break-down of relations with the Russians. From the very beginning there has been opposition, in high places in our military government in Germany; to anything which would hurt Germany monopoly.

To take only one example from many: We have never touched the strangling grip of six big banks on German life. The six big banks, known as the "great banks," had great control over all industry in Germany. They grabbed off a lion's share of the loot of conquered countries. They had a key part in the operation plunder which so ruined Europe that it is necessary today to talk about European-aid programs.

And what did we do about the Big Six banks? After great effort, military government managed to get out reports of investigations of two of the six, the Dresdner and the Deutsche banks. None of the directors of those banks has been punished for war crimes, though we have had many of them in our hands and used them as advisers.

SAME CARTELS, SAME LEADERS

We are saving the cartel system in Germany. What is worse we are saving the men who built the cartels and made them work. Again, this is not something recent. If the orders of Roosevelt had been carried out, none of the industrialists who committed war crimes would be

left in positions of trust in western Germany today. Yet in fact they are as firmly intrenched as ever.

Here are some of the cartelists who made the Nazi war machine run and who are back at the old stand today, ready for business:

Alfred Hugenberg. Hugenberg was a heavy contributor to the Nazi Party war chest. He was a member of the first Hitler cabinet. Since the defeat of Germany he has been very active in the German steel cartel.

Ernst Poensgen. He was chief spokesman for German heavy industry for more than 30 years. In 1943 he was retired on Hitler's orders so that he could be used in case of defeat. He is now the head of United Steel Works, the huge German steel trust.

Heinrich Dinkelbach. He was a notorious Nazi and a director of the steel trust. He is again a leader of the steel industry in Duesseldorf and he used his new authority to obtain the freedom of 27 steel officials who had been arrested because they were important Nazis.

For the record some of the others are:

Robert Pferdmenges. A leading Nazi. Once the richest man in Germany. Now member of the economic council for Bizonia, the combined British and United States zones.

Herman Abs. Head of the Deutsche Bank, one of the big six. Leader in the loot of Europe. Since the war's end, adviser to British officials in Germany.

Wilhelm Zangen. Leader of the Mannesmann combine. Active Nazi. Now trying to revive the international tube cartel in Europe.

Wolf Witzleben. High official in the Siemens electrical trust. High in Nazi circles. Was found guilty of war crimes by a German denazification court, but has been returned to work by Allied authorities to coordinate Siemens operations.

Others with equally bad records, still in positions of great responsibility are—Johan Benkert, Bruno Pohlmann, Harald Rasch, Helmuth Vits, Reinhold Maier, Wilhelm Simfendorrfer, Joseph Baumgartner, Hans von Schlange-Schoeningen, Gustav Kilper, Joseph Beyerle, Walter Widmann, Anton Pfeiffer, President Lahr, Wilhelm Schlieker, Paul Maulick, Friedrich Wesemann, and Herman Kellermann.

It might be said that most of the men I have listed were in the British zone. That is natural enough. The bulk of heavy industry in the west of Germany was in the British zone. But it was our military government which appointed Reinhold Maier head of the state of Wurtemberg-Baden. Maier was a member of the German Parliament in 1933 and voted to give Hitler full powers. He said at the time, "We feel ourselves as one with the views expressed by Hitler here today."

We appointed a man named Joseph Baumgartner as minister of agriculture in Bavaria. He said in a secret meeting: "Today only third- and fourth-rate Americans are here in Germany. It can be observed everywhere that the majority of important Americans here consist of Freemasons and Jews."

Hitler may be dead, but his voice echoes through the hills of Bavaria.

And what of Hitler's generals, the Junkers themselves? A handful have been tried for atrocious crimes. Most of the rest go free and unwatched.

Between the two world wars, the German general staff kept itself alive. It never stopped planning for the new campaign which came in 1939. This time we said we would put an end to their schemes.

I am not one who can easily forget those German people who went along with Hitler on his mad crimes against the world. Yet we cannot turn the blows of punishment mainly against the common people of Germany. The ordinary German can very well say to us today: You came here talking of democracy. You leave us in the hands of the same Ruhr magnates and militarists who led us to dictatorship and ruin. Why don't you give us the democracy you talk about?

EVEN THE NAZIS ARE NOT CLEANED OUT

Through denazification the Nazi party members were to be cleaned out of all important jobs in Germany. The actual story of denazification is one of miserable failure. It is important to note that the place where the greatest opposition to kicking out the Nazis developed was in the Economics Division of Military Government where General Draper's men claimed they needed Nazis to get the wheels of industry rolling again.

Within less than a year after the end of the war, the Office of Military Government confessed to failure. It threw the whole problem of denazification into the hands of the German authorities which had been set up.

Toward the end of last year, military government issued a report on the progress made in cleaning up the Nazi party. Fully three-quarters of all those who were chargeable as Nazis had been amnestied. Less than 3 percent were found guilty of anything worse than thinking bad thoughts. The rest were turned loose.

Much more serious is the failure of the trials against cartellists who committed war crimes. One of the chief designers of Hitler's plan for world conquest, Hjalmar Schacht, was turned loose at Nuremberg. Flick, the steel baron who had a direct hand in atrocities, was given only 4½ years; two of his associates got lighter sentences and three others went scot-free. The trial of the infamous I. G. Farben and its directors is dragging and there are doubts now if punishment will be ever be meted out to the greatest of all the war criminals.

GERMANY AS THE CORNERSTONE OF ERP

Germany as a warmaker is still not cleaned up after two and a half years of occupation. Yet this is the Germany which Dean Acheson called the cornerstone of the plan. Secretary of State Marshall himself said on November 18, 1947:

> Without a revival of German production there can be no revival of Europe's economy.

Why are some Americans so sure that the rest of western Europe wants and needs a rebuilt Germany? Why do not we let them speak for themselves on this question?

Western Europe is anxious for aid. Like all Europe which was crushed under

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the heel of war, it needs aid. The 16 western European countries seem so anxious for our aid that they will accept German domination as the price for receiving it. But I have scanned the records and I have yet tc find a responsible leader in the 16 nations saying that revival of Germany is indispensable.

The truth is that the help they wanted from Germany was in the form of reparations. We said we would give them reparations, in the form of whole factories and equipment. Yet almost nothing was ever taken out of Germany. We talked about dismantling 1,500 plants. Then we cut the figure to around 600. But neither figure means anything because we actually took machinery from only a handful of plants.

When we did dismantle plants, we helped build German monopolies. As for instance when we took equipment for reparations from the independent Kugelfisher ball-bearing works. This left VKF ball-bearing trust without competition. Is it an accident that VKF is linked to SKF in this country?

As the plans for ERP now stand, it is estimated that Germany will receive 28 percent of all aid to Europe. With this share of the program going to the unreformed warmakers, there can be only one result: Germany again will dominate its neighbors.

The Wherry amendment, supported by VANDENBERG, best illustrates the true intentions of ERP; when it will send gift packages postage-free from New York to Germany, but your neighbor who has destitute relatives in Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Ukraine, and the other countries in eastern and central Europe still has to pay 14 cents a pound postage. So, it has come to pass that the Germans are a preferred class over our own allies.

Before the war there was a European cartel for every major commodity. In almost every case the Germans ran the cartel. Through ERP this situation would be restored.

In some ways, the plans which have been made for ERP indicate Germany will lord it over her neighbors even more completely than before the war. When the 16 nations met in Paris to consider the Marshall plan, they were given figures prepared by our military government. One of the tables showed that it was planned to export 5,500,000 tons of coke from Germany in 1951. Now in 1929, 10,000,000 tons of coke were exported from Germany. In 1938, when the Nazis were feverishly preparing for the war, they still exported 6,000,000 tons. Yet we propose to leave the Ruhr magnates with all but 5,500,000 tons of their coke. This is done in the face of the fact that the greatest need in western Europe is for coal and coke.

The picture which emerges out of all this talk about ERP is a European economic system like that which existed before the war. That was a cartel system with Germany at the center, pulling the strings. Out of that system came World War II. There is the danger that the same system will produce world war III.

WHY ARE WE REBUILDING GERMANY THROUGH ERP?

We owe it to the people of the United States to look closely at the records of some of the men who have been making our policies toward Germany. I believe the record will show that many of them have had close dealings with German interests over a long period of years. The habits of years are hard to shake off.

I have mentioned Gen. William Draper. He headed the Economics Division of MG under General Clay and is now the Under Secretary of the Army. He was formerly with the investment banking firm of Dillon, Read. Our Secretary of Defense, James Forrestal, is the former president of Dillon, Read. Dillon, Read was one of the firms which made the loans to German industry which helped them rebuild after the First World War. Is it mere chance that Draper's policies in Germany encouraged rebuilding the cartels after World War II?

One of the strongest cases for giving Germany back to the German cartelists was made by Louis Brown. He is of the firm of Johns-Manville, which has been linked in official Government reports to the house of Morgan.

John Foster Dulles has taken an active hand in making American foreign policy. He is considered a close adviser of Mr. Dewey and Mr. Hoover. Dulles has had close dealings—never denied—with the London banking firm of J. Henry Schroder. The London Schroders have been intimately linked with the Schroders of Germany. Baron Kurt von Schroder, of Cologne, was called the SS banker. It has also been charged—and never denied—that Dulles worked with American branches of the notorious I. G. Farben.

The exact amount of connection between certain American and German firms has never been revealed. The Kilgore committee revealed that American firms had controlling interests worth $420,000,000 in 278 German corporations. With minority interests, the American business stake in Germany probably was more than a billion. And this leaves out the question of cartel connections.

I do not say that laws were violated when American businessmen entered into dealings with the German cartels. I do say it is not good sense or sound policy to entrust our relations with Germany to those men.

President Roosevelt left a clear message for us and the world. He said: "Break up the German cartels. Clean out the Nazis. Punish the war criminals. Rebuild a peaceful and democratic Germany."

RUSSIA ALSO GUILTY

The United States and Britain are not alone guilty of this courtship of Germany. Even before the war, Russia was aiding and assisting Germany. Russia preferred the Nazis to the western democracies and was willing to share the prey with the Nazis. And since the war Russia and the United States are both currying Germany's favor. Each is trying to make Germany its agent and to make her an opponent of the other partner. It truly would appear that Germany has divided the Allies into four zones.

Instead of the Big Four being strong enough to decide the fate of Germany, it is the Germans who in the long run will decide the fate of the Allies. It is sickening to see the victors themselves paving the way for the victory of their own defeated enemy.

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FRANCE IS OUR REAL FRIEND

If we want a bastion in Europe, if we want to build up a powerful nation to keep the peace, a nation that we can depend upon, a nation that has been our friend throughout the centuries, then I say it is France and the French people and not Germany and the Germans. France has been our friend and ally in every struggle throughout the history of our Nation, whereas we received German hatred and opposition from the time of the Revoluationary War when paid Hessian-German legions came to fight on the side of the British Tories.

In 1926 France was a greater power than Germany, but American and British bankers, monopolists, and cartellists poured their millions into Germany and re-created the Frankenstein which set out to destroy us. At this time the same thing is happening—again the big bankers and monopolists are pouring billions of dollars of our taxpayers' money into Germany. If we were rebuilding a strong and powerful France, the people of America would have no fear, neither would the people of Europe, because France is inherently honest, decent, and democratic. The French people have enjoyed liberty, and freedom, and cherish it just as we do. This is not true of the Germans. Germany will take everything we have at this time, and when they have bled us white they will betray us to the Russians, or to some other power for a return of their expansion and "drang nach osten" program.

DO BUSINESS ON A BUSINESS BASIS

After we passed the $3,750,000,000 British loan, most Members of Congress felt like I did—that this was the end of the free gift money program for Europe; that all future loans and credits would be made on a business basis and go through the International Bank or the Export-Import Bank; and that we would resume peaceful international trade and commerce with all nations on the basis of equity and fairness. But instead, we are placing restrictions and embargoes against half of the nations of Europe, and at the same time we continue to throw away billions of our taxpayers' dollars in order to carry on the psycopathic program that our Wall Street bankers and militarists have pushed us into. For my part I am all through with this business; I do not fear the terrific propaganda that has been unleashed by the press and radio commentators. The truth will out, and the people of America will rise in their wrath and put through such a political house cleaning as we have never witnessed before. I predict that one of the two great parties, now engaged in this bipartisan program of bankrupting the American people, will go to political oblivion after the election of 1948.

REBUILD OUR OWN ECONOMY

It must have been a severe shock to the boys who want war and militarism to learn that this past week Turkey rejected our offer to send her $100,000,000 worth of military supplies and instead requested aid to build up her internal economy. This, of course, is the best way to stop communism. That, by the way, is what we should do for ourselves. We have a shortage of school teachers, because salaries are too low. Thousands of Veterans' Administration employees to be laid off because of insufficient appropriations, school-lunch program curtailed, no money for old-age pensions for our own citizens. Factory workers, Government employees, white-collared workers generally have already cashed in their savings in war bonds because of inflation and the high cost of living. Small merchants and businessmen complaining that business is bad and getting worse because of lack of purchasing power among the people. Yet no attention is paid to these conditions in our domestic economy. Federal appropriations are being cut for projects and programs that would build up our own people and our own domestic economy, yet when it comes to dumping billions of our tax dollars in Europe and Asia, do not say a word, because you will be called a Communist.

Last week it took the House Foreign Affairs Committee only 30 minutes to approve the additional sum of $570,000,000 for China when that committee studied this proposal. It will take years for the American taxpayers to foot the bill for this additional gift. During this same 30-minute period, the committee also approved $275,000,000 more in military aid to Greece and Turkey. This in addition to the $5,300,000,000 for ERP.

Then let us take a look at the shocking contrast when it comes to appropriations of money to take care of our own people here in the United States who are in dire need of assistance. Our war widows and dependent children, for instance.

At the present time, a war widow without a child receives a Government pension of $60 monthly; with one child, $75.60; and with two children, $93.60—$1 a day per person to pay for rent, food, light and gas, medical care, life insurance, clothing, and other necessities.

And yet Congress has failed to take action on proposed legislation to increase the amount to as much as $1.50 a day per person. They say we cannot afford it.

TAXPAYERS BEING BLED TO PAY OFF BANKERS

Look in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for Monday, March 8, page A1489, showing some of the debt claims filed with the Alien Property Custodian by J. P. Morgan & Co., Guarantee Trust of New York, Lee Higginson & Co., Claus Light, Bank of America, Manufacturers Trust Co., National City Bank of New York, National Shawmut Bank of Boston, New York Trust Co., Silesian-American Corp., and others, and then you will understand where this great pressure to put over the Marshall plan is coming from. Then you will see that all these billions are not just to bail out some poor Europeans and Chinese. A big portion of it will go to bail out international bankers and international speculators, and will be squandered by further building up monopoly and cartels. I am not going to bleed the American taxpayer, and cause greater shortages and greater inflation and wreck our economy at home in order to fatten international bankers, monopolists, and cartelists.

Here in the United States we have a shortage of steel. We need scrap iron

to mix with the raw ore in order to make steel. We do not have the scrap iron. Our mission to western Germany has reported huge tonnages of surplus scrap iron and steel over there, something around 10,000,000 tons of surplus scrap iron is available. But these powerful German industrial war lords are sitting tight on this heap and will not permit its export to the United States. It will be interesting to find out just who are the powerful and influential friends who are aiding these German moguls. We have sent billions of dollars worth of food, material, and manufactured goods to Germany, but we cannot even get scrap iron in return.

I shall repeat again and again that our foreign policy must be changed so that we give aid and assistance first and foremost to those of our allies who were the most devastated by war. Justice demands it. To gain the confidence and respect of the people of the world we must do it.

MARSHALL PLAN IS NOW VANDENBERG PLAN

When Secretary Marshall announced his plan at Harvard, it was announced as a plan to unite and rebuild all of Europe, east and west. Today Marshall is out of the picture. It is now the Vandenberg ECA—Economic Cooperation Act—and with the Knowland amendment, to which VANDENBERG agreed; it places an embargo against the countries of eastern and central Europe. Now is this the road to peace? You cannot have peace without trade. You cannot have peace in a divided Europe. Since the war, 71 trade agreements have been signed between all the countries of Europe, east and west. Now Senator VANDENBERG's ECA calls for an American embargo against the eastern and central European nations. We can now understand why they did not want the Marshall plan to go through the United Nations. Russia's policy was to keep the nations of eastern and central Europe dependent upon her. Now this ECA is following the same destructive line with the approval of the Senate. Will this work for world unity and give independence to the smaller nations?

I realize that any program must be political, but it is the wrong kind of politics that only breeds further misunderstanding, distrust, hate, and disunity. That is why I shall insist that loans be made through the International Bank in which we have 70 percent of the stock, but the other nations are members. If a nation defaults on its obligations it will lose standing and credit in the whole family of nations. It cannot just say "Oh, rich old Uncle Sam, he did not suffer during the war and he does not need the money." Also, I insist that we tie our every action around the United Nations Organization so it does not perish as did the League of Nations after the First World War. The UN is the only hope for peace in the world. We will have another war if Russia and the United States continue to play power politics and create world blocs. The United Nations should not be used merely as a spare tire. The UN should not be kicked around by the powerful nations and only used when they want to gain a selfish advantage.

We must remember that the British Labor Government had valiantly fought for nationalization of the German mines and the heavy industry in the Ruhr. The German people themselves demanded nationalization and insisted that the German war baron families like Krupps Von Bohlen und Holbach, Mannesman, Stinnes, Abs, Dinkelbach, and others, be divested of their power over the lives of the German people and the nation. But we insisted that these German war moguls retain private ownership over this vast war potential. But the Marshall plan was dangled before the British and they capitulated.

Certainly it is not the desire of the American people, German people, and especially those people of Europe, who suffered so much from these desperadoes, that they retain their power and might.

We must remember that in the eyes of the Europeans, how we handle the Ruhr and the German war potential is the test of our intentions.

PROFITEERING BROKE THE PEOPLE

One person recently wrote me:

We fought the War of 1776 to free ourselves from British taxation, and we have been taxing the American people ever since to support the British.

Yes, and he says "How about a Marshall plan for our own people?" Last year the big boys squeezed out seventeen billions in profits out of the American people. That is above taxes. This is nearly double the net profits that they should have made. The lemon was squeezed so dry that the people have cashed in most of their war savings bonds in order to live. Last November I asked my branch bank manager, "Why the big rush of business? Why so many people waiting in line?" He answered, "That's a sorry business: Those people are waiting in line to cash their war savings in order to live. Their wages are insufficient to make ends meet under present high prices." I estimate that the public was skinned out of at least $20,000,000,000 last year. That amount includes the excessive profits plus the taxes on these excessive profits that the corporations paid.

All of this money was taken out of the hides of the American consumers by the greedy profiteers. It is time that we drive this rapacious horde of profiteers out of the temple of democracy.

Is it any wonder that the merchants report that Easter business was bad when the purchasing public has no money and they have killed the goose that lays the golden eggs?

Another fellow wrote me:

It's marvelous how our Government works its bookkeeping. You give away six billion to Europe and Asia and then give the taxpayers five billion rebate. It's marvelous and mysterious. I wish I could run my books and business that way. But it's no use—my creditors would force me into bankruptcy.

Our policy reminds me of the fellow who has been out on a bad drunk, gets up the next morning feeling woozy and shaky, so in order to cure himself he drinks another quart of whisky and gets drunk all over again.

TAX DOLLARS GOING FOR WAR ARMAMENTS

Today, we are spending 79 cents out of every tax dollar for war or for war purposes, or for the aftermath of war; only

21 cents out of a dollar goes for education, rural electrification, highways, forests, parks, airports, commerce, industry, health, pensions for the aged and peaceful pursuits. Now, we will be asked to make more appropriations for war, militarism and destruction. I take my positive position against it.

During the campaign of 1938 I came out openly for the draft, military training, all-out armament. I said I could hear the clanking of the swords in Europe, I could feel and smell a war brewing. I was called a militarist, a war monger. I was defeated. I came back to my people with no apologies for my stand, and was reelected three times since, and in 1944 by the biggest majority of any Congressman in the United States.

DO NOT IMITATE THE HESSIANS

Today I see and smell no war. There is no clanking of swords, except those that we are furnishing. People have suffered too much; they are tired of war; they beg for peace. They beg for trade and commerce, a chance to rehabilitate their war-devastated economy. Just like after a sickness, the fever in the body will throw out pus and corruption, so in Europe the same thing is occurring. Let us not be misled. I can never forget the words of my father, when he retired and I suggested that he visit Europe. He replied, "Europe is still the same. Nothing to see there, except misery, poverty, hunger, and destitution. No black slavery, it is true, but classes and divisions among the people nevertheless." Corrupt governments, militarism, aristocracy, intrigue. There is so much to see that is beautiful in America.

Why do we insist on meddling in the internal politics of Europe, Asia or South America? Why do we send them guns, bullets, tanks, and bombers? These actions will only come to plague our children just as certainly as the sins of a father are visited upon his children. I would never refuse to send bread, clothing, medicine, and plows to help the needy people anywhere. For these gifts we will receive God's blessings, but it is a crime to send guns and bullets to Asiatics and Europeans for them to kill off their own brothers and relatives.

We had our renaissance with the American Revolution. We discarded royalty, classes, and European economic chains.

Europe has not had its renaissance yet. After the First World War they dumped the Hohenzollerns, the Hapsburgs, the Czars, and the Ottoman rulers, but the cleansing was not completed. The inherent rottenness and disease remained. At this time, let us remember how we resented the Hessian Legions horning in on our fight against the British Tories in 1776.

It is disgusting to see kings, queens, decrepit royalty, defunct European militarists, and tories flocking to the United States, and our doors are still closed to the oppressed and homeless DP's who fought and opposed nazism, fascism, and communism. America, the land of freedom and liberty, the refuge for the oppressed and persecuted, has put on a high silk hat, tails and white tie and is now scraping and bowing to the politically degenerate of Europe. The Statue of Liberty must look down with amazement and horror at the new immigrants coming to our shores.

It is now evident that the Marshall plan, Truman plan, Churchill plan, the Hoover plan, the Colmer committee report, together with the recent moves in Palestine and Trieste, are all part of the big plan to scuttle the United Nations, to embark on a big military and armaments program, to rebuild Germany and to play power politics all over again. We are back on the merry-go-round for a bigger and more destructive world war III.

I shall vote against ECA and this whole evil business, although I know that it will be passed overwhelmingly on April 1, 1948. I cannot help but think what a tragic April fool's joke this will be on American people and all peace-loving people throughout the World.

Our policy for peace and prosperity should be to strengthen the United Nations and give our efforts to building up our domestic economy at home to stop inflation and profiteering before it buries us in a panic and depression as we had in 1932.

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HOW ERP HELPS THE GERMAN WAR MAKERS

SPEECH OF

HON. GEORGE G. SADOWSKI

of Michigan

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

March 25, 1948

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

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George G. Sadowski
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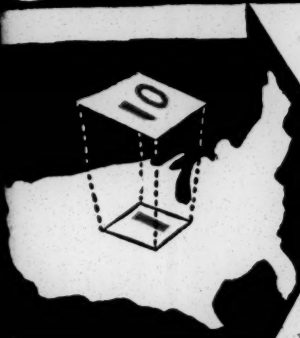

THE BIG TEN MEET

OUR NEGRO AMERICA

BY BOI OTTLEY

I DIE AT MIDNIGHT

BY [illegible] GAITHER JR.

CAN JERSEY JOE BEAT JOE LOUIS?

BY [illegible]

MAY 1948

Editors Notebook

HAVE YOU HEARD ABOUT . . . Walter White pressuring W.E.B. DuBois to make him lay off his wide-open campaigning for Henry Wallace . . . Humphrey Bogart's final decision to go ahead with Willard Motley's *Knock On Any Door* beginning in July at Columbia Studios. There's still one Negro character, Sunshine, in the script. Frank Sinatra won't get his wish to play the young killer's part . . . King Cole's honeymoon trip to Mexico with an Ebony photographer on his trail. Pictures should pop in August issue . . . The 20-year-old girl from Wilberforce who gets her Ph. D. from the University of Chicago next month . . . Photog Gordon Parks' pink slip from Standard Oil, the end of the $10,000-a-year job—and don't forget the expenses . . .

HAVE YOU HEARD ABOUT . . . Duke Ellington's date with the British in June. He's taking along a 20-piece orchestra . . . The Los Angeles Negro woman who breeds cats and had some fanciers fly their cats across the country to her cattery to increase the blue Persian population . . . Those inside-story tales of big league Jim Crow that Jackie Robinson tells in his new book *My Own Story* . . . The third party's plan to run about ten Negro candidates for Congress, the most since Reconstruction . . . That $237,500 awarded to Florida's governor by a jury which decided he had been libeled by Collier's because they quoted him as condoning lynching . . . Dizzy Gillespie's financial flop in Europe . . .

HAVE YOU HEARD ABOUT . . . The big boom in Haiti vacationing among Negro big names . . . The Broadway plans to do a jived-up version of *Aida* with the slave girl's part to be taken by a Negro. Also due for a musical version is *The Little Foxes* . . . The Negro newspapermen's air junket to inspect troops in Germany just about the time Truman called for the draft . . . Wallace party's plans for a Negro-angled movie which will include Joe Louis in its cast . . . Langston Hughes' plans for a photo book on Negro America, pictures by Wayne Miller. Similar plans by Gordon Parks and Ralph Ellison . . .

THE NEW CONFEDERACY

With the torch of race prejudice a band of primitive zealots, practical politicians and businessmen are kindling revolt

by Helen Fuller

THE SOUTHERN STATES are aflame with a new rebellion. This one is aimed at winning, by political means, some of the objectives lost in the four years after Fort Sumter.

The present uprising in the South is no casual revolt intended merely to influence the outcome of a single election. The master planners of the Dixiecrat rebellion have a carefully laid scheme for taking over the whole Democratic Party between now and 1952. A major realignment of American political parties is the primary objective. The defeat of Truman is secondary.

On November 2 they will have taken a long stride toward attainment of their goal. The State's Rights ticket seems certain to carry four states of the Solid South (Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina) and is very likely to win a fifth (Georgia) if the decision there goes to the state legislature for lack of a clear majority. In addition, the Dixiecrats probably will take enough votes away from the regular Democratic ticket to give Dewey a good chance to beat Truman in three or four more states. The serious Dixiecrat leaders are more interested in the future than the present. They see themselves, after the election, a vigorous, unified bloc in the midst of a shattered national party. They feel sure of being in the vast majority on the Democratic side of Congress, in a position to demand restoration of the two-thirds rule at the next convention, to dictate the 1952 platform, and at the least, to obtain the vice-presidency for one of their number. Even failing this, they can see themselves wielding for years to come the balance of power in national elections by keeping tight control over the electors from the Solid South states and voting them as a unit.

The 1948 Dixiecrat movement from which these dreams have sprung is composed of four main elements: a large body of sincere, misguided Southerners who truly believe that their present system of segregation is the best for all concerned and who deeply resent what they consider "outside interference" by the federal government to force changes in their way of life; self-seeking politicians who are exploiting this basic attitude to advance their own careers; a handful of flaming State's Rights zealots who conceive of this as a great crusade to defend "the Southern culture"; and Northern Republicans who are aggravating the situation to aid the GOP cause in this election. These four have come together in surprising harmony; if they are left unhampered, their dreams might become reality.

Southern Democrats have not been happy in the party since they came back to it in 1880. No Southerner has been nominated for President since the Civil War. In 1936, Franklin Roosevelt stripped the Southern politicos of their last vestige of party power by forcing abolition of the two-thirds rule in nominating conventions. Ever since, the remaining bourbons have been plotting an attempt to turn the tables. In 1936, in 1940, and again in 1944, there was talk of a "Southern revolt" against the Democratic Party. But the backward-looking leaders of the South did not have a truly popular issue on which to build until Truman last spring proposed the civil-rights program to Congress. With it as a torch, they have gone a long way in a few months toward rekindling the wild, regional spirit which made the Civil War possible.

The 1948 Dixiecrat revolt actually began in 1944. In that campaign, Northern Republicans bent on blocking the fourth term supplied the backing for Roosevelt-haters in the South to organize a national Byrd-for-President Committee and anti-Roosevelt organizations in most of the Southern states. The men who organized and paid for this "revolt" are in the forefront of the Dixiecrat movement today.

Early in 1943, Governors Sam Jones of Louisiana and Frank Dixon of Alabama invited the Conference of Southern Governors to join them in the formation of a new Southern Democratic Party, dedicated to "State's Rights and White Supremacy." Neither the Governors nor other more practical-minded politicians dared to fly in the face of a Roosevelt Administration that would be in control of federal patronage for four more years.

But another group, made up of non officeholders, had no such practical considerations to stop them. Early in 1944, John U. Barr, a fiber-rope manufacturer of New Orleans and vice-chairman of the Southern States' Industrial Council, launched the Byrd-for-President Committee with a group of anti-Roosevelt businessmen. Later they combined forces with the American Democratic National Committee,

aid of the Spanish a new con[dition], while the peoples of America, France and Brit[ain] entirely [op]ditioned to accept this betrayal. Yet the decision in both [par]nd the direction is clear. American diplomacy [is] niously [dri]ven down Franco's road—to a dead end. [Democratic] party

Our drivers in [the] [Pol]cy, are no longer the conservative civilians of the [State] Department, who even now are referred to as "Communists" by brash Army officers and reactionary politicians.

It was an Army plane which flew Senator Chan Gurney, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, on a conducted tour of Europe, under the watchful eyes of his advisers, Major General W. B. Persons of the Army, Major General Bryant Boatner of the Air Force, and Rear Admiral Wooldridge.

Gurney returned with a new foreign policy for America. It includes revising our attitude of support for Israel; replacing ERP aid with military supplies; a military alliance against Russia which includes Franco; and full partnership for Franco in all American programs for Europe.

This policy is the product of the military mind, which, once allowed to rule, destroys the purpose for which democracies fight in pursuit of the objective of military victory. Once again the military is attempting to dictate the foreign policy of the United States.

This excessive ambition of a necessary but specialized caste is the oldest problem of democracy. It enslaved Latin America and half of Europe. It led Germany to ruthlessness and destruction. It has perplexed and weakened France from Napoleon to de Gaulle. It endangered Lloyd George, threatened Lincoln, harassed Roosevelt and has nearly overwhelmed Truman. It is an urgent problem as we move again across the rim of war.

For, in Spain, as in Germany, the military concept of our foreign policy is in direct conflict with our national interest.

America is now engaged in the building of a Western Union in Europe. Her purpose is not to prepare for war but to prevent war by the creation of a self-governing and self-reliant region between Russia and America. The Senate has endorsed it. Truman supports it. Dewey has made it the first objective of his foreign policy. Its welfare requires ERP supplies. Its security requires American guarantees for its military defense.

These guarantees have been given—with what sincerity? Evidently the sincerity of a commander who instructs his scouts to make contact with the enemy and quickly retreat. The geopoliticians of the Army now seem to assume that the land mass—their beloved phrase—between the North Sea, the Rhine and the Pyrenees is almost indefensible; that France is finished as a power and will not fight again; that Africa will be defended and the Mediterranean held from three beachheads—Britain, Spain and Greece. Western Europe, though we may arm it as a commander arms his scouts, is a lost cause by geopolitical logic, physically indefensible, Communist-corrupted, strike-ridden, bedeviled by falling birth rates, at best the dismal scene of a delaying action fought to trade dear life and land for abstract time.

Perhaps our military diplomats hope to have both Franco and the Western Union. In that case, these geopoliticians are terribly mistaken. They forget, or dismiss as unimportant, the fact that the Western Union was founded at Brussels "to preserve the principle of democracy, personal freedom, and political liberty." Beyond this, Europe is too weary of war to be sacrificed again in a delaying action to hold the Pyrenees. And Europe is too delicately balanced between democracy and communism to be saved for America if democracy is corrupted any further by an alliance with fascism. It is the Western Union *or* Spain; democracy *or* fascism; not both.

"If there is one sentiment," warns the *New Statesman and Nation,* "which unites the British working class, it is a detestation of Franco." "If Spain comes into ERP," said Léon Jouhaux when he learned of Gurney's new alliance, "then France goes out." Our military geopoliticians, thinking of strategy always in military terms, may disregard these minor political considerations as they disregarded certain minor failings of Darlan and Badoglio. If at their narrow-minded, impatient dictation we abandon the political struggle of Europe, discount its considerable strength and subordinate its striving for security to the specious safety of the Pyrenees, then France will be lost to us and the Western Union will be stillborn. We shall be the masters of mines without miners, fields without farmers, oceans without fishermen. And ultimately mines, fields and oceans all will be lost to us.

And what will be gained? A nation, in Franco Spain, whose production is falling, whose army is corrupted, whose railroads are in chaos, whose children are half-starved while black markets flourish; a great crusader against communism who, after killing a million of his countrymen and holding absolute power for a decade, bequeaths to his nation all the classic conditions of misery, feudalism and oppression on which communism climbs to power.

Franco did not enter the war solely because Hitler lacked the resources to prop up his prostrate economy. And now, when Constantine Brown assures us of Spain's loyalty in the Holy war, he is quickly rebuked. "We uphold our attitude of neutrality in the conflict between Moscow and Washington," says the newspaper *ABC* of Madrid. "Our wishful colleague should not go too far."

There is a clear and pressing need for Dewey and Truman to repudiate this amoral military strategy of alignment with fascism and to reaffirm our liberal policy toward Spain. It can only be to strengthen our 1946 stand by setting a timetable with collective sanctions, first diplomatic, then economic, for the overthrow of Franco. The way to peace is to promote democracy. The way to victory, if war becomes certain, is still to promote democracy. We cannot give up all peace efforts to prepare for war. We cannot prepare for war against the world. Fascism has no mass support across the world. Neither does an America allied with fascists.

which was designed to win independent voters away from the fourth-term ticket. This ADNC was led nationally by a former Secretary of War, Harry Woodring of Kansas; several isolationist ex-Senators and Representatives, such as James Reed of Missouri and John J. O'Connor of New York; lobbyist Ralph Moore of Texas (now under indictment for violation of the Lobby Registration Act); and Robert M. Harriss, a New York cotton broker and financial adviser to Father Coughlin. Although the ADNC attracted few besides fanatical anti-New Dealers, it did serve as a front organization for financing the "revolt" in the South.

Official figures reported in the Senate investigation of the ADNC conducted after the election showed a total income of $128,465, of which about $90,000 was estimated to have come from 40 Republican contributors.

More than this amount undoubtedly was spent in Texas alone on the "revolt." The Texas "Regulars," *i.e.*, reactionaries, captured control of the Democratic state convention and of the delegation to the Democratic National Convention. Had other Southern states been as militant, there might have been some chance of applying the bold "Texas formula" devised to steal the Electoral College. The idea was simple: to reaffirm the right of an elector, under the Constitution, "to vote in the Electoral College for a person whom he thinks will protect the interests of his state rather than for a person nominated at a national party convention whom he thinks would be hostile to them."

The language is that of a scholarly son of the old Confederacy, Charles Wallace Collins, a constitutional lawyer then practising in Washington, D. C., who had been in correspondence with Gibson and leading anti-New Dealers. It was Collins who formalized the plot in a brochure widely distributed in the South. Taking his stand on the proposition that "The doctrine of States' Rights is no mere shibboleth; it is a constitutional doctrine basic to our form of government," he argued that "The Texas formula is constitutionally sound, is practical, and is in accord with the intentions of the founding fathers. The elector is an officer of his State. He is the legal representative of his State in the Electoral College. His legal and his moral obligation is to his State which is just as much bound by his action in the college as it is by the action of its legislators. . . . Texas has shown the way out . . . the seizure of a weapon, provided by the Constitution, in a fight to save its vital institutions from threatened destruction."

But the anti-Roosevelt campaigns elsewhere were more modest than that in Texas. There was plenty of potential financial backing available. The money and the zeal were there, but not the public support nor the professional political talent essential for winning elections. The wisest of the Southern plotters knew that the campaign for Byrd and all the rest of it were just a warm-up. In their correspondence they spoke of the necessary preparations to be ready when history took a turn in their direction.

The day after Roosevelt was elected to his fourth term, Collins retired from active practice. The dapper little white-haired lawyer settled down in his Washington Press Building office to write a book stating the case for a return to the rule of the South by a small minority of whites, qualified by "superior b[illegible]ntelligence" to decide what [illegible] for everyone. *Whither Solid[illegible]*, published by the obscure P[illegible]ress of New Orleans, appeared December, just as the more foresighted of the Southern Republocrats were beginning to think about what kind of "revolt" they should plan for 1948.

Collins admits fancying himself as the John C. Calhoun of a new Secession. In his book, he dwells at length on the historical and ethnic bases of white supremacy, the illegality of the Fourteenth Amendment, the moral and religious case for continuing segregation, and winds up with a proposal of a forty-ninth state in Africa. In between are sandwiched chapters which provide the intellectual basis of this year's Dixiecrat revolt.

"For the first time in the history of the country," Collins writes, "the South finds itself without political allies North of the Mason-Dixon line . . . a most untenable position. How can she extricate herself with honor from this predicament?" She cannot continue to rely upon the filibuster—"a dangerous support." "There are two other weapons of respectability available," according to Collins. A new two-party alignment is the best, most clean-cut. "The conversion of the present Republican-Southern Democratic

coalition into a new conservative political party" is entirely logical. The conservatives in both parties could combine harmoniously into what would be the strongest party in the country "*provided* the issue of Negro equality was left to the sponsorship of [a new] Liberal Party. . . . In 1878 Republican leaders agreed to regard the Negro question in the South as a problem to be handled by the Southern region. A similar attitude by Northern conservatives today could pave the way for a North-South coalition which could save the United States from Statism."

If this first proposal proves too idealistic, the Solid South, Collins says, "can leave the Democratic Party . . . can set up its own Democratic Party and stand independently of the North in the Electoral College, in the House of Representatives, and in the Senate."

A second-rate book by an unknown author became the "Mein Kampf" of a new movement because it appeared at the strategic moment.

Senator James Eastland (D, Miss.), the first politician to see the book's possibilities, rushed with it to Fielding Wright, who had just been elected Governor of Eastland's state. When it came time to deliver the inaugural address, the voice was that of the Governor of Mississippi but the thoughts came from *Whither Solid South?*

Soon Collins forgot he was retired. Eastland took him into conference with Governor Wright to plan the next steps. Copies of the book were sent to 300 key men. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, Frank Dixon of Alabama, Merritt Gibson of Texas, John U. Barr of Louisiana, Roy Harris of Georgia, and Ed Crump of Tennessee were on the original mailing list.

When Truman called on Congress to enact into law the civil-rights program which his special committee had recommended, the Southern reactionaries were fully prepared to take every advantage of his action. The Dixiecrat "revolt" was thrown into high gear. Most of the Southern press and radio needed little encouragement. The bogeyman of "outside interference" was played up. Fielding Wright called on all the other Southern Governors to join him in formal protest against Truman's proposed program. This time the Southern Governors eagerly agreed. Walkouts from the Philadelphia convention, and a Southern Democratic convention in Birmingham launching the Strom Thurmond-Fielding Wright State's Rights ticket were easy steps.

Opportunists of every kind have flocked to the banner of the new Confederacy. There is a well-furnished Dixiecrat headquarters in the best hotel in every good-sized Southern town. Junior Leaguers and well-groomed matrons volunteer as office help. Even important politicians wear their "Vote-for-Thurmond-and-Wright" buttons right out in the open, not inside their lapels, where their Byrd-for-President buttons were concealed four years ago. The best people in town, along with the worst, flock to the $25-per-plate dinners, the $5 admission picnics and the auction box suppers that local Dixiecrat clubs are holding all over the South. Pretty young girls do a good business selling "Thurmond-Wright-State's Rights" buttons for $1 each on busy street corners. The daughters of a steel-company president and the president of Coca-Cola are leading saleswomen in Birmingham, Alabama.

The Dixiecrat movement is popular as the anti-Roosevelt campaigns never were. There is no fear of losing patronage, since no one believes Truman will be elected anyway. And the Republicans are more than ever interested in what the South does this year when power seems so near at hand.

From the list of supporters of the Dixiecrat cause throughout the South, it appears that all the Republican Party's good contacts have been put to use. State by state, local representatives of powerful Northern corporations are among the leading state's-righters. The Houston lawyer, Palmer Bradley, who first headed the Dixiecrat movement in Texas, has the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and the Hughes Tool Company (spokesman in Texas for the National Association of Manufacturers) for clients. Roy Cullen, the Republican oil man who contributed heavily to the fight against Roosevelt in 1944, is reported to be pumping funds freely into the State's Rights campaign against Truman this year. But pseudo-Democrats like Jesse Jones and former Governer Coke Stevenson, who were so important a part of the revolt from inside the Democratic Party in '44, are taking a new tack, as yet unique to Texas. They have gone over openly to the Republican Party.

The spearhead of the Dixiecrat organization in Alabama, Gessner McCorvey, of Mobile, is Standard Oil's lawyer too. He also represents Humble Oil (Standard subsidiary), Gulf Oil and Magnolia Petroleum. And Tennessee Coal and Iron (United States Steel), the industrial giant of the state, retains him to look after its interests in Alabama. Marion Rushton, state chairman of the Alabama Dixiecrats, has as clients of his Montgomery law firm, the Chase National Bank, the Buckeye Cotton Oil and the Capital Fertilizer companies. Former Governor Frank Dixon, the big brain of the Alabama revolters, is attorney for the Associated Industries of Alabama and the NAM's official representative in

the state. It is through him and other Dixiecrat lawyers in Birmingham that contact is maintained with statewide representatives of the Alabama Power Company (Commonwealth and Southern).

In South Carolina, lawyers for the South Carolina Power Company (Judge Eugene Blease) and the South Carolina Cotton Manufacturers' Association (T. Frank Watkins) were among the principal architects of the movement.

Officials of the Mississippi Power and Light Company (Electric Power and Light) have given generously. The initial $5,000 to cover expenses of the Jackson rally May 10 to launch the Southwide movement was contributed by a representative of that company. George Godwin, head of the Dixie Advertising Agency of Jackson which handles the Mississippi Power account, has been detailed as public-relations adviser and ghost writer for vice-presidential candidate Wright. Officials of the National Cotton Council, the NAM of the plantation South, were key figures from the first in launching Mississippi's revolt.

Many of the good "Democrats" of Louisiana who made contributions through John U. Barr, the New Orleans rope magnate, to the Byrd drive are opposing the national Democratic Administration again this year. The letterhead of the New Orleans State's Rights Committee lists the head of the New Orleans telephone company, the local Coca-Cola Company, the spokesman of the Shipowners' Association, and a string of small businessmen. J. J. Kramer, who was secretary of the Byrd group, is still doing business at the same stand. Barr has dug into his own pocket to cover his own and Kramer's expenses. Under the banner of the Constitutional Democracy Crusaders, they have tirelessly toured the country these last four years sowing their reactionary seeds. Barr has such a possessive feeling about the anti-New Deal movement in Louisiana that he prefers to foot the bills rather than share the consequent publicity with other contributors.

DRAWINGS BY JOHN GROTH

But Barr's activities are only sideshow stuff. The two real powers behind the Dixiecrats in Louisiana are W. H. Talbot, the duly elected Democratic National Committeeman, and Leander Perez, the generally acknowledged boss of present-day Louisiana politics and the man behind Earl Long.

The professional politicians who are running the Dixiecrats have carefully followed Collins' advice to take over the existing Democratic Party organization as a first step toward their goal. Here Mississippi led the way. Early last February, the State Democratic Committee voted to make the state's electors "free agents" and consigned the party machinery to 100-percent Dixiecrat hands. Alabama and South Carolina quickly followed Mississippi's lead. Louisiana came along as soon as the new Governor Earl Long and Leander Perez thought it safe to do so.

Today, in five states of the old Confederacy, including Georgia, where incoming Governor Herman Talmadge is secretly in league with the State's Rights Party, the Dixiecrats have taken over the Democratic Party. In Florida, Arkansas, Texas, Virginia and North Carolina, the State's-Righters are exerting every effort to hold their lines firm until there can be a new counting of noses after this election. Money and speakers are being sent into seemingly unpromising territory as an investment for the future. Although the Gallup Poll shows Truman leading in Texas, with 61 percent of the vote to Dewey's 23 percent and Thurmond's tiny eight percent, State's Rights headquarters is booking a full complement of Dixiecrat big shots, including Fielding Wright, Dixon, Eastland, Governor Laney of Arkansas and former Governor Jones of Louisiana, into the Lone Star state for a strenuous week of barbecues and rallies. They are already campaigning for 1952.

As these five men ride across Texas they will undoubtedly be discussing the basic questions of organization now facing the State's Rights movement. They, and perhaps half a dozen other key Dixiecrats, must decide reasonably soon whether their movement is to continue as a means of boring from within the Democratic Party or is to become the kind of independent Southern regional party Collins' book advocates.

Conversations with Dixiecrat leaders indicate that, whichever course is chosen, the Southerners will push for the elimination of the national party convention. The State's-Righters make a big point of the thesis that the convention method of choosing candidates is a comparatively new-fangled one, never visualized by the founding fathers. In the next presidential cam-

paign year, the dissident Southerners might do one of several things:

A regional convention of a Southern Democratic Party might be held to nominate candidates for President and Vice President, and to adopt a party platform. If no candidate received a majority of the electoral votes in November, the selection of a President and Vice President would go to the House, where the South would have the balance of power.

A separate Southern Democratic Party might hold a convention to nominate candidates. Then the present limitations on popular instruction of the electors might be extended even further by creating an electoral commission to appoint the electors, instead of selection by general ballot.

Laws making the above change in the method of choosing electors could be passed as a protective device, and used only if the national Democratic Party named a candidate distasteful to the Southerners.

Or, the Dixiecrats could decide to take their chances inside the Democratic Party for four more years at least. Having already captured so many of the regular party organizations in the South, they could decide to exhaust that method before trying another.

The chances are that the last alternative will be the choice for the immediate future. The Dixiecrats who today double as Democratic Party chiefs in their various states do not want to vacate, unless it is absolutely necessary, the comfortable berths they have held for so long. These "ins" are urging that the Southerners band together into a tight organization in Congress and in the Democratic National Committee to dominate the party on Capitol Hill, to push for restoration of the two-thirds rule which used to give the South a power of veto, and to obtain an acceptable platform plus a State's Rights man for Vice President in 1952. If this plot should fail, there would still be time, the gradualists among the Dixiecrats argue, either to build a new party of their own or to negotiate for an alliance with the Republican conservatives.

AUSTRIA HAS RE-BIRTH PAINS

With the approach of real statehood, the coalition which has ruled in Vienna for three years shows signs of crumbling

by Alexander Kendrick

VIENNA

FOR THE FIRST TIME in many years, Austria has become a state, instead of just a state of mind, and an Austrian national identity is replacing the former southeast German provincialism. The Austrians' desire is growing for independence and for an end to the situation that began with Mussolini, continued with Hitler, and still endures, although decreasingly so, with four-power occupation.

The practical problems of independence are piling up as natural economic and political forces come into play again after their long suspension, first by Anschluss, then by war, and finally by occupation. One of the reasons is that the occupation grip has gradually lessened this year. The Allied Control Council has virtually stopped controlling, the Austrian government has begun to govern as well as administer, and what has for three years been apparently the strongest and most stable political coalition in Europe has at last been confronted by reality.

The government combination of Socialists and Volkspartei (Catholic People's Party) is at serious odds within itself. Both the Socialists and the Volkspartei are suffering from grave internal dissension. The despised Communists are gaining in effectiveness, if not in actual strength, and neo-Nazism is stirring ominously.

It was a strange coalition from the beginning, made up of the Socialists who had been blasted, bombarded and interned out of legal existence in 1934, and of the inheritors of the clerical reaction that had done the blasting. It brought together the traditionally progressive Vienna and the traditionally conservative Länder; the city consumer and the hostile peasant producer; the factory worker and the wealthy industrialist who employed him. Indeed, it was a coalition at all only on the professed basis of anti-communism. And even this did not make much sense since the 49-percent Volkspartei vote was added to the 46-percent Socialist vote, to ward off the threat of the 5-percent Communist minority. Actually the object of the coalition was to prevent the Communists from exploiting the balance of power.

Now it has been discovered that anti-communism is not enough, that it doesn't solve much. Questions of prices and wages, of inflation and deflation, of state controls v. "private enterprise," have caused wider and wider ripples in the stagnant coalition pool. The Socialists have learned, as have Socialists in other government coalitions, that too much coöperation with the Right invariably causes rumbling on the Left.

The first sign of the present split between the Socialists and the Volkspartei came a few months ago. The Socialist left wing, led by a young intellectual named Erwin Scharf, began demanding a return to revolutionary socialism instead of the Fabianism of the party's Old Guard, Julius Deutsch, Vice-Chancellor Adolf Schaerf and Oscar Pollak. The dissidents were not for complete unity of action with the Communists, but their slogan was: "The antagonist is on the Left; the enemy is on the Right." Their revolt was temporarily halted when the Old Guard practically read them out of the party, but they have not given up.

After the Scharf rebellion, economics entered the coalition picture. The Socialists were committed to a program of deflation, and sought to beat prices down. The Volkspartei, with its amalgam of peasants and manufacturers, chose the opposite path of higher farm and industrial prices. Despite these

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THE FOLLOWING RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE PRESIDENT WERE APPROVED BY THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES ON NOVEMBER 18, 1948

TRUSTEE-FACULTY COMMITTEES

That authorization be granted to the appointment of the following committees:

(1) A Trustee-Faculty Committee to consist of three trustees appointed by the Chairman of the Board and three members of the faculty elected by that body (with the provision that each faculty member of the committee serve a three-year term, except that for the first election one member be elected for one year and one for two years; and with the further provision that a faculty member whose term expires be ineligible for immediate reelection).

The primary purpose of this committee is to provide a direct channel of communication between the Board of Trustees and the Faculty of the college. Its function as a joint committee shall be to consider any matter the Faculty may wish to bring to the attention of the Board of Trustees and to promote Trustee-Faculty relationships.

(2) A Faculty Tenure Committee to consist of seven members elected by the Faculty. The purpose of this committee is to provide a direct channel of appeal to the Board of Trustees for any teacher with tenure who feels aggrieved because of removal for cause, demotion or non-promotion.

For the purposes of this action, the term "any teacher with tenure" shall be defined as any teacher (1) whose appointment is for an "indeterminate time" or, (2) who is on a term appointment.

23-24-4

Change of status as an administrative officer or departmental head, the matter of salary increases within rank and the matter of renewal of term appointments shall not be subject to the appeal procedures provided for in this action.

The first task of this committee shall be to prepare a plan of specific appeal procedures which shall incorporate the following features:

1. Provision for hearings for the aggrieved teacher by the Faculty Tenure Committee;
2. Provision for submitting the recommendation of the Committee to the President for his consideration;
3. Provision for submitting the recommendations of the Committee directly to the Board of Trustees in the event of non-concurrence of the President.

The plan of procedure prepared by the Committee shall become effective upon its approval by the President and the Board of Trustees.

REVISION OF TERM OF APPOINTMENT FOR RANK OF ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR

That the regulations concerning the conditions of appointment, placed in effect July 1, 1945, be amended as follows:

For the provision, "Associate Professor - Appointments to the rank of Associate Professor are for periods of five years; except that a first appointment to the staff at this rank is for a period of two years."

Substitute: Appointment to the rank of Associate Professor is for a period of five years; except that a first appointment to the staff at this rank is for a period of two years. The next appointment following the first five-year term shall be for an indeterminate period.

SICK LEAVE FOR MEMBERS OF THE TEACHING STAFF

That the following policy relative to sick leave for members of the teaching staff be adopted:

There is no formal sick leave with pay for members of the teaching staff. A teacher may be absent on account of sickness for a day or so at a time without penalty. In case of extended illness the teacher is responsible for the covering of his classes by one of the following methods:

1. To have other teachers in his department cover the classes during the period of illness. In this event, it is distinctly understood that the classes will meet as scheduled and that the substitute teacher will attempt to do a real job of instruction. This cooperation on the part of departmental teachers shall be entirely voluntary.

2. To pay the salary of a substitute who must, of course, be approved by the Head of the Department and the Dean of the College.

23-24-7

N Y Herald-Tribune
OCT 10 1948

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Du Bois Ouster Stirs Dissension In N. A. A. C. P.

Wallace Backer in Dispute With Walter White; Issue Involves Foreign Policy

By Edgar T. Rouzeau

The recent dismissal of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, author ,scholar and sociologist, as research director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is having repercussions among the membership.

A nation-wide commttee is working to mobilize the members to demand a review of the issues leading to his dismissal. This movement shows signs of developing into a showdown fight on the N. A. A. C. P. policy—whether the organization shuld permit action by its officials which could be construed by the public as N. A. A. C. P. endorsement of American foreign policy when shch policy allegedly runs counter to the interests of Negroes, Jews and submereged groups.

One of the issues involved, according to committee spokesmen, is the appointment of Walter White, executive secretary, as a United Nations consultant to the General Assembly in Paris. The State Department invited the organization to send a representative, and Mr. White was named by the organization's administrative committee, composed of board and staff members.

Dr. DuBois opposed acceptance of the invitation in spite of the fact that he had been recommended for the post by Mr. White. Dr. Dubois gave his reasons in a memorandum submitted to the board, which said in part:

"If we accept a consultanship in this delegation (the American delegation to the General Assembly meeting) without a clear open declaration by the board of our position on the Truman foreign policy, our very acceptance ties us in with the reactionary, warmongering, colonial imperialism of the present administration.

"I deny the right of any official to tie this organization to the foreign policy of the present administration as long as it stands against public discussion of our civil rights, for the despoling of Ethiopia, for the delaying recognition of Israel, and in general against the interests of colonial peoples."

Dr. DuBois war largely responsible for a formal document protesting discrimination in the United States which was presented to the United Nations in October, 1947, by the N. A. A. C. P. He charged that the United States delegation has blocked all efforts to air this document in the General Assembly, and that Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt has been a principal opponent, even threatening to resign as chairman of the Assembly's Human Rights Commission.

[illegible] appointment of Mr. [illegible] anization's Ad[illegible]tee, Mr. Wh[illegible] on vari[illegible] in [illegible]

Dr. DuBois submitted the following:

That Mr. White, as the representative of the N. A. A. C. P., use his influence at Paris to have the question of civil rights placed on the agenda of the General Assembly; that he urge the American delegation to recognize the claims of Ethiopia for Eritrea and the Somaliland, and that he insist on a revision of United Nations trusteeship provisions so as to allow colonial peoples to have their own representative in the councils of the United Nations.

Four days before the board could meet to consider Dr. DuBois's stand on Mr. White appointment, the text of his memorandum was published in a morning newspaper. In the mean time, he had refused to attend a meeting called by Mr. White to discuss various aspects of the subject. The board cited grounds in connection with the dismissal.

Also involved, according to spokesmen for the committee, is a rule of the organization prohibiting its officers from engaging in partisan political activity. Dr. DuBois is a known supporter of Henry A. Wallace, Presidential candidate of the Progressive party. He was censured in March by Mr. White for taking too active a part in the current campaign, according to his supporters.

Meanwhile it is charged that Mr. White has missed few opportunities to denounce Mr. Wallace in his speeches and writings, while praising President Truman.

Shirley Graham, author, of St. Albans, Queens, who is handling the New York end of the committee's program, yesterday issued the following statement:

"Dr. DuBois raised important issues which led to his dismissal. The committee feels that these issues still remain and that they have a vital bearing on the organization's future. Our aim is to publicize the facts and activate the members so that they can take appropriate action. We want a complete review of the case."

[N.Y. POST] 9/14/48

NAACP Ousts DuBois, Founder

32-39-48

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, a founder of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, today was ousted as director of special research as an aftermath to his charges that the group was engaging in "political activity" on behalf of the Truman Administration. The dismissal is effective Dec. 31, when his contract expires.

DuBois, a supporter of Henry A. Wallace, had criticized Walter F. White, secretary of the association, for accepting a post as consultant to the U. S. delegation to the United Nations. The action, he said, was political and contrary to the best interests of the Negro peoples.

White, who made no reply to the charge, sailed yesterday for the General Assembly sessions in Paris.

The ouster action was taken yesterday by the Association's board of directors, which accused DuBois of refusing to "cooperate" with his fellow members on the executive staff in helping to prepare an agenda for the U.N. meeting.

It also accused him of violating confidences of the association and of giving the press a memo on the dispute before it had time to study his charges.

Expressing "deep regret" over the incident, the board said "it will not be in the best interests of the association to continue Dr. DuBois as a staff member beyond the term of his present contract."

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Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, also was a passenger on the America. He will represent the organization at the Paris sessions.

Mr. White said his organization was urging the establishment of a court of human rights with world-wide jurisdiction and was opposing the return to a colonial status of the former Italian colonies in North Africa.

Mrs. Mary Durkan and Miss Kathleen O'Dwyer, sisters of Mayor O'Dwyer, left for Ireland after visiting the Mayor and other relatives here.

Former Lieut. Gov. Charles Poletti, now practicing international law, departed on a business trip with Mrs. Poletti and their three children, Carla, 12 years old; Charles E., 10, and Joanna, 7. The children will enter the International School in Geneva.

The America sailed at 4:06 P. M. from Pier 61, North River, for Cobh, Southampton and Le Havre with 935 passengers. 32-46-7

COMMITTEE IS SET UP TO DEFEND DR. DUBOIS

Charges that Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, director of special research of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is being removed from his office by "an inside clique which does not represent the masses of Negroes who support the association," were made yesterday by a defense committee. The committee seeks to prevent the planned dismissal of the 80-year-old scholar.

The committee, which calls itself the Emergency Committee for Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and the N. A. A. C. P., spoke through Miss Shirley Graham, writer, who said the DuBois forces would have temporary headquarters with the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions at the Iroquois Hotel, 49 West Forty-fourth Street.

The action to dismiss Dr. DuBois came after he had criticized the board of directors of the N. A. A. C. P. for what he called the sacrifice of a principle to aid the candidacy of President Truman. Asked to help Walter F. White, association secretary, draft a paper on the Negro question to be presented before the General Assembly of the United Nations, to which Mr. White had been delegated by the Administration, Dr. DuBois refused, accusing Mr. White of playing politics for President Truman.

Miss Graham said that supporters of Dr. DuBois included Carl Murphy, publisher of the Baltimore Afro-American papers, and Dr. Horace Mann Bond, president of Lincoln University of Pennsylvania. The Rev. James H. Robinson, pastor of the Church of the Master, 86 Morningside Avenue, and a board member, denied that he was present and voting to dismiss Dr. DuBois, as announced by the board.

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Times Sept 14, 1948

Excerpts From Statement Made by Vishinsky

PARIS, Oct. 1 (UP)—Following are excerpts from the speech of Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Andrei Y. Vishinsky at today's meeting of the United Nations Political Committee during a debate on atomic energy control:

Official translation from Russian

If we analyze the work of the Atomic Energy Commission for the period which has elapsed we cannot fail to draw attention to the fact that in the Atomic Energy Commission itself and in the Security Council as well certain states or their representatives, and particularly the Government of the United States of America, from the very beginning gave a systematic and energetic effort toward eschewing the implementation of the decision of the General Assembly.

In the field of atomic energy the status quo which now prevails may be characterized as the utter absence of international control over the production and utilization of atomic energy.

It is not an accident that the Government of the United States of America systematically rejected any and all proposals that were designed to achieve the prohibition of the production of atomic weapons. It is not an accident that the Government of the United States of America attempted to substitute, by the solution of another task, the achievement of the task assigned by the General Assembly. But the latter task cannot be solved without the solution of the former task, a task which was set forth by the General Assembly.

Let me make this clear. Instead of commencing the task by prohibiting atomic weapons and establishing effective control over the carrying out of this decision, a decision for the elimination and prohibition of atomic weapons, instead of starting with this, the Government of the United States of America shifted all its attention to the carying out of a second task, the second task being the establishment of international control.

Calls U. S. Plan Ludicrous

The Government of the United States pigeon-holed the first task, which is the prohibition of atomic weapons. However, it is ludicrous to establish control over something which is not yet in existence. It is ludicrous to establish control to prevent the production of atomic weapons, to remove atomic weapons from national armaments, while there is not yet in existence the very ban of the production of atomic weapons.

You cannot control atomic weapons if you have not prohibited the production of atomic weapons in the first place.

Therefore I ask: What would that international control agency have to control? What would be left for control by the international agency?

We have not had any reply to this essential and crucial question, except for the fact that we were told that to prohibit atomic weapons, it is first essential to guarantee international security. That is the only reply which we have received and it is the reply which we heard from Mr. (British Foreign Secretary) Bevin in the plenary meeting of the General Assembly, although he also expressed himself on other items.

But that is an old story. Those are old excuses specifically calculated to avoid a solution of basic problems. * * *

If world public opinion as set forth in two historic resolutions of the General Assembly, which were adopted by more than fifty nations of the world, has already recognized it to be an essential task to ban the atomic bomb and remove atomic weapons from national armaments, establish international control over atomic energy—because world public opinion has decided that atomic energy should be used only for peaceful purposes—would it not be natural to step forward on that basis and adopt this elementary agreement: that from now on production of atomic bombs should not be permitted? Would that, I say, not be a natural first step? * * *

Would it not be an elementary and simple and consistent step to say that it is a task which is most difficult to solve, that it is a task most exclusive in its character?

You are telling us we have not done anything but will be required to do something to settle a problem which is in fact a most difficult problem. Everybody recognizes that.

It is a task fraught with tremendous responsibilities. But since this task is difficult and since it takes time to solve the question, why not show good will and good faith from the very beginning and eliminate the production of that horrible weapon, the atomic bomb?

Why not raise our hands and stop the production of atomic weapons?

I am asking that of you, the majority.

Why are you shrinking from the elimination of the production of atomic weapons?

Urges Ban on Selfishness

Why have you not decided to work from the beginning in favor of deciding that the production of atomic bombs and atomic energy will not be used for any one power for its own selfish purposes?

Why not decide that selfishness will not occur? What precludes you from adopting such a decision today?

Since we have proceeded to consideration of the question how to remove the danger of atomic warfare, why not solve the question from the very beginning and cut the Gordian knot by banning the atomic bomb?

To say that there is just one state which has a monopoly over atomic energy and the atomic bomb; it is useless to think such a thing; it is useless to hope for that, because this is fraught with dire and dangerous consequences and miscalculations.

As long as we are looking for a solution not a single state should manufacture the bomb.

China told us today she cannot make the bomb and perhaps some others will tell us they cannot make it. But there are some states who will not say they cannot manufacture the bomb because that would not be true.

Let us look at the United States proposal. It is utterly unrealistic as far as an international control authority is concerned, and the degree of lack of realism can be judged from that section of the proposal which proposed the establishment—no more and no less—of an international control authority—and I am quoting almost verbatim from the statement of (Bernard M.) Baruch—as an international leader in the field of atomic science. * * * The international control organ under the United States plan would be far from an international organ.

It would not be a really international control authority.

International control under the United States plan would be an American agency.

The international control agency under the United States plan would be designed as an international monopolistic super-trust which would own all atomic material, own all atomic facilities and all enterprises connected in any way with the production of atomic energy.

Complains of Committees

Let us look at what happened in the General Assembly. Let us look at the election of the chairmen of the six main committees.

Was there evinced any spirit of the cooperation which is a prerequisite for international confidence when these six chairmen were elected? When all representatives of Eastern Europe were kpt out from chairmanship, did that bear evidence of the spirit of international cooperation which is the basis of our organization, the principle of respect for equal geographical representation in all organs of the United Nations, which are supposed to be represented by all sections of the world?

When there are elections for all kinds of committees for rapporteurs and vice chairmen did not you show such flagrant disregard in all committees that we have the same delegations represented as chairmen, vice chairmen and rapporteurs, delegations from your own bloc so that there is not even a modest place reserved for the representatives of another part of Europe?

Is this not a conspiracy by the majority against the rights of the minority? Even in such an unimportant and formal question as the election of chairmen, vice chairmen and rapporteurs of committees we must hit our heads against the stone wall of your denial of our rights.

In such an unimportant question, the rights of the minority were blatantly and flagrantly violated.

This occurred here and now. If such things happen, how can we expect that in an international control agency your majority will be just? How can we expect that we will be secure?

We can only expect that you will prescribe such regulations as will stifle us, strangle our national economy and bind and tie us hand and foot because you consider yourselves to be the victors.

I repeat that. Never will such a situation arise. Nobody will blind and confuse us with all kinds of grandiloquent statements and beautiful words about the necessity of waiving part of our national sovereignty in the name of the higher welfare of mankind. But it is necessary that it be the general welfare of all mankind, including ourselves. We have to be in on it. It has to be the welfare of mankind based upon the principles of general cooperation, good-will and good faith.

Have we an example of this here? Or is this an example of a tough course on a tough road which inspires all of the many representatives who have been inspired by the representatives of the United States of America?

Is this not being judicious by placing one's knee on his breast and taking a man by the throat? No, our chest is a strong one; your knee cannot crush it. You cannot push it down. And our neck is not the neck of a chicken.

It is made clear that the United States, with respect to the atomic question, carries out a dictatorial policy. They keep and stockpile atomic weapons under the illusion they are still monopolists in the field of atomic energy.

These illusions exist to such a degree that (Gov. Thomas E.) Dewey, Republican candidate for President of the United States, stated in Phoenix, Ariz., that the United States has an exclusive monopoly of the atomic secret, as he put it.

Attacks Dewey Statement

Dewey attacked the U.S.S.R. and concluded by quoting from an American press agency. He stated that efforts in the field of atomic energy should be concentrated on its utilization for war-like purposes. That is what Dewey said, and I add, is not this a confirmation of the agressive foreign policy which is now being espoused in the United States by leading circles in the Republican party of the United States?

To understand the policy of the United States of America in the field of atomic energy, it is necessary to recall another most interesting speech—the speech of the President of the United States of America Harry Truman.

Truman talked about the results achieved in the course of tests of atomic weapons in the improved model, as he put it, in Eniwetok Island in the Pacific. The President of the United States said these tests of this improved model—as a matter of fact, three improved models—of the atomic bomb showed considerable progress, as he put it.

"Progress"—that is what he calls it—progress in improving the effectiveness of the atomic bomb. We are told that in Hiroshima the atomic bomb killed about 150,000 people. Apparently the President of the United States describes as progress the fact that perhaps the bomb now will kill a half-million people.

That is what he calls progress. That is the American brand of progress. That is the progress which is being boasted about by leading political figures in the United States of America.

That is what they call progress, and that is what is approved of by the President of the United States. He talked about measures for the further development of atomic weapons. Does this not speak volumes about the direction of American policy with regard to the atomic energy question?

Vishinsky's Statement Adds to Mystery Whether Soviet Possesses Atomic Bomb

By The Associated Press.

Have the Russians an atomic bomb?

They threw out another teaser yesterday in Paris during the United Nations deliberations. But like the broad hints of the past, it did not go quite so far as to say they possessed the bomb.

Two years ago Premier Stalin himself declared the Soviet Union had no atomic bomb. Since then it has been a game of "now you see it, now you don't," winding up in yesterday's statement by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Andrei Y. Vishinsky that it would be dangerous for the United States to think it had a monopoly on the weapon.

Mr. Stalin declared on Oct. 29, 1946, that the Soviet Union had no atom bomb. He said this in a statement urging rigid international control of atomic energy. Since then the Soviet Union has been blocking United States efforts for international control.

Seven months later Andrei A. Gromyko, then Moscow's chief United Nations' delegate, also acknowledged by implication that the Soviet Union did not have the bomb. He said then that the United States monopoly on the bomb was "temporary in character" and really an illusion. At about the same time high Washington officials, including Defense Secretary James V. Forrestal, gave their opinion that the Soviet Union knew how to make the bomb, but had not the industrial power to do so.

Once again, last October, there came an indication that the Soviet Union still had no atomic bomb. Warsaw dispatches quoted Andrei A. Zhdanov, Moscow Politburo member, as having told the Communist Information Bureau, which he had organized, that the Soviet Union still was not in possession of an atomic weapon. Mr. Zhdanov was often considered next to Mr. Stalin in power.

The Russians dropped this approach, however, in what appeared to be a shift keynoted by Foreign Minister Molotov.

The secret of the atom bomb, Mr. Molotov said last November in a speech marking the Bolshevik revolution's anniversary, "has long ceased to exist."

But he did not say the Soviet Union had the bomb. Neither did he say it had not. In Washington, the consensus was that he was speaking for home consumption, to calm Russian worries over the Soviet Union's potential in an atomic war.

Soon after this, reports began to appear in European capitals that the Russians had tested a bomb in Siberia the previous June. British military men doubted it and insisted Russia still did not have the bomb.

The New Times, authoritative Russian periodical, threw another hypothesis into the mill last Nov. 19. It did not say Russia had an atomic bomb; it said Russia had the "economic might" to produce such a bomb. Mr. Vishinsky said yesterday, "It is a mistake to think there is just one state which has a monopoly over atomic energy and the atom bomb."

SOUTH AFRICA FIRM OVER SEGREGATION

Aide in U. N. Strongly Opposes Human Rights Code—Denies Race Dignity Is Involved

By GEORGE BARRETT

Special to The New York Times.

PARIS, OCT. 1—South Africa came out strongly today in the United Nations against the Draft Declaration of Human Rights and subjected to special attack the provisions in the declaration barring racial segregation.

In the General Assembly's Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee Eric H. Louw, South Africa's chief delegate, contended that the declaration was in error in holding that human dignity would be impaired if some persons were told that they could not reside in particular areas of a country.

While not making any specific references to India's renewed complaint before the Assembly charging South Africa with mistreating and segregating some 300,000 Indian residents in the country, Mr. Louw argued that it was not at all self-evident that human dignity was damaged because particular areas of land were set apart for the reception of certain population groups "in the interests of the state or of racial harmony."

"We in South Africa could not possibly accept such a proposition as it would destroy the whole basis of our multi-racial structure," Mr. Louw said. "This certainly would not be in the interests of our less-advanced native population for whom large tracts of territory have been set aside for their exclusive use and development and in which no European is permitted to acquire or occupy land."

Mr. Louw contended that the whole scope of the declaration was much too broad and suggested that it would be better to promote respect throughout the world for a limited category of human rights and fundamental freedoms. He advocated support only for the generally recognized fundamental rights, such as freedom of religion and speech, liberty of the person, the inviolability of the person and property and free access to courts of impartial justice.

Mr. Louw asserted that it was not the United Nations' function to codify a whole philosophy of life and cautioned against accepting a human-rights code that attempted too much. Approving a declaration that might be honored in the breach rather than observance would be destroying it in advance, he said.

South Africa was the only country of the thirteen heard in committee today to present vigorous opposition to the draft declaration. Other delegations presented minor objections, but the feeling of most speakers during the preliminary debate was that the declaration was an important step toward eventual acceptance of a convention on human rights.

BRITON SEES GENOCIDE AS A WORLD PROBLEM

Special to The New York Times.

PARIS, Oct. 1—The debate in the United Nations on the problem of genocide continued today with the British member of the Legal Committee pointing out that any eventual tribunal to punish genocide should be international, rather than national, in character as recommended by Poland and the Soviet Union.

Sir Hartley Shawcross, chief United Kingdom prosecutor at the Nuremberg trials, pointed out that genocide generally was perpetrated by states and that the courts of those states would hardly find them guilty.

The Soviet Union and Poland repeated the assertion made yesterday by Yugoslavia that the draft of the convention being considered

32-C-8

POLITICAL FREEDOM FOR TEACHERS URGED

NY Times 10-11-48

A two-day academic freedom rally under the auspices of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions closed last night when 2,500 persons gathered at the St. Nicholas Arena to hear appeals for preservation of the right of teachers to political freedom.

Several speakers, including Dr. Harlow Shapley of Harvard and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, recently discharged by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, asserted that infringements on academic freedom were a step toward fascism in this country.

One of two resolutions adopted at the meeting termed the dismissal of Dr. DuBois "persecution." The other assailed the establishment of a "censorship committee" by the Los Angeles Board of Education.

In his talk, Dr. DuBois said his discharge as director of special research for the association was symptomatic of a trend "to stop any expression of ideas which we do not agree with."

Norman Mailer, author of "The Naked and the Dead," said "it is a truism that fascism cannot come to America if our colleges and universities remain free."

NEW WORK LISTS 40,000 BIOGRAPHIES

2 Year Task Said to Have Cost $250,000—Leaders of Many Nations Included

A two-year task of compiling 40,000 biographies of artists, educators, scientists, jurists, and military, business and political leaders in sixty-five countries ends today with the publication of "World Biography," a two-volume book of 5,120 pages, by the Institute for Research in Biography.

The book, which weighs twenty pounds, was compiled at the cost of $250,000, it was said, and with the aid of scientific and cultural groups, Government authorities, and United States embassies and legations throughout the world. The first printing of 6,000 has been sold almost entirely to libraries, colleges and universities, newspapers, magazines and radio stations.

The United States has 16,000 men and women listed; Great Britain, 4,000; the Scandinavian countries, 2,500; Canada, 1,400; France, 1,300, and the Soviet Union, 1,200.

"The Russian Embassy in Washington cooperated to the fullest extent," the institute said. "But, the listing of 1,200 Russians represents real digging, real getting behind the 'Iron Curtain.' It's as much as we could obtain. And we got those persons important in the Soviet satellite states as well."

Questionnaires, which were filled out by most of those listed, asked "full name, occupation, education, marital status, children, resumé of character, memberships in organizations, awards and honors, books published and office and home addresses."

George Bernard Shaw described himself as "Irish author and playwright, Nobel prize winner." Mr. Shaw said that he was a "descendant of Shaigh, third son of Macduff, Thane of Fife, Scotland, slayer of Macbeth."

U Tin Tut, the first Burmese Foreign Minister, submitted his biography shortly before he was assassinated in September. Dr. Chaim Weizmann, president of Israel, and Shigeru Yoshida, the new Japanese Premier, also are included.

NAACP Fires DuBois, Wallace Supporter

New World Telegram
9-14-48

32-4-6

The National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People announced today that it would terminate the contract of W. E. B. DuBois, its special research director, on Dec. 31.

The board of directors took the action after Dr. DuBois, a leading supporter among Negroes of Henry A. Wallace's candidacy, had publicly assailed Walter F. White, NAACP secretary.

Dr. DuBois, who has supported numerous Communist fronts, was also accused by the board of having violated the organization's confidence in disclosing publicly his differences with Mr. White.

Frank Freidel - Pa State Colleges
-Rayford Logan } Howard
-John Hope Franklin }
*Carl Wittke - Oberlin Colleges
Philip D. Jordan - Univ. of Minnesota
*Guy Stanton Ford - Amer Hist. Rev.
Library of Congress
Annex Rm 274
Wash. D.C.
-Lorenzo J Greene, Lincoln U. Jeff City
*C. Vann Woodward - John Hopkins
Koppel Pinson - Queens College
Oscar Janowsky - City College
Jacque Barzun } Columbia
*Harry J. Carman }
*Merle Curti - Wisconsin

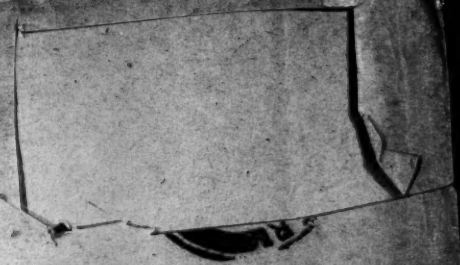
On the question of Africanization, the Acting Governor said that Government was implementing the frequently stated policy. In 1939, there were 23 Africans in the Senior Service. In 1947, there was a total of 182. During 1938/39, overseas scholarships cost the Government £648; for 1947/48 the cost was £30,800. The slow speed of Africanization was due to a lack of suitable candidates. He stressed the need for an increased drive in education in the Northern Provinces; and announced that, in addition to provision in the Ten-Year Development Plan, he had instructed the Director of Education to prepare an additional plan which would cost £500,000 during the first five years.

4

Nigeria W Afr Mail 48.

42/90/47

By AIRMAIL.



Dr. H. Smythe.
Dept of Special Research
N.A.A.C.P.
20. West 40th street. New York 18
N.Y. U.S.A.

St. Pd. 40th 75

RULERS OF ENGLAND

REIGN	RULER	TERM-YEARS	RELATIONSHIP
1714-27	George I	13	Son of Elector of Hanover
1727-60	George II	33	Only son of George I
1760-1820	George III	60	Grandson of George II
1820-1830	George IV	10	Eldest son of George III
1830-1837	William IV	7	Third son of George III
1837-1901	Victoria	63	Daughter of Edward, Duke of Kent, 4th son of George III
1901-1910	Edward VII	9	Eldest son of Victoria
1910-1936	George V	26	Second and surviving son of Edward VII
1936-	Edward VIII	1	Eldest son of George V
1936-1947	George VI	10	Second son of George V

23-20-50

ENGLAND: A History of British Progress from the early ages to the Present Day.

by Cyril Edward Robinson

Published by Thomas Y. Crowell Co. N. Y. C. 1939 (First edition 1928)

P. 863

LIST OF MINISTRIES OF ENGLAND

DATE	MINISTERS
1721-1742	Sir Robert Walpole
1742-1744	Lord John Carteret
1744-1754	Henry Pelham
1754-1756	Duke of Newcastle
1756-1757	Duke of Devonshire and William Pitt
1757-1762	William Pitt and Duke of Newcastle
1762-1763	Earl of Bute
1763-1765	George Grenville
1765-1766	Marquis of Rockingham
1766-1768	William Pitt and Earl of Chatham
1768-1770	Duke of Grafton
1770-1782	Lord North (Tory, King's Friends)
1782-	Rockingham (Whig) Marquis of
1782-1783	Earl of Shelburne (King's Friend and Chathamtier)
1783-1801	Lord North, Charles Fox, and Duke of Portland(Coalition--Tory-Whig
1783-1801	William Pitt (Chathamite, later Tory and Whigs)
1801-1804	Henry Addington, Viscount Sidmouth (Tory)
1804-1806	William Pitt's second ministry (Tory)
1806-1807	Lord William Grenville (Whigs and Torys)
1807-1809	Duke of Portland (Tory)
1809-1812	Spencer Perceval (Tory)
1812-1827	Earl of Liverpoos (Tory becoming liberal in policy after 1822)
1827-	George Canning (Liberal Tory)
1827-1828	Viscount Goderich (Liberal Tory)
1828-1830	Duke of Wellington and Peel (Tory)

23-20-47

LIST OF MINISTRIES OF ENGLAND

DATE	MINISTERS
1830-1834	Earl Grey (Whig)
1834-	Viscount Melbourne (Whig)
1834-1835	Sir Robert Peel (Conservative)
1835-1841	Viscount Melbourne (Whig)
1841-1846	Sir Robert Peel (Conservative)
1846-1852	Lord John Russell (Whig)
1852-	Earl Derby (Disraeli) (Conservative)
1852-1855	Earl Aberdeen (Coalition, Peelites & Whigs)
1855-1858	Viscount Palmerston (Whig)
1858-1859	Earl Derby (Disraeli, Conservative)
1859-1865	Viscount Palmerston (Whigs, Peelites, Liberals)
1865-1866	Earl Russell (Whig)
1866-1868	Earl Derby (1868 Disraeli, Conservative)
1868-1874	William E Gladstone (Liberal)
1874-1880	Disraeil (Conservative, Earl of Beaconfield)
1880-1885	Gladstone (Liberal)
1885-1886	Marquis Salisbury (Conservative)
1886-	William E. Gladstone (Liberal)
1886-1892	Marquis Salisbury (Conservative, supported by Liberal Unionists
1892-1894	William E. Gladstone (Liberal)
1894-1895	Earl Rosebery (Liberal)
1895-1902	Marquis Salisbury (Unionist)
1902-1905	Arthur James Belfont (Unionist)
1905-1908	Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman (Liberal)
1908-1915	Herbert H Asquith (Liberal)
1915-1916	Asquith (Liberal)
1916-1922	David LLoyd George (Coalition)
1922-1923	Bonar Law (Conservative

23-20-48

LIST OF MINISTRIES OF ENGLAND

DATE	MINISTERS
1923-1924	Stanley Baldwin (Conservati[illegible])
1924	Ramsey MacDonald (Labour)
1924-1929	Stanley Baldwin (Conservative)
1929-1931	Ramsey MacDonald (Labour)
1931-1935	Ramsey MacDonald (National)
1935-1937	Stanley Baldwin (National)
1937-1939	Neville Chamberlain (National)
1939-1945	Winston Churchill (National)
1945-1947	Clement Atlee (Labour)

23-20-49

Source

History of England

by

George Macaulay Trevelyan

Pub. , Longmans, Green & Co., N. Y. 1941 , pp. 735-736

(First Edition, 1926)

See also: C. E. Robinson, England; History of British Progress From Early Ages to the Present, Thos. Y. Crowell, 1939

W. E. B. DuBois

Article - "African Roots of Peace"
The Atlantic Monthly

Article - "The Progress of the Negro"
NY Times Magazine

Article - "From McKinley to Wallace: 50 years as a political independent"
Masses & Mainstream
(Aug. Number)

Continuing with the story of the Negro, 1876 - 1948, in fiction form.

32-8-7

1947-48 32-8-8

- 88,557 Negro students in all Common institutions of higher learning.
(74,095 last year)

- 5,635 bachelor degrees
451 master " "
9 doctors of philosophy
1 doctor of education
1 " " theology
126 M.D.'s
68 D.D.'s
1 doctor of jurisprudence
37 bachelors of law

- 11,274 enrolled in white schools
- 135 bachelors from " "
89 master's " " "

1918

Colored

324 - bachelors
20 law
101 medicine { Meharry 77, Howard 24
32 theology
85 dentistry { Meharry 32
14 pharmacy { Meharry 6, Howard 8

White

640 — bachelors.
12 — law
9 — medicine
4 — theology
8 — dentistry
10 — pharmacy

32-8-9

32-4-5

CAYTON

There's More to DuBois-White Feud Than Meets the Eye, Says Mr. Cayton

By HORACE CAYTON

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier. — The Editors.) 10-2-48

IT'S GETTING so politics gets into everything. A friend of mine told me the other day that if a white person in Washington, D. C., were seen eating with a Negro he would be a suspect and probably investigated under the Loyalty Act. That ain't democracy, friends. Name it what you want, but it ain't democracy. Political lines are getting so sharp right in through now that you can't speak to another person, go to a party, or even attend a show without its having political ramifications.

Mr. Cayton

If you don't think this is true, take a look at the current fight in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The struggle between Walter White, bureaucratic executive secretary, and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, historian and scholar who helped found the organization, has been smouldering for months. There's more to it than meets the eye.

* * *

ON THE SURFACE it's about whether Walter White should attend the Paris session of the United Nations assembly meeting as a consultant, where the question of the human rights of Negroes in the United States may come up. Underneath, the factions are fighting over whether to support Truman or Wallace. Wallace is DuBois' man and White is stringing along with Truman, or apparently that's what most people think. Me, myself, personally, and being a politician, don't know

affairs are concerned.

It seems unfair to give so much publicity to some of us just because we happen to have a Doctor's degree, but ignore the greatest thinkers of our time. I never see Schuyler played in the Negro press or magazines, except in The Courier.

Mr. Schuyler is far ahead of his time.

A KEEN OBSERVER
New York City

Scores NAACP's Firing of DuBois

To the Editor:

I have just read with indignation that Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, the distinguished scholar and a founder of the NAACP, has been "fired" from his position in the organization. My indignation comes from the fact that from 1910, I have, in my humble way, been an ardent supporter of the NAACP, contributing to its funds and defending it when it was attacked.

As to the technical charge of divulging the "secrets" of the organization I am not concerned. My interest lies in the more important and certainly more realistic fact that Dr. DuBois has been relieved of his position as Director of Research in the organization because he dared to oppose the acceptance by Walter White, executive secretary of NAACP, of a position with the U. S. delegation to the United Nations.

The meat of Dr. DuBois' opposition to Mr. White's position is that the position in effect obligates Mr. White to support the Truman administration's attitude on foreign policy and on the colonial question.

No thinking colored man who wants to see freedom for Africa can honestly support the Truman policy. It would be suicidal to do so. Yet Mr. White is to give the prestige of his organization, the largest among Negroes, an organization that should be uncompromisingly opposed to colonialism, to the policies of the United States in foreign affairs in relation to colonialism.

No wonder Dr. DuBois revolted and thousands of Negroes will revolt against this policy of making the NAACP an agent, so to speak, of the Truman administration which reversed the Roosevelt colonial attitude and is today actively supporting the international forces which enslave and will continue to enslave millions of Negroes and other nonwhite human beings.

The action of the rulers of the NAACP should be protested by Negroes throughout the country.

JOSE PEREZ
New York City

Pittsburgh Courier 10-2-48

of Justice." —Herbert Agar

32-4-14

about these matters. As I have said before, I haven't even made up my mind who to vote for.

I'm not interested so much, however, in the Du-Bois-Walter White imbroglio. What gets me is Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt and her role in the mess. Mrs. Roosevelt's dilemma, as stated by DuBois, is this: "The U. S. delegation to the United Nations has expressed clearly its attitude toward matters in which the NAACP is interested. It has refused to bring the curtailments of our civil rights to the attention of the General Assembly . . . It has refused . . . to allow any other nation to bring this matter up. If any should, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt has declared that she would probably resign from the U. S. delegation." So far I have seen no refutation of this accusation on the part of Mrs. Roosevelt.

• • •

NOW I'M DOWNRIGHT sorry if this is the case. Mrs. Roosevelt has been the champion of the Negro for years. Lots of people have suggested her name as president because she was four-square on the Negro issue. If there ever was a time for her to make like Joan of Arc for the freedom of suppressed people, not only in the United States but all over the world, this, brother, is it. If the facts as stated in this release are true, she has muffed her chance.

Of course, there are lots of international politics in it and I think I know some of the issues. I had better read up on a few copies of some of our intellectual high-brow magazines, however, before I sound off on that subject. But this I know and I know for a fact.

• • •

THE BROTHER IN black always has to wait and no matter how good a friend he may find in the other group, when there is a chance to strike out for his freedom, they just don't do it. He is always told to wait and defer his case in view of larger issues. But the Negro in America is the larger issue. He is the issue upon which two-thirds of the population of the world who are not white will make up their minds whether democracy will always mean white supremacy.

I'm sorry Mrs. Roosevelt can't see this, epitomizing as she does the finest type of white liberal. This, to me, is much more tragic and important than the DuBois-Walter White fight.

—Let a White Friend Read Your COURIER—

NEGRO NEWSPAPERS ---ADDRESSES

Alabama

Birmingham World, 312 17th Street N.

Mobile Weekly Advocate, 559 St. Michael Street

Arkansas

Arkansas World, 905 Gaines Street

California

Los Angeles-------California Eagle, 4071 S. Central Avenue

Los Angeles Tribune, 4225 South Central Avenue

San Diego-----Informer, 2739 Imperial Avenue

San Francisco Reporter, 1924 Fillmore Street

Colorado

Denver Star, 910 20th Street

Connecticut

Connecticut Chronicle, Post Office Box 1199, Hartford

District of Columbia

Washington Afro-American, 1800 11th Street. N. W.

Washington Tribune, 920 You Street

Florida

Florida Tattler, 511 Broad Street

Miami Whip, 1109 N. W. Second Avenue Whip

Georgia

Atlanta Daily World (dly.) 210 Auburn Avenue N. E.

Savannah Tribune, 1009 West Broad Street

Indiana

Indianapolis Recorder, 518-520 Indiana Avenue

Iowa

Iowa Observer, 515 Mulberry Street

Kansas

Wichita------Negro Star ~~[illegible]~~ 1241 Wabash Street

Kentucky

Louisville Defender, 619 West Walnut Street

Louisiana

New Orleans-----Louisiana Weekly, 601 Dryades Street

Massachusetts

Boston Chronicle, 794 Tremont Street

Boston Times, P. O. Box 187, Astor Station

Guardian, 977 Tremont Street

Michigan

Detroit Tribune, 2146 St. Antoine Street

Michigan Chronicle, 268 Elliot Street

MINNESOTA

Mimmeapolis Spokesman, 314 Third Avenue S.

St. Paul---Recorder, 312 Newton Bldg.

Mississippi

Jackson Advocate, 125½ North Farish Street

Missouri

Kansas City Call, 1715 East 18th Street

St. Louis American, 11 North Jefferson Avenue

New Jersey

New Jersey Afro-American, 128 West Street

New York

New York Age, 230 West 135th Street

Buffalo----Buffalo Spokesman, 295 Jefferson Avenue

Brooklyn---Brooklyn Tribune, 170 Gates Avenue

North Carolina

Durham---Carolina Times, 117 East Peabody

230-39

North Carolina---Continued

Wilmington-----Cape Fear Journal, 412 South 7th Street

Winston-Salem---- eople's Spokesman, 721 East 7th Street

Ohio

Cleveland Call and Post, 2319 East 55th Street

Columbus---Ohio State News, 112 Mt. Vernon Avenue

Youngstown---Buckeye Review, 423 Oak Hill Avenue

Oklahoma

Muskogee---Oklahoma Independent, 325 North Second Street

Oklahoma City---Black Dispatch, 325 N.E. Second Street

Tulsa---Oklahoma Eagle, 123 North Greenwood Street

Pennsylvania

Philadelphia Tribune, 524-526 South 16th Street

South Carolina

Lighthouse and Informer, 1022½ Washington Street

Tennessee

Chattanooga Observer, 124½ East Ninth Street

Memphis World (semi-wkly), 388 Beale Avenue

Nashville Globe and Independent, 403 Charlotte Avenue

Texas

Dallas Express, 2604 Thomas Avenue

Fort Worth Defender, 910 Grove Street

Houston Informer and Texas Freeman, 2418 Leeland Avenue

San Antonio Guard, 809 Virginia Boulevard

Virginia

Richmond Afro-America, 504 North Third Street

Washington

Seattle---Northwest Enterprise, 662½ Jackson Street

Wisconsin---Wisconsin Enterprise-Blade, 715 West Somers Street

22-32

Dr. & Mrs. W. E. B. Du Bois

will please present this card

at the door

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May 24, 1949

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

We have the honor of extending to you, on behalf of our Officers and Directors, a cordial invitation to become a member of the Academy of Political Science.

Today, more than at any previous time in our country's history, there is a need for impartial and expert analysis of the economic, social and political problems which confront us. Through its deserved prestige and authority, the Academy makes its contribution by bringing to its meetings and the pages of its publications the thinking of the most able and distinguished men of our time.

As a member of the Academy, you will receive, without further cost, all our publications and invitations to the Spring and Fall meetings, including the dinners. The enclosed leaflet describes our publications and meetings in detail. Please examine it carefully.

We hope you will agree that your membership will be a source of personal benefit. May we add that it is solely through the support of our members that the Academy can exert its influence on our national life. We trust, therefore, that we may have the privilege of adding your name to the list of those public-spirited citizens, who, since 1880, have participated in the activities of the Academy.

Sincerely yours,

President

Chairman, Membership Committee

[1949?]

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EXECUTIVE OFFICES · 628 N. EUTAW STREET
BALTIMORE 1, MD

Paris Peace Congress

April 20, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, N. Y.

23-43-17

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am very sorry that you delayed so long in writing to Mr. Carl Murphy about covering the Paris Peace Congress, April 20-23.

Your letter dated April 16 was not received in this office until April 18 because we do not work on Sunday. I think you will admit that this was far too close to the opening date of the Congress for us to give an adequate reply.

I feel certain that you will have departed before this letter is mailed, but I nevertheless am sending it in acknowledgment of your offer.

Because we would like to keep up with the Congress while it is meeting rather than waiting until it is over for a leisurely appraisal of it, we necessarily made other arrangements for coverage which prevent our acceptance of your kind offer.

Very truly yours,

W. I. Gibson

W. I. Gibson
Editor

wig/j

23-7-60.

[AIKEN]

Bloomfield College
- Seminary
Bloomfield, N. J.
March 14, 1949.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23rd West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

My dear Dr. DuBois:-

I am a student at Bloomfield College, New Jersey. I'm reading Toynbee's "A Study Of History" & I felt that I could not accept unchallenged the statement only the black peoples have made no positive contribution to any existing civilization. (In the abridged version.)

23-7-62

2.

After discussing it with my Professor it was decided that I do some research and then write Toynbee. However we felt it would be wise to write to you first, because we were sure you would have seen the statement and probably done something about it, if it were incorrect.

Since then I noticed in Volume I of the unabridged edition in the Errata and Addenda a slight concession made that there might have been a contribution to Egyptian Civilization.

I am very anxious to discuss the matter with you. Would it be at all possible

3.

to see you sometime this week end? I am free on Friday from 2:00 p.m. and on Saturday from 12:30 p.m. (It takes about one hour to get into New York.)

No doubt you are very very busy, but I do hope you will be able to see me as soon as possible, because all this work is to be submitted as a term paper.

Awaiting your reply

I remain,

Sincerely yours

Gabriel Aiken

[AIKEN]

Reg for Info- 1949

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 21, 1949

Miss Isabel Aiken
Bloomfield College and Seminary
Bloomfield, New Jersey

23-7-3

My dear Miss Aiken:

Answering your letter of March 14, may I say that I have to criticize Taynbee. Naturally I do not agree with much that he has written, but it is based on such wide reading and travel and is so voluminous that it is difficult for one who has not devoted himself very largely to his writings to venture any complete criticism.

First of all, we know that Taynbee is an Evangelical minister and his rather naive, religious bias colors all of his work. This prevents him from being a real scientist. Vast conclusions, such as he reaches, cannot be based even upon the wide research which he has made. They can only be come to definitively when sociology has grown up; when we have had so thorough-going a system of study and measurement of the acts of men that we can approach something like scientific knowledge and the formulation of approximate laws governing or at least influencing the actions of men. Failing this, a man like Taynbee can only come to conclusions which are colored by his up-bringing in England and his knowledge of white people and lack of knowledge of colored and black people. It is perfectly natural for him to assume that practically all civilizations and certainly the leading ones are white civilizations. I do not pretend to be as broad a student of history as Mr. Taynbee, but his conclusions in that matter, seem to me, to be simply ridiculous and far beyond the clear facts.

If you will make an appointment with my secretary, I can talk with you sometime when you are in town, although as I say, I am afraid that I have not very much of importance to contribute.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[AIKEN] Bloomfield College & Seminary
" , N. J.
Mar. 23, 1949

Secretary
Council on African Affairs
23rd West 26th Street
New York City

23-3-49

Dear Sir/Madam:

Dr. DuBois has instructed me to make an appointment. Would it be possible to see him on Monday afternoon at 3.30? If this is not convenient any afternoon at this time will do, but I would be grateful if it could be early in the week.

If I do not receive a reply I shall take it to mean that

Monday afternoon at that time will be convenient for Dr. Du Bois.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely

Isabel Aiken

23-3-9

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 24, 1949

Miss Isabel Aiken
Bloomfield College and Seminary
Bloomfield, New Jersey

Dear Miss Aiken:

This is to inform you that it will be impossible for Dr. Du Bois to see you Monday, March 28, at 3:30 p.m., as he has a previous engagement.

If you can be here on Friday, April 1, at 3:30 p. m., he will be glad to see you.

Very sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

23-11-47

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 10, 1949

Dr. Virginia M. Alexander
1708 Jefferson Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Virginia:

I shall arrive Saturday at your house about 5:45 p.m. We are due to meet my lec[redacted] hosts at Broad Street Station at 6:42 p.m. , and are invited to dine with them.

With love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

With profound sorrow the family

of

Dr. Virginia M. Alexander

announces her death on

Sunday, July 24th, 1949

Friends may call
Wednesday Evening
1708 Jefferson Street

230-11

[ALPHA, re.]

Bill "Alpha"

June 22, 1949

Mr. Belford Lawson, President
Rota Chapter
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Enclosed you will find a certificate of $5.00 with interest at 2% annually, which was issued to me May 20, 1919. The number is 196. I should be glad to have it repaid. Will you let me hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure--Alpha Certificate

Corr. 1-

July 6, 1949

Mr. Belford V. Lawson, Jr.
General President
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc.
2001 Eleventh St. N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Mr. Lawson:

The enclosed eveelope has been received with no enclosure.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure: envelope

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 10, 1949

American Airlines
100 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Will you kindly reserve for me the following passages: February 20---Flight 227 New York to Detroit. February 22, Flight 248--Detroit to New York.

Please let me know when these reservations are made and what the price is. I will remit.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

lecture corp

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 16, 1949

American Airlines
122 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Gentlemen:

Enclosed please find my check for $65.78 to cover the reservations I asked for in my letter of February 10.

Thank you for your kindness and promp attention to my request.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois
jen. h. murphy
Sec. to Dr. Du Bois

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure: Check $65.78

23C-42

[American Association for the United Nations]

PEOPLES SECTION

November

What should be done about *international control* of atomic energy?

32-35-20

New Focus on a Basic UN Problem

The Bomb. Four years ago, a U.S. superfortress dropped the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima, killing 100,000 of the 240,000 people who lived there. The strike on Nagasaki soon afterwards, and more recent tests of improved bombs point to the mass destruction which must follow if atomic energy is used for weapons of war. Since there is no military defense against atomic bombs, the only guarantee of protection from them is international control. The only international agency on hand to set up that control is the United Nations. Yet for more than three years, UN attempts to get a control plan into operation have failed. Each year, there has been a deadlock over two conflicting proposals for control—a majority plan backed up by the Western nations, and a minority plan supported by the Eastern bloc of countries.

The Plans. The majority of UN Members wants to take the ownership and production of all atomic materials from nations and persons, and put all operation and control into the hands of an international agency. (These UN Members believe that no country should have a veto right on atomic energy matters.) The minority proposes that production and development of atomic energy be left to independent nations whose factories would be checked periodically by an international authority. (This group insists that the Big Five must agree on *all* matters involving international peace and security, therefore they should have the power of veto on atomic energy matters.)

The Prospects. Until this fall, the United States was the only nation credited with the "know-how" of harnessing atomic energy for manufacturing bombs. But this September, President Truman announced that there had been an atomic explosion in the Soviet Union. Before the UN can put any control plan in action, there must be, among the nations developing atomic energy, mutual agreement on the way a control system is to be operated.

The Big Five (Britain, China, France, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.) and Canada have been trying to decide whether there can be any compromise between the two plans before the UN. If they see no area for agreement, the UN must look for new ways to attack the problem. Meanwhile, countries with access to the necessary raw materials and techniques can be working independently toward building a supply of atomic weapons.

In view of developments both inside and outside the UN, and the urgency of the need for control, can the U.S. afford to revise any of its basic proposals for control of atomic energy? Should the smaller nations in the UN have a bigger part in handling the atomic energy problem? Review the facts outlined below and decide what you think should be done about international control of atomic energy.

Three Years of Deadlock

In November, 1945, President Truman and the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and Canada agreed that control of the atomic bomb which their nations had created, and the responsibility that went with it, should be transferred to the United Nations. They asked the UN to appoint a commission to work out a system for international control of atomic energy. Russia agreed to this

plan at Moscow in December of 1945, and with the approval of China and France, the recommendation was passed on to the General Assembly.

Instructions from the Assembly

UNAEC. January 24, 1946, the General Assembly created the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, UNAEC, to handle the problem of international control of atomic energy. The Assembly asked the Commission to make specific proposals:

1) **For extending between all nations the exchange of basic scientific information for peaceful uses;**
2) **For the control of atomic energy to the extent necessary to insure its use only for peaceful purposes;**
3) **For the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction;**
4) **For effective safeguards by way of inspection and other means to protect complying states against the hazards of violations and evasions.**

The countries which make up the Security Council plus Canada are members of UNAEC. So far, in addition to the five permanent members of the Council and Canada, thirteen other countries have been part of UNAEC during their terms on the Security Council.

The Steps toward Control

What the UN Has Done. Through hundreds of meetings since its first session in June, 1946, the UN Commission has discussed in detail the same two basic plans for control of atomic energy. In the first year, the Commission vote split on the main principles of a control plan. The majority supported U.S. proposals for unequivocal international control and prohibition of manufacture of atomic bombs. In its second year, UNAEC rehashed the conflicting proposals and got to work on lining up details for an international control agency. Last year, the majority plan of UNAEC got the support of a majority vote of the General Assembly. At that time, some of the major powers proposed tha the Commission break up, since it couldn't make any progress when faced with a constant deadlock. But the Assembly instructed the Commission to hold another series of meetings and asked that the Big Five and Canada meet together in private sessions to decide whether there is any chance of compromise on the two opposing ideas for atomic energy control. These six countries are meeting now. The Commission ended its meetings last July and has been waiting for the Big Five and Canada to report to this session of the UN Assembly.

Where and Why Control Plans Disagree

The main difference between the two plans is that the *majority* says there cannot be control without unchallenged right of inspection anywhere, anytime; the *minority* says there can be. This is the way the plans lined up at the last Assembly session:

On the First Steps toward Control

The majority asks for a detailed system of controls under a kind of "international cooperative" which would have the power of inspection within the borders of all countries. Under this plan, the U.S. would dispose of its bombs and share its atomic "know-how" as soon as the control system began to function. (There would be a step-by-step system of transfer of controls in which the U.S. would turn over progressively more information as part of each step.)

The minority argues that this kind of inspection would interfere in internal affairs of sovereign states. Any country, particularly the U.S., could be building a large stock of nuclear fuels for bombs while waiting for the control agency to be set up. Russia charges that the U.S. insists on this plan because she wants to dictate to the UN the terms which will help her to strengthen her monopoly on atomic bombs.

The minority plan proposes that there should be two treaties signed at the same time—one to outlaw the atomic bomb, prohibit manufacture of bombs and destroy those existing: the other to provide for international control and periodic inspection of all countries.

The majority objects to this plan on the grounds that any strong international control system would take a long time to set up. If the U.S., for example, were to dispose of its bombs before the control system were operating there would be no guarantee

You have an individual responsibility to the United Nations. Your informed opinion is important to your representatives at the United Nations. As a member of the PEOPLES SECTION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS you participate actively and directly by making your views a concrete segment of U.S. informed public opinion. In answering these monthly questions on issues confronting the United Nations, you register your conclusions for the summary report, relayed through the PEOPLES SECTION, to the U.S. Mission and to UN officials.

Read the factual background information. Base your answers to the sub-questions upon your analysis of the background material. Then determine your answer to the November Question-of-the-Month. Answers—from both individuals and groups — should be sent promptly to 45 East 65th Street, New York 21, New York.

CONTENDING PROPOSALS FOR INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY CONTROL

The core of the two conflicting plans for international control of atomic energy as they were presented to the 1948 UN Assembly session in Paris are compared below:

Majority Plan: Set up control; then outlaw the bomb

Based on original U.S. proposals for atomic energy control, this plan was approved by a 40-member UN majority last fall. It calls for:

1. **Setting up an international control agency** with broad powers to own, operate and manage all mines and dangerous plants; to control production and use of uranium and thorium (basic raw materials for atomic bombs); to conduct research and to license projects for the peaceful uses of atomic energy. As soon as this agency began to work, the U.S. would dispose of her bombs and share atomic "know-how."
2. **International management** of all atomic energy development. The control agency would have full powers of inspection within the borders of any UN Member nation.
3. **A ban on the use of the veto power** in the United Nations on questions involving atomic energy.

Minority Plan: Outlaw bomb and set up control simultaneously

Based on original proposals of the U.S.S.R., this plan was supported by the six members of the Eastern bloc of nations at the UN Paris Assembly. It proposes:

1. **Two treaties setting up control and outlawing the bomb**—One would outlaw the atomic bomb, provide for destruction of all existing bombs, and prevent manufacture of any new bombs; the other, becoming effective at the same time as the first, would provide for international control of atomic energy. (Earlier minority proposals wanted the bomb outlawed and destroyed before establishing a control system.)
2. **National responsibility** for manufacture and development of nuclear fuels, with limited international inspection.
3. **Maintaining the veto power** on atomic energy as well as other security matters to avoid undermining the unanimity of the Big Five.

that all other countries had actually destroyed all their bombs.

On the Management of Atomic Energy Facilities

According to the majority plan, all factories and dangerous fuels used for the production of atomic energy would be owned by an international control agency. The world's total supply of uranium and thorium ores would be held in trust for fair distribution among all nations for their peaceful uses. The proportion according to which each nation would share in world supplies of available atomic materials would be written into an atomic energy treaty in the form of quotas.

Here, Russia believes that such an international system could be dominated by hostile powers that would try to act against Soviet interests.

The minority plan advocates that each nation must be free to develop its own atomic energy for industrial uses without international interference.

The majority objects to this because of the nature of atomic energy facilities. The U.S. has emphasized that the process used in manufacturing nuclear fuels is almost the same whether it's used for making bombs or whether it's applied for industrial purposes.

On the Veto Power

The majority plan provides that an international control body must not be subject to any restrictions by a veto, on inspection or any other matter. The control of atomic energy should be entirely in the hands of the international agency itself.

The minority charges that the total exclusion of the veto power from all UN considerations on atomic energy would undermine the very foundation on which the UN exists. Routine operations of an international control agency can go on without being regulated by a veto, but if atomic energy questions come up before the Security Council, the veto must apply as well in other Security Council matters.

The minority proposes that the veto must apply in all atomic energy matters because "The principle of unanimity of the five powers, permanent members of the Security Council, is operative in application to all questions of substance having relation to the maintenance of peace."

The majority explains that there would be no sure method of enforcement of control if the international control agency's activities and orders could be vetoed. Individual nations would be able to determine their own policies for production and stockpiling of nuclear fuel.

Other Ideas for Control

There have been reports that new proposals for atomic energy control are being considered by UN Members who are not part of the UN Atomic Energy Commission. But none of these plans has been officially proposed to the UN.

One of these proposals is that the whole problem of

atomic energy control be turned over to the UN's International Law Commission. It's fifteen members are chosen as experts, not representatives of governments. These legal experts could draw up a declaration which would bring out two things: That it is every country's moral duty to refrain from making, keeping, or using atomic weapons; that development of atomic energy is not a domestic matter, but an international one and every nation should help see that international control is set up and carried out. Once the declaration had been signed, the General Assembly could see that the second point recognizing the need for effective control was put into a legally binding treaty.

Another plan is to draw up a treaty which would prohibit the use of atomic bombs except against an aggressor nation. The aggressor would have to be defined by the UN itself. This would permit nations to continue manufacturing bombs, but would bind those nations to see that atomic weapons were used only under UN authority.

Those who challenge these plans say that a declaration itself would not be binding enough to prevent atomic warfare, and that any treaty would have the same provisions to which the minority of UN nations object right now. There is little possibility that they would change their minds. Furthermore, there would be no way of knowing without rigid inspection whether the nations which signed a treaty were standing by it. Unless all nations signed there could still be an atomic arms race.

Peacetime Versus Wartime Power

Just as safety from destruction is an urgent reason for seeking every avenue of compromise on atomic energy control, so is the advantage which can come from peacetime use of atomic power. As long as there is a race to build stocks of atomic bombs, nuclear fuels that could be used for industrial and scientific purposes will be scarce.

From the first, scientists have agreed that nuclear fuels made from uranium and thorium, no matter what the process involved, can be used *either* for making power, *or* for making bombs.

Right now, the power obtained from uranium is said to cost more per unit than that generated by combustion of coal or oil. But it has been estimated that when atomic engines (chain reacting piles) are perfected and built, they will compete economically with power now obtained from other well known sources.

Radio-isotopes of iodine, phosophorous and sodium, by-products of atomic energy, already have been authorized for use to help make better metals, better plastics, new drugs, new foods, and in some cases to implement the study of bacteria and cancer research.

U.S. Position After Soviet Explosion

Bernard M. Baruch, who represented the U.S. in the first meetings of the UN Atomic Energy Commission, has listed four things which the U.S. should do in view of the news of the explosion in the Soviet Union. Last month, Mr. Baruch suggested that the U.S.:

1) Insist on "nothing less than a truly effective" international system of atomic energy control;
2) Make every effort to maintain our advantage in the development of atomic weapons until a safe control has been set up;
3) Re-examine our strategy for peace-making. All plans for reaching our regional goals should be reviewed;
4) Immediately enact a standby mobilization plan, including civilian defense.

He re-emphasized the importance of following out the Assembly's original instructions to the UN Atomic Energy Commission to see that atomic energy is used for peaceful purposes. He declared that any proposal which the Soviet Union, or any other government, proposed should be studied carefully.

The announcement of an explosion in Russia does not necessarily *start* an atomic arms race. But from the U.S. point of view, especially if Mr. Baruch's suggestions are followed out, it will mean more money, scientists and engineers. Meanwhile, the possibilities of maintaining peace may grow smaller. And as President Romulo pointed out to this session of the General Assembly: "This atomic problem affects decisively the question not only of war and peace, but of the life and death of mankind."

WHAT DO *YOU* THINK?

1. How do the majority and the minority plans compare with the Assembly's instructions for atomic energy control?
2. Under what conditions would you approve of inspectors looking over atomic energy facilities within U.S. borders?
3. How should the news of the explosion in Russia affect the possibilities for atomic energy control?
4. What changes in the majority plan can the U.S. afford to propose?
5. What is the advantage of continuing UN discussions on atomic energy control if the six sponsoring powers can't find an area for compromise in the two main plans?

PEOPLES SECTION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS
American Association for the United Nations
45 East 65th Street, New York 21, N. Y.
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☐ Send me information on *Peoples Section* activities.
NAME .....
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Major Decisions of the United Nations General Assembly

FOURTH SESSION

September 20 — December 10, 1949

330 - 40

Reprinted from
NEW YORK TIMES,
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1949

Issued by

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS
45 East 65th Street • New York City 21

JERUSALEM. The Assembly voted 38 to 14 with 7 abstentions, for internationalization of the Jerusalem area, thus reaffirming its decision of two years ago that the region should be administered by the Trusteeship Council. The Assembly instructed the Council not to allow interested governments to divert it from carrying out the decision. Both Israel and Jordan, the two countries now occupying the Holy City, opposed the plan.

PALESTINE REFUGEES. The Assembly approved 47 to 0, with 6 abstentions, a new $54,900,000 program for the relief of approximately 652,000 Palestine Arab refugees during the eighteen months beginning January 1. The resolution approved provides for a United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees to carry out in collaboration with local governments the direct relief and works programs recommended in the report of the Economic Survey Mission, headed by Gordon R. Clapp.

CHINA. The Assembly approved, 45 to 5, with no abstentions, a resolution originally sponsored by the United States, Australia, Mexico, Pakistan and the Philippines, calling on all nations to observe the principles of the Charter in their relations with China, to respect her territorial integrity and political independence and to honor existing treaties and the right of the Chinese people freely to choose their own political institutions. The Assembly adopted another resolution on China, which refers the item to the Interim Committee "for continuous study and examination," in the light of the first resolution. The Interim Committee is to report its recommendations to the next session of the Assembly, "or to bring it (the Chinese question) to the attention of the Secretary General in order to report to the Security Council if it deems it necessary to do so."

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA. By a vote of 40 to 7, with 4 abstentions, the Assembly voted to ask the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion on the legal status of the former mandated territory of South-West Africa. It also requested The Hague tribunal to determine who has sovereignty over the territory with competence to modify its international status and what, if any, are the obligations of South Africa under the mandate and the United Nations Charter. The Assembly approved, 33 to 9, with 10 abstentions, a resolution expressing "regret" that the Union had ceased to submit information on South-West Africa, asked the Pretoria Government to resume supplying the data, and "reiterated" three previous resolutions calling on South Africa to place the territory under trusteeship.

ARMS. The Security Council was requested to continue its study of the regulation and reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces through the Commission for Conventional Armaments. The Assembly voted, 44 to 5, with 5 abstentions, to approve proposals formulated by the commission for the submission by member states of full information on their conventional armaments and armed forces, including verification. The Assembly defeated, 6 to 39, with 9 abstentions, a Soviet resolution on collecting information about atomic weapons as well as conventional armaments and armed forces.

INDONESIA. The Assembly approved a fourteen-power resolution welcoming the announcement last month at The Hague that the Netherlands, the Republic of Indonesia and the Indonesian Federalists had agreed to the creation of the United States of Indonesia by the end of the year.

INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION. By a vote of 34 to 0, with 12 abstentions, the Assembly decided to transmit the draft declaration on the rights and duties of states, as drafted by the International Law Commission and revised in the Legal Committee, to the member states with a request that they furnish their comments on it to the Secretary General by July 1, 1950.

ELECTIONS. Yugoslavia was elected to the Security Council on the second ballot by the General Assembly after India and Ecuador had been named on the first ballot. Yugoslavia received 39 votes, exactly the required two-thirds majority, with 19 for Czechoslovakia, her nearest rival. All three non-permanent members begin their terms on January 1, 1950. Elected for three-year terms on the Economic and Social Council were Mexico, Iran, the United States, Pakistan, Canada and Czechoslovakia. The Dominican Republic, Iraq and Argentina were chosen to serve on the Trusteeship Council.

ITALIAN COLONIES. By a vote of 48 to 1, with 9 abstentions, the Assembly decided to grant independence to Libya on January 1, 1952, placed Italian Somaliland under trusteeship for ten years, with Italy as administering power, to be followed by independence, and deferred action on Eritrea until the 1950 Assembly session pending further

investigation of the wishes of the inhabitants. Ethiopia opposed the compromise solution, while Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, France, New Zealand, Poland, the Soviet Union, Sweden, the Ukraine and Yugoslavia abstained. The Assembly appointed Adrian Pelt as United Nations Commissioner in Libya.

ATOMIC ENERGY. Over the objections of the five members of the Soviet bloc, the Assembly approved a resolution calling upon the Big Five and Canada to continue their closed-door consultations on every possible method of breaking the deadlock on international control of atomic energy. The resolution again endorsed the majority control plan and emphasized the necessity for partial surrender of national sovereignty if adequate safeguards were to be established. The six powers were instructed to examine closely any new proposals for atomic control.

BALKANS. Member nations were asked by the Assembly to impose a complete arms embargo against Albania and Bulgaria as long as the two countries continued to send aid to the Greek guerrillas. Approving a long omnibus resolution on the Greek question, 50 to 6, with 2 abstentions, the Assembly again called upon the two Soviet satellites to desist from interfering in Greece's internal affairs, continued the Special Committee on the Balkans and directed it to observe border incidents and seek a basis for conciliation. The Assembly then unanimously approved a resolution asking that Greek children taken to other countries as a result of the fighting should be returned home as soon as possible.

PEACE. The Assembly rejected, with only the Soviet bloc in support, a Soviet resolution calling for the conclusion of a non-aggression pact among the Big Five, immediate outlawing of the atomic bomb and condemnation of "preparations for a new war" by the United States and Britain. In place of the Soviet proposal the Assembly approved a joint United States-British resolution calling on all members of the United Nations to settle their differences in the spirit of the Charter and through established organs of international collaboration. The vote on the joint resolution was 53 to 5, with Yugoslavia abstaining.

FIELD SERVICE. The first international guard force—a trained and uniformed constabulary of 300 persons—was authorized by a vote of 46 to 5. The Soviet Union, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Ukraine voted "no." The guard force is to assist United Nations missions in every part of the world by ensuring their safety and providing communications service. The Assembly also created a panel of observers that is to provide the world organization with qualified persons ready to serve as on-the-spot observers. The proposal to establish the panel was adopted, 38 to 6, with 11 abstentions.

KOREA. The United Nations Commission on Korea received an indefinite extension of life and explicit instructions to guard against the outbreak of civil war in that country. The Soviet Union, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Ukraine and Yugoslavia voted against the resolution. Forty-eight countries supported it, with three abstaining. The Ukraine again refused to participate in the seven-member commission, first set up by the Assembly in 1947.

BUDGET. The Assembly approved a budget for 1950 of $49,641,773.

MEMBERS. By a series of overwhelming votes, the Assembly asked the Security Council to reconsider the membership applications of Austria, Ceylon, Finland, Ireland, Italy, Jordan, Korea, Portugal and Nepal. All nine states were prevented from joining the organization by Soviet vetoes in the Council. The Assembly also voted to ask the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion on whether a state may become a member of the United Nations without prior Security Council recommendation. The Big Five in the Council were urged to refrain from using the veto in considering membership applications. A Soviet resolution to admit thirteen countries en bloc, including Albania, Mongolia, Bulgaria, Rumania and Hungary, was defeated although it gained the support of twelve member nations.

LITTLE ASSEMBLY. Over strong opposition from the Soviet bloc, the Assembly voted, 45 to 5, with 4 abstentions, to continue for an indefinite period the Interim Committee, or Little Assembly, designed to relieve the burden of work at the annual sessions of the Assembly.

HUMAN RIGHTS. By a vote of 47 to 5, with 7 countries abstaining, the Assembly expressed "increased concern" at charges that religious and political freedoms were being violated in Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania and asked the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion

on whether an actual legal dispute exists concerning the observance of human rights clauses in the peace treaties concluded with the three countries. The court also was asked to determine whether Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania were obligated to participate in the separate three-member inquiry commissions provided for in the treaties. The five Soviet bloc members opposed the resolution with Yugoslavia abstaining.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE. A global program of technical assistance for underdeveloped countries was unanimously approved by the Assembly. Based on studies by the United Nations Secretariat, the specialized agencies and the Economic and Social Council, the program provides for sending experts to backward areas under United Nations auspices at the request of member governments. An international conference to be called soon will work out the administrative machinery for the program, which will include the specialized agencies. The conference also will decide on financial outlays, tentatively estimated to involve between $25,000,000 and $50,000,000 during the program's first two years. Funds are to be drawn from voluntary contributions by United Nations members.

FULL EMPLOYMENT. United Nations members were urged to adopt effective measures to achieve and maintain full and productive employment throughout the world in a resolution approved, 41 to 5, with 2 abstentions, by the Assembly. The Assembly also provided for another review of the world economic situation, with special reference to unemployment, at its fifth session next September.

MIGRANT LABOR. In place of a Polish resolution to condemn the Western powers for alleged exploitation and mistreatment of foreign workers, particularly refugees, the Assembly approved, 45 to 6, a British-sponsored proposal urging all members to adopt an International Labor Organization convention barring discriminatory treatment of foreign workers. The Assembly urged the ILO to speed action to ensure that all workers receive equal facilities for housing, food, education and recreation.

INFORMATION PACT. Action on the proposed treaty on freedom of information was deferred at least until the 1950 session by the General Assembly over the vigorous opposition of France and Uruguay. By a vote of 38 to 10, with 10 countries abstaining, the Assembly postponed consideration of the controversial measure, which is opposed as impractical by Britain and the United States, but instructed the Commission on Human Rights to try to incorporate the same principles into its draft human rights convention.

FLAG. With Britain, South Africa, Luxembourg, Belgium and France casting negative votes, the Assembly approved a Philippine proposal recommending to the Trusteeship Council that the blue-and-white flag of the United Nations be flown side-by-side with the flag of the administering power and the territorial banner, if any, in trust areas.

TRUSTEESHIP. The Assembly adopted a series of resolutions resigned to promote social, economic, educational and political advances among 15,000,000 inhabitants of the ten African ad Pacific territories under United Nations trusteeship. Administering authorities were urged to accord indigenous peoples a greater share in their own government and increased participation in industrial and agricultural enterprises operating in trust areas. The Assembly also expressed strong disapproval of racial discrimination and corporal punishment in areas under international supervision and cautioned the Trusteeship Council not to permit trust territories to be merged completely with outright colonies.

PROCEDURE. Taking its first concrete step toward curtailing lengthy debates in the United Nations, the Assembly adopted thirty-six alterations and additions to its rules of procedure, including the elimination of redundant "explanations of vote" by delegates.

PRAYER. The Assembly decided to open and close its annual sessions with a minute of silence devoted to prayer and meditation.

POSTAL SERVICE. Secretary General Trygve Lie was instructed by the Assembly to continue with arrangements to set up a separate postal administration for the organization and to report back to the next Assembly session.

CHILDREN'S FUND. The Assembly approved, 44 to 0, with the Soviet Union, Byelorussia and the Ukraine abstaining, a "compromise" resolution urging members to make further contributions to the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund and lauding the agency's feeding programs in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America. The controversial question of when the fund is to come to an end was not mentioned, although the Assembly noted the continuing needs of children in underdeveloped countries.

COLONIES. In a series of overwhelming votes, the Assembly approved ten resolutions providing for permanent international investigation and review of conditions in colonial areas. The Assembly continued for three years a special committee charged with sifting information from non-self-governing territories, called on colonial powers to submit data on political development in their dependencies to the United Nations and ordered successive inquiries into educational, social and economic advance among colonial peoples. Other resolutions recommended joint action by colonial authorities and specialized agencies in dealing with illiteracy, equal access to improved educational facilities, training of public health personnel and other aspects of colonial development.

INJURIES. The Secretary General was authorized to bring an international claim for reparations against the government of any state, whether a member of the United Nations or not, which was alleged to have injured personnel of the world organization acting in the line of duty.

GENOCIDE. The Assembly instructed the Secretary General to invite states that are not members of the United Nations to adhere to the convention on genocide, provided they are active partcipants in one or more specialized agencies of the United Nations or are parties to the statute of the International Court of Justice.

PROSTITUTION. A draft convention for the suppression of traffic in persons and the exploitation of the prostitution of others was aproved. France and Britain voted against the measure after amendments exempting colonial areas from the provisions of the convention had been defeated by the Assembly.

REFUGEES. The Assembly voted to establish, as of Jan. 1, 1951, a High Commissioner's office for refugees in Geneva. It approved, 35 to 7, with 13 abstentions, a resolution requesting the Secretary General to prepare detailed draft provisions for carrying out this decision, to circulate them to member governments for their comments and to forward the proposals, together with comments received, to the eleventh session of the Economic and Social Council, which is to prepare a comprehensive plan.

UNITED NATIONS GUARDS AND TECHNICAL FIELD SERVICES

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COMMISSION TO STUDY THE ORGANIZATION OF PEACE
Research Affiliate of the
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS, Inc.
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FOREWORD

The Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, research affiliate of the American Association for the United Nations, has consistently advocated that the United Nations should have sufficient forces and facilities at its disposal to enable it to perform its functions.

The Fifth Report, "Security and Disarmament Under the United Nations," issued in June 1947, included the recommendation that the United Nations should have certain police forces of its own, wearing the United Nations uniform, to police United Nations headquarters and other areas to be placed under United Nations or international administration.

"United Nations Guards," published by the Commission in September 1948 analyzed the Charter authority for such a force, its character and functions, and urged support for the proposal put forward by Secretary-General Trygve Lie that the General Assembly authorize the creation of a United Nations guard force.

This report, "United Nations Guards and Technical Field Services" further develops the idea in the light of recent United Nations experience. .

United Nations Guards and Technical Field Services

The United Nations is often thought of as the group of political organs and the technical commissions generally meeting at the headquarters, and the Secretariat of several thousand persons which serves them. It must be recognized, however, that the United Nations is not localized. It acts throughout the world, sometimes through the member governments carrying out its resolutions and decisions, each in its own territory, sometimes through its own agencies sent to troubled areas to investigate conditions, to observe the fulfillment of resolutions, to supervise plebiscites, to mediate and to conciliate disputes or to administer local problems. In the actual history of the United Nations such missions have been sent by the General Assembly to observe and report on hostilities on the Greek frontier, to supervise an election in Korea, to investigate the situation in Palestine, and later to conciliate between the parties involved in the Palestine controversy. Missions have been sent by the Security Council to maintain a truce and to mediate in Palestine, to investigate and to arrange for a plebiscite in Kashmir, and to investigate and mediate in Indonesia. The Trusteeship Council has sent visiting missions to Samoa and to Tanganyika. The Economic and Social Council maintains commissions in Europe, in Asia and the Far East, and in Latin America. Such a commission is also planned for the Middle East.*

These missions represent the United Nations to the peoples of the world. Their efficiency determines the success of United

*Many of the specialized agencies have sent special missions or maintained permanent missions abroad. The problem of such missions, however, is not dealt with in this paper.

Nations action in the field and their appearance and authority influence the world's opinion about the United Nations.

It is obvious that the provision for personnel for these missions—competent, well-trained, adequately equipped and sufficiently numerous to perform their task—is of major importance if the United Nations is to fulfill its purposes. There has been a great deal of discussion concerning the veto vote and the incapacity of the Security Council to reach decisions rapidly on major issues. There has been discussion concerning the inability of the United Nations to agree upon the regulation of atomic energy and conventional armaments and to establish contingents of armed forces under the control of the Military Staff Committee for the maintenance of international peace and security. There has also been discussion concerning the United Nations procedures for pacific settlement of international disputes which threaten the peace, procedures which have been successful in a number of instances, although improvements have been proposed by the General Assembly. While no one can question the gravity of these problems, they concern mainly emergency situations in which large-scale hostilities are threatened.

In addition there is another class of incidents, which if dealt with adequately may prevent major emergencies from occurring. The Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, therefore, believes that a careful examination of the field services of the United Nations and the conditions under which they can function satisfactorily is of major importance.

I. Commission's Reports on the Subject

The Commission to Study the Organization of Peace has devoted a number of reports to the problems of world security. Its Fourth Report in November, 1943, attempted detailed analysis of the conditions of international security with the conclusion that the organization of the entire community of nations was preferable to a system of continued collaboration of the Great Allies, to an Anglo-American entente or to the maintenance of an equilibrium of power. It was concluded that

a specialized international force controlled by the universal organization and composed principally of air forces would be preferable at this time to any system for coordinating national contingents or for establishing an integrated international force of all arms. The Report dealt with the organization of such an air force and with its control through appropriate political organizations, with limited legal power and with the power of the purse controlled by organs representative of world public opinion.

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The Fifth Report of the Commission in June, 1947, written after the United Nations had been functioning for a year and a half, emphasized that the United Nations, if it is to control war, must have at its command military forces for the prevention of aggression. It reasserted its conviction that a permanently embodied international air force, a proposal which paralleled that made by the Soviet Union at Dumbarton Oaks in September, 1944, would be desirable and also urged speedy action by the Military Staff Committee to make the agreements for earmarked contingents by the Member States as contemplated in Articles 43 and 45 of the Charter.

In addition, the Commission at that time appreciated the importance of police forces for assistance in carrying on the regular activities of the United Nations at its headquarters and in the field. Its recommendation stated:

> The United Nations should have certain police forces of its own. They should be composed of volunteers wearing a United Nations uniform. They should be used to police United Nations headquarters and other areas to be placed under United Nations or international administration. While not designed to be used against an aggressor, they might in an emergency serve as protection for United Nations services, provide a warning against aggression, and thus help to prevent the outbreak or lessen the extent of violence.

In 1948 the Commission produced two reports on the security problem. One of these, entitled "Collective Self-Defense Under the United Nations" proposed a general convention under Article 51 of the Charter which would obligate the parties to place certain forces at the disposal of the United Nations to be used against aggression as determined by a two-

thirds vote of the General Assembly including three of the principal powers.* This proposal for avoiding the veto and providing forces adequate for a major emergency was supplemented by a report on United Nations Guards in September of 1948. In this Report, the Commission discussed the proposal which had recently been made to this end by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Charter authority for such forces, the functions of the guards, their location, character and size, and also considered some of the objections which had been raised against the project. It "urged the immediate establishment of such a force."

The subsequent experience of the United Nations in Palestine, Kashmir and Indonesia, the assassination of Count Bernadotte and the killing and wounding of a number of other United Nations officials in Palestine, and the discussions concerning the activities of conciliation in Palestine, of holding plebiscites in Kashmir and Korea and of mediation in Indonesia convinces the Commission that provision for a permanent personnel of trained guards, technicians, and observers, ready at any moment for field service, is a matter of utmost importance. The Commission believes that the Special Committee established by the General Assembly on April 29, 1949, to report to the General Assembly in the autumn of 1949 has made progress toward developing a practical and effective plan. It wishes to emphasize, however, that such a field service should be adequate both in personnel and in equipment and should not be hampered by undue parsimony or by exaggerated national susceptibilities.

II. United Nations Activities on the Subject

In his address at Harvard University on June 10th, 1948, Secretary-General Trygve Lie suggested that a comparatively small guard force, distinct from a striking force, recruited by the Secretary-General and placed at the disposal of the Security Council "would have been extremely valuable to us in

*This report was supplemented by a report entitled "The Security of the United States and Western Europe" published in January, 1949. It related the proposed general convention to the problem of Western Europe and the North Atlantic Community.

the past and it would undoubtedly be very valuable in the future." He repeated this suggestion in his report to the United Nations General Assembly released August 8, 1948, adding that the force might be at the disposal of the General Assembly as well as of the Security Council. The matter was formally presented by the Secretary-General to the General Assembly, accompanied by a detailed report under date of September 28, 1948, on "United Nations Guard."* This report discussed the need of such a guard, the legal basis for its establishment, its functions, and its character. While described as "non-military," the guard was to be equipped with light weapons and its functions were to include protection of the personnel, premises, property, and archives of field missions; transportation, communication and supply services; maintenance of order at meetings; patrol of neutralized areas under truce or cease fire orders; and supervision of polling places during plebiscites. A guard of eight hundred men was proposed—three hundred in continuous services, directly recruited, as a special branch of the Secretariat, and five hundred in reserve recruited in sections on recommendation of member countries. There was to be a minimum service of two years, a common training pattern and an effort to maintain the international character of the guard. The cost was estimated at four million dollars for the first year.

Secretary of State Marshall in his initial address to the General Assembly on September 23rd, 1948 endorsed the Secretary-General's proposal in the following words:

> We believe that the Assembly should give sympathetic consideration to the suggestions of the Secretary-General for the establishment of a small United Nations guard force to assist United Nations missions engaged in the pacific settlement of disputes. The fate of the Mediator in Palestine and the experience of several commissions already working in the field have already demonstrated the need for such a group. This great world organization should not send its servants on missions of peace without reasonable protection. The guards would be entirely distinct from the armed forces envisaged under Article 43 and would not carry out military operations. They could, however, perform important

*Printed in Appendix, p. 26.

services in connection with United Nations missions abroad not only as guards but also as observers and as communications and transportation personnel.

The General Assembly was unable to give attention to the matter during the Paris meeting, although in its resolution of December 11th establishing a conciliation commission to deal with the Palestine question, it declared that "the Secretary-General will provide a limited number of guards for the protection of the staff and premises of the Commission."

The Secretary-General's proposal was considered in the Ad Hoc Political Committee under the chairmanship of General Romulo of the Philippines in the New York meeting in April, 1949. The debate indicated general approval of the proposal and the resolution introduced by the Philippine delegate was adopted by the Ad Hoc Committee on April 11th by a vote of 41 to 6 with 3 abstentions. The resolution was adopted by the General Assembly on April 29th by a vote of 47 to 6 with 1 abstention in the following language:

> The General Assembly,
>
> Having considered the proposal made by the Secretary-General for the creation of a United Nations Guard for the purposes set forth in his report of 28 September 1948,
>
> Realizing the need for a thorough study of the matter before concrete action can be taken thereon,
>
> Resolves to establish a Special Committee of specially qualified representatives of Australia, Brazil, China, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, France, Greece, Haiti, Pakistan, Poland, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom and United States of America.
>
> The Special Committee shall study the proposal for the establishment of a United Nations Guard in all its relevant aspects, including the technical, budgetary and legal problems involved, and such other proposals as may be made by Member States and by the Secretary-General with regard to other similar means of increasing the effectiveness of the services provided to the United Nations missions by the Secretary-General, and shall prepare a report embodying its observations and recommendations for consideration during the fourth regular session of the General Assembly.

In the Ad Hoc Political Committee the Philippine delegate stated that the guard "would not have the character of an

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army nor would it preclude the creation of the international armed force called for by the Charter." But its functions "would be confined to providing personal protection for the members of United Nations missions and supplying the technical services necessary for their transportation and communication. It would guard United Nations property in disputed areas or neutral zones and polling places wherever plebiscites were held under United Nations supervision. By its mere presence, the United Nations Guard would constitute a tangible symbol of United Nations authority. It would have the advantage of obviating the suspicions of partiality to which personnel of individual Member States might be subject when they were sent to assist missions of inquiry or conciliation in the field. Moreover, as the proposed force was not designed to operate in the territory of any country without the consent of the Government concerned, there could be no question of infringement of national sovereignty. Finally, preliminary estimate of the cost of maintaining the proposed force (four million dollars) appeared reasonable in comparison with the benefits which could be expected to result for the pacific settlement of international disputes."

A vigorous debate followed participated in by representatives of Sweden, Union of South Africa, Dominican Republic, Soviet Union, United Kingdom, Yugoslavia, United States, Belgium, Haiti, El Salvador, Greece, France, Chile, China, Byelorussia, India, Peru, Iran, Brazil, Poland and Ecuador. Of the principal powers, the United States and China definitely favored the guards, the British were hopeful, the French were skeptical, and the Soviet Union definitely opposed. The representatives from Latin America, from Asia and from Western Europe were generally favorable, while the "Peoples Democracies" followed the lead of the Soviet Union.

After considering this debate and the Assembly resolution which followed, the Secretary-General submitted to the Assembly's Special Committee on June 24, 1949, a revised memorandum dated June 16, 1949.* This proposal modified that of

*Printed in Appendix, p. 34.

September, 1948. It recommended a "United Nations Field Service" of three hundred men recruited as part of the Secretariat by secondment* from member governments for periods of one to three years. The Field Service would be trained at United Nations Headquarters and would be provided subsistence, uniforms and equipment by the United Nations which would also reimburse the seconding governments for salary, family allowances and pension contributions to which the individual was entitled in his national service. The service would not carry any arms except in special circumstances and with permission of the local authority and would never be provided with rifles, machine guns or heavy equipment.

The Field Service would be employed in transport and communication work; protection of United Nations premises, missions, supplies and archives; and maintenance of order at meetings, hearings and investigations. It would not observe truces or protect neutralized areas or polling places during plebiscites. To provide for the latter functions, the memorandum recommended a "Field Reserve Panel" consisting of names of some two thousand men in the national services of member governments recommended by those governments. From this panel the Secretary-General would select lists on a basis of physical fitness, experience and geographical distribution, but the men would not be called except in response to a specific decision of the General Assembly or the Security Council, or an organ authorized by them, precisely defining the function to be performed in the particular case, the number of men and the weapons to be used. The men on the list would not be obliged to serve when called, consequently the list would include more men than would be required on any occasion.

"The Field Reserve Panel" would cost the United Nations nothing except for subsistence and reimbursement of the seconding government for salary and family allowance when an individual was actually in United Nations service. This made

*To "second" in a military sense means to designate military personnel for temporary removal from their regiment or corps for some other appointment or use.

it possible to reduce the estimates for the Field Service and the Reserve Panel to a little over one million dollars for the first year.

This proposal was considered by the Special Committee during the summer of 1949. In spite of the Secretary-General's modification of his original proposal, the Soviet Union, supported by Poland and Czechoslovakia, reiterated its opinion that the proposal violated the Charter by enlarging the powers of the Secretariat and encroaching upon the competence of the Security Council. Most of the members of the Committee, however, favored the proposal in principle and saw no legal objection to it. The majority thought the proposal merely contemplated an expansion of the normal functions of the Secretariat already exercised in utilizing field services in Palestine.*

Objection was made to the proposal for secondment by national governments by certain states on the ground of constitutional difficulties and the great variation in the pay of personnel in different countries. The general opinion of the Committee favored direct recruitment in accord with usual Secretariat practice designed to assure efficiency and reasonable geographical distribution.

The majority of the Committee felt there was danger of an overlapping of functions between the Field Service and the Headquarters Security Service and suggested that the two might, in some measure, be merged.

Some members of the Committee expressed the opinion that functions concerned with security could be exercised only by forces of the Member State in whose territory action was taken, but the majority recognized that there were many instances when considerations of efficiency and impartiality required use of United Nations staff. Consequently, while cooperation should be sought from the state in whose territory the service operated, use of local services of that state might not be practicable.

It was the general opinion that technical matters in the organization of the service should be left to the discretion of the Secretary-General. The Special Committee concurred in the

*The Report is printed in the Appendix, p. 39.

opinion of the Secretary-General that "the service would not ordinarily be supplied with arms."

Careful consideration of the budgetary problems indicated that savings in the ad hoc services, which it had been necessary to attach to special missions, would in large measure compensate for the cost of a systematized field service. The proposal, therefore, involved little, if any, budgetary increase.

The Special Committee proposed that the General Assembly recognize the authority of the Secretary-General to establish the United Nations Field Service subject to budgetary limitations and the normal administrative controls of the General Assembly and that it take note of the intention of the Secretary-General to establish a unit, modified by the observations contained in the report of the Special Committee.

The Special Committee also approved the Secretary-General's proposal to establish a Panel of Field Observers, the Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia again dissenting. The majority emphasized the importance of the technical qualifications of persons on the Panel and of preserving the discretion of the Secretary-General, while consulting with national governments, to utilize persons not at the time in any national service. Because of possible constitutional difficulties in the case of persons in a national service, it was suggested that the Secretary-General have discretion in the administration of the United Nations oath to members of the Panel.

The Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia made the same legal objections to the Panel of Observers that they had made to the Field Service but the majority found no legal objections, pointing out that the members of the Panel would be called into service only as a result of a specific decision by a competent organ of the United Nations. The General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council, it was pointed out, might in certain circumstances be competent to utilize the Panel, as well as the Security Council.

The Special Committee proposed that the General Assembly recognize the utility of the proposed United Nations Panel

of Field Observers, that it note the Secretary-General's intention to undertake the administrative arrangements for the Panel, and that it request the Secretary-General to maintain the Panel with due consideration of the observations made in the report of the Special Committee.

III. Nature of Field Services

The debate in the Ad Hoc Political Committee in April, 1949 concerned mainly the United Nations guard, although the resolution which was passed authorized the Special Committee to study in addition "other similar means of increasing the effectiveness of the services provided to the United Nations missions by the Secretary-General." This would cover the provision of an adequate reserve of properly trained observers and technicians, as well as guards to give them protection. The Secretary-General's second proposal and the Special Committee's report separated the permanent Field Service of technicians from the Panel of Observers and guards to be utilized only on special call of a competent organ of the United Nations.

The experience of the United Nations in Palestine has provided a basis for judging the actual needs of field services in disturbed areas. Highly qualified officers able to assist the mediator in negotiations, to observe and to supervise the terms of truces were necessary. It was also found that technicians able to deal with communication, transportation, supply and clerical work were no less important than guards performing the ordinary police functions. In such areas communication has usually broken down and experts on radio transmission and the repair of radio equipment are necessary. Furthermore, trucks and jeeps had to be used, requiring expert service in their driving and repair. Frequently clerical service cannot be locally supplied. It is also necessary to have men familiar with police routines for guarding waterworks, electrical supply stations and other such points of vital importance. The provision of suitable protection for the personnel of the mission, for its archives and for the premises it occupies is also important. If plebiscites are to be taken police, to insure order and lack of coercion at the polling places and in the area generally, are necessary. Con-

sequently the field service should include experts of various types.

In the case of Palestine, it was necessary to send military observers to assist the Mediator and the Acting Mediator in supervising compliance by the parties with the terms of the truce. France, Belgium, and the United States provided in 1948 officers and enlisted men for this purpose at the request of the Secretary-General. The United Nations did not pay salaries or compensate the governments but paid transportation expenses and a subsistence allowance while in the area and guaranteed to compensate observers in case of service-caused injury, and to compensate their families in case of total disability or death. During the same year the Secretary-General sent a small contingent of United Nations guards from Lake Success. They volunteered for service in Palestine and were there for about one month. They served the Acting Mediator in various capacities not including police functions.

During 1949 the Secretary-General, under authority of the Assembly resolution of December 11, 1948, arranged for the secondment of a small number of guards from France, Belgium and Norway to protect the members and the premises of the Conciliation Commission for Palestine. These contingents, together with the United Nations civilian officers, the observers and the civilian secretaries and radio operators constituted a personnel in Palestine, responsible to the United Nations, which at times reached a number over seven hundred. In the United Nations experience the military observers consisting in the main of senior officers have performed diplomatic and similar functions very different from the protective and custodial functions performed by the guards.

The Secretary-General's first report (Appendix C, below page 30) suggests that a system of secondment be used for the reserve cadre on the ground that this would permit budgetary saving, easy and rapid expansion, and screening by national authorities. The Secretary-General's Second Report proposed secondment by national governments for the Field Service as well as the Panel of Observers (below p. 34). On the other hand, as pointed out in the Special Committee, such

a system would present difficulties in regard to unified training, unquestioned loyalty to the United Nations, and esprit de corps.

32.27.25

It is stated in the Secretary General's report of September, 1948 (Appendix A, Section 2 below p. 28) that "there is one important legal limitation on the function of the guard. Under the Charter it appears clear that the guard may not be used to carry out the military and enforcement measures provided for under Article 42." That article states that the Security Council may, in emergencies, "take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security," and declares that such action "may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations." It does not appear that this would preclude the use of directly recruited guard forces for such purposes if the Security Council desired to use them. The use of the word "may" indicates that the use of national forces is permissive but not mandatory. Articles 43 and 45 provide a means for equipping the United Nations with national contingents through agreements with the Members, but does not make this method of obtaining forces exclusive.

The Secretary-General's report of September, 1948 also states (Appendix A, Section 3 below p. 29), as an important legal principle applicable to the proposed guard, that "it will function in any territory only with the consent, expressed or implied, of the territorial sovereign." While this statement gives due respect to the general principle that Members of the United Nations cannot be legally bound except through expressed or implied consent, it seems clear that, through their ratification of the Charter, such consent has been given in advance by all Members of the United Nations to "decisions" of the Security Council, including decisions to send a mission to the territory of a Member. Article 25 provides: "The Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter."* The majority

*When the General Assembly has sent missions abroad it has done so with the expressed consent of the administration responsible for the territory in which the mission was to operate. In regard to trusteeship territory, Article 87 of the Charter provides that "the General Assembly and, under its authority, the

of the Special Committee recognized the legality of both the Field Service and the Panel of Observers, and assumed that, not only the Security Council, but also the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council would be competent to authorize use of the Panel on suitable occasions.

The Secretary-General's 1948 report stated that "it may be necessary in certain cases to obtain express consent for the carrying of weapons or the operation of equipment such as motor vehicles, radios, or other means of communication," from the State where the operation is conducted. The report added "if such special permission is needed under local law, the agreement of the Government concerned would normally have to be obtained or individual licenses issued." This conclusion raises the issue suggested by the Chinese representative as to the extraterritoriality of guard forces. In so far as such forces are extraterritorial, no special permission would be necessary to enable them to bring with them weapons or other equipment necessary for the performance of their functions. General immunities of United Nations personnel have been recognized in the headquarters agreement with the United States and in the general Convention on Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations.

The Secretary-General's report of September 28, 1948 proposed a permanent establishment of 300 members recruited directly by the Secretary-General under such special regulations of the General Assembly as may be applicable, and a reserve cadre of 500 members recruited in units from Member countries. Apparently the latter were to be drawn from police forces of Member States, temporarily placed at the disposal of the United Nations but continuing to draw pay at the rate they did in the national service. The report suggested that all elements be recruited for a minimum period of two years service, and that all be subject to the requirements of Article 100 of the Charter and take the United Nations oath.

The revised proposal of June 16, 1949, sharply distinguished

Trusteeship Council, in carrying out their functions may . . . provide for periodic visits to the respective trust territories at times agreed upon with the administering authority."

the Field Service of three hundred, which would be unarmed and would not be used for truce and plebiscite policing, from a reserve panel of names submitted by governments from which observers and guards for the latter service could be enlisted by volunteering and in conformity with a resolution of the General Assembly or the Security Council authorizing use in a particular situation.

32.27.26

While in the early stages of the formation of the Guard it may be necessary to utilize police forces recruited for limited terms from Members of the United Nations, as was done in the case of Palestine, it would seem that a permanent United Nations service would have great advantages. A force properly trained and of unquestionable loyalty to the United Nations could be individually recruited, with a service sufficiently long to make possible and attractive a permanent career with the United Nations. This would involve among other things a system of pensions.

In the opinion of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace the original recommendation of the Secretary-General gave insufficient weight to these considerations and the later proposal might so reduce the effectiveness of the field and guard service that it could not perform its functions. It is happy to note that a majority of the Special Committee emphasized the considerations favoring direct recruitment by the Secretary-General.

Difficulties might arise in the screening of applicants, and in the cost of maintaining a career service, but these difficulties would seem to be over-weighted by the superior training, discipline, and loyalty to the United Nations which could be assured by a career service. These observations would apply in even greater measure to the field service of observers and technicians.

The suggestions made by the representatives of several States during the debate, that it would be extravagant to maintain guard forces at times when they were not needed for active service in the field, seem to lack perspective. The United Nations cannot function unless it has available adequate person-

nel to perform services when needed, and this cannot be assured unless a reserve is continually maintained. Such a suggestion seems absurd coming from national governments which think it necessary to maintain standing armies of several hundred thousand men engaged in little or no constructive activity in time of peace. Furthermore, it is to be anticipated that the Secretary-General can find continuous use for the relatively small number of members proposed for the guard force.

The United Nations cannot be effective if a spirit of parsimony prevents it from maintaining qualified services in reserve essential for the performance of its functions.

IV. Arguments For and Against the Permanent Field Service

An adequately trained field service would contribute to the efficiency of United Nations activities and to the prestige of the United Nations as a whole.

The duties of observation, mediation, conciliation and supervision in international situations of tension are highly specialized and require a trained personnel. This has been borne out by the testimony of persons who have served in Palestine, Kashmir, Indonesia and elsewhere. A trained body of men, able to adjust themselves to local situations and adequately equipped with languages, would render the United Nations activities in the field much more effective.

Such persons cannot function adequately without guards able to give them personal protection and to indicate the authority of the United Nations through their presence in uniform. Technicians able to perform services of communication, transportation and supply are also needed. The combination of technical and police personnel in missions would assure effectiveness of service.

The United Nations necessarily depends in even greater measure than national governments upon a favorable public opinion. This favorable public opinion flows in part from the political and educational activity of the central organs in stimulating action by national governments and in dealing with disputes, and in providing for an exchange of services among

peoples. But in addition, the functioning of services in the field in such a way as to give a visible impression of the authority of the United Nations, to protect its servants from local violence, and to assure the efficiency of its operations, will create respect for the Organization.

The arguments made against the establishment of a United Nations guard and other trained field services have been based largely upon the issues of (1) constitutionality, (2) national sovereignty, (3) expense and (4) military rivalries.

1. No states outside of the Soviet bloc have found any unconstitutionality in the proposal. The Secretary-General has authority to provide a staff, and a budget can be provided by the General Assembly if it wishes. It has not been questioned that police guards at the headquarters come within the scope of such secretariat services. If such guards can be provided at the headquarters, they can also be provided for missions properly authorized to serve in other areas.

2. The suggestion that national sovereignty would be invaded unless the State in whose territory the guard operates has given specific consent has already been dealt with from the legal point of view. Doubtless care should be taken for practical reasons to avoid conflict with the government of the area in which the guards operate, but if missions are sent under adequate authority of a United Nations organ, that government, if a member of the United Nations, is bound to permit the entry to its territory of whatever personnel, including guards, that organ considers necessary.

It would doubtless be true that United Nations services operating efficiently and protected by adequate guards would, in course of time, develop and build up the authority of the United Nations within its sphere. As it did so, public opinion would increasingly support the United Nations and its importance in world politics would develop in relation to the importance of national states. Such a development might be looked upon by nationalists as injurious to national sovereignty. It could, however, hardly be argued that the United Nations should be prevented from increasing its effectiveness for this

reason. The very idea of the United Nations involves modification of earlier concepts of sovereignty.

3. The arguments concerning the expense of an adequate United Nations guard display an extraordinary lack of perspective. The United Nations as a whole is today spending less money than many medium-size cities. It cannot be expected to perform its functions unless its Members are prepared to support it more freely. The values to be obtained from efficient field services and guard services would be far in excess of the modest budget of four million dollars originally proposed by the Secretary-General for the initiation of these services. Costs of government, international as well as national, must always be related to the values received if government is to fulfill its purpose. The Secretary-General's proposal considered by the Special Committee in the summer of 1949, which added little if anything to the budget of the United Nations, was, in the opinion of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, unduly modest.

4. It has been argued that missions equipped with guard forces in troubled areas, instead of discouraging violence might incite it. This might sometimes be true if forces went into an area without the express consent of the territorial state. Entry of uninvited armed forces in any area may arouse violent opposition, especially if these forces are not overwhelmingly powerful. This situation can only be avoided if the missions are skilled, if the guards are regulated in size to the situation, if they are not armed beyond the requirements of the situation, and if they are used with great discretion. Used properly, efficient missions adequately guarded, instead of stimulating opposition, can be a potent influence in preventing local violence and sabotage. As was said in the Report of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace on the subject in September, 1948:

> The Security Council, the General Assembly, the Trusteeship Council, and other bodies, in considering the utilization of guards in specific situations in which they have responsibilities, would have to decide whether they would be effective, how they should be used, and the number and type of arms best adapted to the

circumstances. Unwise decisions might make the guards worse than useless. The problem is no different, however, from that faced by any police chief in a large city disposing of and properly equipping his own men to deal with crime, riots, mob violence, street parades, traffic problems, and other exigencies of city life. In most of his work the policeman is weak in comparison with the forces which might oppose him, and in most cases the larger military forces of the state are remote and their employment not anticipated by anyone. The policeman relies on prestige, wisdom, appeal to reason and only in a minor degree upon physical force. The United Nations guards should be trained to make the most of such qualities.

V. Recommendations

In view of the foregoing considerations, the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace recommends the prompt establishment by the United Nations of a permanent field service composed of trained observers, technicians and guards. It has been estimated by the Secretary-General that some 300 such persons would be almost continuously functioning in the field. Reserves of some 500 in addition should be located at suitable points for immediate use. The permanent service should include persons of varied training, diplomatic, technical and military, able to perform the varied functions necessary in connection with truces and plebiscites as well as missions of mediation and conciliation.

It is recommended that this service be individually recruited with careful screening to assure suitability for the service and adequate geographical and national distribution. The service should be recruited for a long period, with security of tenure, with prospects for a permanent career and with suitable pension arrangements. After recruitment members should be trained in languages and in the specialized tasks of field service. They should have special United Nations uniforms and should develop into an elite corps that would command respect and operate efficiently.

United Nations A/656
GENERAL 28 September 1948
ASSEMBLY

UNITED NATIONS GUARD

Report of the Secretary-General

DEMONSTRATED NEED

1. The operation of United Nations Missions in the field under decisions of the General Assembly and Security Council has decisively emphasized the need for adequate observation, protective and technical service personnel to be provided promptly in their support.

The operations of United Nations Missions in Greece, the Balkans, Indonesia, Korea, Palestine and more recently in India and Pakistan, all point the need and establish the pattern of the requirements.

2. Availability of international protective personnel is a *sine quo non* of a Mission's ability to proceed with the necessary confidence and authority to arrange for the free movement of observers and other mission personnel in troubled areas without the suspicion of partiality which the use of local police or national foreign militia engenders. Absence of an independent international body representative of the authority of the United Nations and capable of offering minimum personal protection to United Nations staff has seriously embarrassed the work of United Nations Missions both in the course of hearings and enquiries as well as in the operation of truce arrangements and the rendering of good offices. In Palestine the Mediator emphasized again and again the need to assure to him adequate facilities to enable him to guard mission personnel as well as neutralized buildings and objectives in specified areas. Had even a small security or protective force been available, some injury to and loss of life of United Nations personnel might have been avoided, as might also the destruction of vital neutralized objectives, the loss of which could have permanently jeopardized the whole of the Mediator's work.

3. Up to the present, United Nations Missions have been charged variously with responsibilities ranging from investigation and mediation generally, to observation and supervisory duties in connection with such matters as the cessation of hostilities. Indications suggest that these responsibilities might at any time be extended to cover the supervision of referendums, assisting in security measures incidental to the demilitarization of specified areas and similar and related functions, which have posed in the past, and will continue to pose in the future, the urgent problem of how such functions are to be serviced.

4. It has been demonstrated that United Nations Missions can handle a great many situations in a disputed area in the interests of a peaceful solution without invocation by the Security Council of those provisions of the Charter relating to the use of force.

5. It is clear, from the uniform experience of United Nations Missions in the field, that there must be available at their disposal adequate representative and protective authority to give effect to their decisions as well as technical service assistance to enable them to function with speed and efficiency.

6. It is the Secretary-General's opinion that essential needs can, in many cases, be limited to the availability, on call, of a comparatively small United Nations Guard able to offer the necessary minimum protective services as well as limited technical services in support of the functions and authority of United Nations Missions.

7. The Secretary-General clearly recognizes that both on practical as well as on legal grounds such a Guard could not be used for enforcement purposes as envisaged under the Charter, nor for the purpose of maintaining law and order

in an area. It is, however, his view that the provision of a Guard such as he proposes would immeasurably strengthen the hands of United Nations Missions which are established for the express purpose of assuring pacific settlements without recourse to the use of force and would assist them to expedite peaceful settlements.

8. In view of the unknown extent of the future needs of United Nations Missions in any given circumstances it would be impractical to propose a definite strength for the Guard in too precise terms without considerable further study of probable requirements. It is considered, however, in view of its established need in more than one area at one time, that the minimum strength of the Guard should approximate to one thousand men and its maximum strength at least to several thousand more, possibly held on a reserve basis.

9. Apart from the need for established protective services, it is clear that in the operation of United Nations Missions, the Secretariat will always have to rely upon *ad hoc* arrangements improvised with the aid of host and other Governments to provide significant technical service requirements. In many cases, however, reliance upon such arrangements for first emergency needs and the absence of readily available resources from which to draw upon for these, has proved most unsatisfactory and has on many occasions jeopardized the accomplishment of specific tasks set by organs of the United Nations. The inevitable delays and shortcomings of improvisation have not only impaired the efficiency of Missions but the authority of the United Nations has lost in dignity thereby. Therefore, apart from providing purely protective services, the Guard would be so recruited, trained and equipped as to be able to furnish supplementary technical service requirements to a United Nations Mission whenever lack of immediate alternative facilities renders this necessary or desirable.

10. The Secretary-General believes that adequate constitutional authority exists under the Charter for him to recruit and provide such limited personnel as will be required for the establishment of the proposed Guard. He suggests that the Guard should be recruited as part of the staff of the United Nations Secretariat, in accordance with Articles 97, 98, 100 and 101 of the Charter, and that it should be made available by the Secretary-General to responsible organs of the United Nations for use in support of United Nations Missions in the field.

11. The Secretary-General is of the opinion that the formation of a United Nations Guard several thousand strong, should be closely studied and reported upon by the appropriate committees of the General Assembly. He feels, however, that there exists an *immediate* need for the provision of a nucleus Guard establishment to service the minimum essential needs of United Nations Missions presently operating in the field, and therefore proposes as follows:

> (a) There shall be established immediately a United Nations Guard eight hundred strong consisting of a nucleus permanent establishment of three hundred men, located and trained either at United Nations headquarters or at an appropriate location in Europe, and a volunteer reserve cadre of up to five hundred men recruited multinationally and held in reserve in their national homes at the call of the Secretary-General as and when required.
>
> (b) The legal basis under which the Guard will be formed and operated, its character and functions, and the broad lines upon which it will be organized are set out in Appendices A, B, and C hereto.

12. Preliminary estimates suggest that an amount of up to $4,000,000 is likely to be required, of which sum approximately three-quarters would represent the cost of the permanent establishment of the Guard and one-quarter that of the reserve establishment. The Secretary-General proposes therefore that, if the above proposal be agreed in principle, detailed estimates will then be prepared for the consideration of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions and of the Fifth Committee.

Appendix A

LEGAL BASIS OF THE GUARD

The legal basis of the proposed United Nations Guard must be considered in relation to the following three principal aspects:

1. The authority of the Secretary-General to establish a permanent unit of the Secretariat for this purpose;
2. The protective and control functions which may legally be exercised by the proposed Guard;
3. The relationship of the Guard to the State in whose territory it operates.

1. *The authority of the Secretary-General*

The authority of the Secretary-General to establish the Guard in the Secretariat rests, in the first instance, on the provisions of Chapter XV of the Charter. Article 97 states that the Secretariat shall include "such staff as the Organization may require" and it designates the Secretary-General as the chief administrative officer of the Organization. Article 98 provides that the Secretary-General shall perform "such other functions as are entrusted to him" by the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council. On the basis of these provisions, the General Assembly, in its resolution 13 (I) of 13 February 1946, requested the Secretary-General to take steps to establish an "administrative organization which will permit of the effective discharge of his administrative and general responsibilities under the Charter, and the efficient performance of those functions and services required to meet the needs of the several organs of the United Nations."

Under these provisions, there is no doubt that the Secretary-General has broad power to establish units of the Secretariat, provided that budgetary approval is voted by the General Assembly. The primary test is whether such units are required to meet the needs of the several organs. That there is a need of such a Guard has been amply demonstrated by the experience of the United Nations Field Missions.

The proposed Guard, like other units of the Secretariat, will be subject to Articles 100 and 101 of the Charter, and would be appointed by the Secretary-General under the regulations relating to personnel already established by the General Assembly, or such special regulations as the General Assembly might find it desirable to adopt.

2. *The protective and control functions which may legally be exercised by the proposed Guard*

It is of course essential that functions exercised by the Guard be in accordance with the Charter and pursuant to the proper exercise of authority by the particular organ of the United Nations concerned. In its most general application the Guard may be used by the Secretary-General for the protection of United Nations officials and property. Such guards, in fact, function on a small scale at headquarters, and they have been required by several Missions operating in troubled areas. From the legal standpoint, it is entirely clear that any organ or subsidiary body carrying out a constitutional function may properly utilize the guards for the protection of its archives, offices and personnel. The necessity for such guards may arise in the case of commissions of inquiry sent by the General Assembly under Chapter IV of the Charter, by commissions of conciliation or investigation established by the Security Council under Chapter VI, by a Mediator, or by any other body of the United Nations acting pursuant to proper constitutional authority.

There is one important legal limitation on the function of the Guard. Under the Charter it appears clear that the Guard may not be used to carry out the

military enforcement measures provided for under Article 42. Such armed action may be undertaken only in accordance with special agreements contemplated by Article 43 or pending the coming into force of such agreements by the five members referred to in Article 106.

It is clear, however, that the Guard may be called upon to perform certain protective and control functions which involve more than the guarding of United Nations offices, archives and personnel. Such functions may properly be assumed by an organ of the United Nations acting in accordance with the Charter and under special arrangements consistent with the Charter. Significant cases arise where the United Nations has been granted temporary responsibliity in connection with the supervision of truce arrangements or a plebiscite. In these types of situation, where an organ has properly assumed certain control, it is clear that such functions may be carried out by the Guard acting in accordance with the decisions of that organ. Thus, in case of a truce the guards may protect places and establishments which have been neutralized, or supply lines: in the case of elections, they may act to supervise polling places and to prevent fraudulent voting.

3. *The relationship of the Guard to the State in whose territory it operates*

An important legal principle applicable to the proposed Guard is that it will function in a territory only with the consent, express or implied, of the territorial sovereign. For the performance of purely protective and technical services this consent may be implied from the consent given to a United Nations Mission to enter the territory or the acceptance of a resolution which provides for such a Mission. There is obviously no need to have specific consent as to secretaries, professional and technical assistants, who are to accompany the Mission, and there is no greater reason to require specific consent for a unit which is furnishing purely protective services to the Mission.

In those cases where the Guard function extends beyond the protection of United Nations property and personnel, it will be necessary that the territorial authorities consent to the exercise of such functions. A truce arrangement accepted by the parties to a dispute, which provides for supervision by the United Nations, would constitute adequate legal authority for the Guard's exercise of such functions. In short, there would be no derogation from the sovereignty of a State in the exercise of control functions by the United Nations Guard.

In considering the relationship to the territorial State, it should be noted that it may be necessary in certain cases to obtain express consent for the carrying of weapons or the operation of equipment, such as motor vehicles, radio, or other means of communication. In these cases, it will be necessary to look to the local law to see whether special license or permit is required. If such special permission is needed under local law, the agreement of the Government concerned would normally have to be obtained or individual licenses issued.

Appendix B

CHARACTER AND FUNCTIONS OF THE GUARD

1. The proposed United Nations Guard will be *entirely non-military* in character.

2. It will combine both a permanent and reserve establishment and its members will be distinctively uniformed and will be recruited by the Secretary-General as a normal unit of the Secretariat under provisions of Articles 100 and 101 of the Charter.

3. In common with other elements of the United Nations Secretariat, it will be made available by the Secretary-General to meet requests of organs of the

United Nations by virtue of whose decisions it will be used in support of specific directives to United Nations Field Missions.

4. Its equipment will be limited to personal emergency defence weapons (such as revolvers, rifles or carbines or light automatic weapons, or side-arms) and to emergency technical equipment, and it will not be organizationally of such a size or character as to be possible of use as an aggressive force.

5. It will not have the powers, as such, of either a civilian or military police force (such as powers of arrest, quelling of insurrections or, generally, functions implying the use of force for other than personal protective reasons). It will, however, be charged with protecting the persons of United Nations observers who might be subject to personal attack from undisciplined individuals, or to guard neutralized objectives vital to the success of negotiations.

6. Its primary positive purpose will be to be representative of United Nations authority in support of United Nations Missions in the field and to provide a limited protection to United Nations personnel and property so as to:

(a) Afford personal security for members of a Field Mission and its Secretariat,

(b) Afford security to premises used as United Nations Headquarters or Field Offices,

(c) Afford security of a Mission's archives and other property,

(d) Furnish supplementary technical functions of transportation, communications and supply as might be necessary to supplement services available to a Mission in the field,

(e) Maintain order during hearings and investigations of United Nations Missions,

(f) Patrol points or guard objectives neutralized under truce or cease-fire order of the United Nations,

(g) Exercise supervisory and observation functions at polling points during the conduct of referendums conducted under United Nations auspices.

Appendix C

ORGANIZATION OF THE GUARD

1. *Organizational Pattern*

(a) The United Nations Guard will as a nucleus consist of eight hundred men made up of two elements:

A. A permanent establishment of three hundred members recruited under Articles 97, 98 and 100 of the Charter and under such special regulations of the General Assembly as may be applicable.

B. A reserve cadre of five hundred members. The pattern of organization of this cadre will take the form of the recruitment of sections and sub-sections of a complete unit in Member countries and of providing for a training pattern common to all.

National sections of the Guard will be held equipped and ready for service on call and will be so deployed as to make available, under common command, at the point of operation a multinational unit, selected as required.

The international character of the Guard would thus be fully maintained by placing at the disposal of United Nations Missions small national cadres (of five or ten men or multiples thereof) drawn from such numbers of Member nations as will be required to provide the requisite personnel strength to meet any given need.

The provision of such a reserve cadre, whilst presenting no insuperable difficulties either of organization or movement, offers the advantage of considerable budgetary savings. Furthermore, expansion of this element of the Guard would be neither costly nor difficult to organize at short notice. It is contemplated under this proposal that payment of national reserve cadres may be made in their national currencies and that, furthermore, their compensation when not on active duty would be limited to a small retainer fee in consideration of which they will be required to attend regular training courses and maintain the limited equipment allocated to them in a state of preparedness.

(b) All elements will be recruited in accordance with Article 101 of the Charter for a minimum period of two years service. Contracts of service will be covered by special regulations.

(c) For ease of control and deployment, the Guard will be a self-contained unit of the United Nations Secretariat, but will be administratively serviced and supplied through normal Secretariat channels.

(d) A Headquarters Control Unit of the Guard will be responsible for its administration, planning, training, deployment and discipline.

This group will include *inter alia* communications, transport and medical liaison officers whose duties will include maintaining contact with Governments of Member nations for the purpose of arranging, in their respective fields, for the loan on call of essential equipment and services required by a United Nations Mission in the field.

(e) Field units will be organized broadly along the lines set out in the table to this Appendix. This pattern will permit of the utmost flexibility in use since experience in the field has determined that functional responsibilities will require to be undertaken by scattered units in support of United Nations Mission personnel at widely scattered points. It will also permit of swift deployment of completely self-contained elements of a Mission's staff when and where necessary and will make it possible for a Mission to go forward with its task with despatch and confidence.

2. *Location of the Guard*

(a) The location of the Guard will be normally, and except during periods of inactivity, where United Nations Missions are operative.

(b) The location of the permanent establishment of three hundred members during periods of non-activity (including its Headquarters Control Unit) will be either at United Nations Headquarters or under Headquarters control at a location to be arranged, where it will be held under supervision and training.

(c) The five hundred members of the reserve cadre will, during periods of non-activity, be located at their normal place of residence in their home countries and will, as required, be subject to deployment to field locations designated by the Secretary-General.

3. *Qualifications of personnel*

(a) All members of the Guard will be required to subscribe to the provisions of Article 100 of the Charter.

(b) Personnel of the Guard will, as far as possible, be recruited from physically fit men without dependents, preferably between the ages of twenty-two and thirty years. (This proviso will tend to reduce the burden of expense associated with the maintenance of dependents and will generally be conducive to the ready availability of personnel for movement into the field.)

(c) Personnel of the Guard will be recruited with due regard (in the numbers required) to their technical qualifications to act as radio operators, transport

drivers, clerical assistants, etc., in addition to their suitability to perform security and protective duties.

4. *Equipment*

(a) The Guard will be provided with special United Nations uniforms.

(b) It will be equipped, when necessary only, with limited emergency personal defence weapons to include either revolvers, light automatic weapons, carbines or rifles, or side-arms.

(c) It will not be equipped to meet substantial transport, communications and supply needs of United Nations Missions, the size and nature of which are largely indeterminable in advance; but it is essential that such supplies be placed at the disposal of the Secretary-General by Member Governments, on loan, or that they be otherwise made available to him under arrangements appropriate to the circumstances.

The Guard will however be equipped with the following basic emergency transport and communication equipment for training purposes, and for use as first emergency services in support of the initial minimum needs of any United Nations Field Mission set up:

(i) 4 armoured Staff cars.
(ii) 36 jeeps and trailers.
(iii) 36 "¾ supply" trucks.
(iv) 20 mobile radio transmission units.

(d) No tanks, artillery or major offensive weapons will form part of the regular equipment.

(e) Aircraft and vessels will not form part of the permanent equipment of the Guard but there will be provided on its headquarters staff a Liaison Official who will, as circumstances necessitate, seek the assistance of Member Government or commercial undertakings for the provision of urgent needs as required.

TABLE OF ORGANIZATION OF THE GUARD

Headquarters Unit—Office of the Commandant

1 Guard Commandant
1 Clerk

1 Chief of Staff
1 Clerk
*6 Deputy Chiefs of Staff
*3 Clerks

1 Chief Supply Officer
1 Clerk
*6 Deputy Supply Officers
*3 Clerks

1 Chief of Communications
1 Clerk
*6 Deputy Communications Officers
*3 Clerks

1 Chief Transportation Officer
1 Clerk
*6 Deputy Transportation Officers
*3 Clerks

2 Recruitment & Records Officers
*3 Clerks

1 Chief Pay Officer
*6 Pay Clerks

1 Medical Officer
1 Clerk

1. The Headquarters Unit will provide all the officer personnel of the Guard both whilst it is inactive and active. It will also furnish Heads of Field Missions with technical liaison officers responsible for communications, transport and supply.

2. The Chief of Staff and his chief technical officers will be responsible for the planning, recruitment, training, and deployment and discipline of the Guard, and for maintaining liaison with Member Governments in respect of loan of services and equipment which might be necessary in support of the operation of a United Nations Field Mission.

3. The Deputy Chiefs of Staff shall each command a unit of the Guard when inactive and will be available as Commanders of Guard units operating with a Field Mission.

4. The deputy supply, communications and transport officers shall likewise be available for planning, training, and commanding their respective technical sections when the Guard is inactive, and will act as Command technical officers in the field when the Guard is servicing a Field Mission.

Field Units

1. The permanent establishment of the Guard will comprise six field units of forty men divided into four sections of ten men each, inclusive of, and under a section leader. Sections will in turn be sub-divided into sub-sections of five men under, and inclusive of, a sub-section leader.

2. The reserve cadre establishment will comprise twelve field units of forty men similarly divided and sub-divided.

3. The primary purpose and training of each field unit will be for Guard duty as such. However, in order to ensure that its personnel are sufficiently versatile to be able to render supplementary assistance in technical service functions when operating in isolated areas or when not required for essential Guard duties in any given circumstances, each field unit will be recruited, organized and trained to be able to furnish:

1 supply section
1 communications section
1 clerical section
1 transport section

of ten men, each sub-divided into two sub-sections of five men each.

* * * * * * *

*All Field command and training officers for field units of the Guard will be drawn from this staff.

United Nations A/AC.29/1
GENERAL 16 June 1949
ASSEMBLY

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON A UNITED NATIONS GUARD
REVISED PROPOSAL FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNITED NATIONS FIELD SERVICE AND FIELD RESERVE PANEL

Memorandum by the Secretary-General

After careful consideration of the observations made in the Ad Hoc Political Committee and in the General Assembly, the Secretary-General herewith submits a substantial revision of his original proposal for a United Nations Guard.

The Secretary-General now proposes the establishment of a new unit to be known as the *United Nations Field Service* and also a *Field Reserve Panel.*

United Nations Field Service

Composition and recruitment—The Field Service would be a part of the Secretariat, but would be recruited by secondment from national Governments. It would consist of a maximum of 300 men. Personnel would, as far as possible, be physically fit men between the ages of twenty-two and thirty, with field experience and the necessary technical background. The term of service would be from one to three years, except for a small number of supervisory personnel who would be regular Secretariat members. The Field Service would be stationed at Headquarters for training.

Compensation—The United Nations would provide a daily subsistence allowance, uniforms and equipment. The Governments from which individual members of the Service would be seconded would be reimbursed for the amount of the salary of the individual, family allowances, contributions to pension schemes and other emoluments to which the individual is entitled in his own national service.

Functions—The Field Service would provide the following services:

(a) Provision of land transport for missions and such incidental air transport as may be required.

(b) Maintenance of radio communications for missions.

(c) Security of United Nations premises and members of missions.

(d) Safe custody of supplies, records and archives.

(e) Maintenance of order during meetings, hearings and investigations.

(f) Guard duties at Headquarters.

The Field Service would *not* have any functions of observation of truce terms, of protecting places neutralized during a truce or supply lines incidental to a truce, or of supervising polling places during a plebiscite.

Equipment—The members of the Field Service would wear a United Nations uniform. They would not regularly be supplied with arms of any kind. In isolated instances, where required by the mission and when permitted by the law or authority of the locality, individual members assigned to protecting the security of persons or property would be authorized to carry side-arms. No machine-guns, rifles or any heavier weapons would be used. The Field Service would operate mobile radio equipment and motor vehicles for the transport of personnel. No estimate is made here for the purchase and maintenance of such equipment, since it is believed that it should properly be a charge on the budgets of individual missions.

Field Reserve Panel

It will be noted that the proposed Field Service would not have any functions of observation or protection of truce objectives, nor of supervision of polling in a plebiscite.*

Such functions were originally contemplated for the United Nations Guard. In the Ad Hoc Political Committee various objections were made to these functions.

During the discussion, several members of the Ad Hoc Political Committee suggested consideration of a panel, which might overcome certain of these objections. The Secretary-General has adopted this suggestion and now proposes the establishment of a Field Reserve Panel.

The Panel would consist of the names of men in the national service of Governments and recommended by these Governments. The Bureau of Personnel of the Secretariat would receive these recommendations and would select those who were qualified in accordance with standards of age, physical fitness and experience. A list would then be established, in accordance with the general principles of geographical distribution followed by the Secretariat, and kept current. The members of the Panel would not be called for training and would receive no compensation unless and until called upon for services as hereinafter described.

Functions of the Panel—The purpose of the Panel would be to furnish a reserve of qualified individuals for service as observers, for the guarding of truce objectives and supervision of polling places. The members of the Panel would be called for service only in response to a specific decision by the General Assembly or Security Council, or an organ authorized by them, requiring such services to be performed and requesting the Secretary-General to make the necessary arrangements. The competent organ could lay down the precise functions to be performed in the particular case, the numbers of men to be utilized and any other necessary conditions, such as the provision of protective weapons, relations with the local authority, wearing of uniforms, etc.

When called into service, the Panel members would receive a daily subsistence allowance, and their Governments would be reimbursed for salaries and family allowances. The expenditures for these purposes would be borne by the budget of the individual missions concerned. The only cost for the establishment of the Panel at this stage would be the incidental expenditure for correspondence and the time spent in scrutinizing applications and maintaining the files.

Size of the Panel—It is not contemplated that members of the Panel would be under any obligation to serve if called upon. Membership in the Panel merely establishes eligibility for service. It is to be assumed that when the necessity for use arises, many of the persons in the Panel would not be available for the service. The size of the Panel would therefore have to be fairly large in order to provide a sufficient reservoir. Since the establishment of the Panel involves only incidental expenses, the size of the list may indeed be left indefinite. If the Committee desires to establish a limit, the Secretary-General recommends that he be authorized to list up to 2,000 names in the Panel.

Salient characteristics of the revised proposal

The proposed Field Service is designed to render precisely the same services as are now rendered in a less systematic way by members of the Secretariat. The legal basis for its creation is precisely the same as for any other Secretariat unit, namely Articles 97, 98, 100 and 101 of the Charter of the United Nations. The legal objections made to the former Guard proposal would therefore not seem to be relevant for the Field Service proposal.

*The members of the Field Service would, of course, be available to render, to any United Nations mission which is authorized to conduct observation or supervise a plebiscite, the services of communication, transportation, security, etc. outlined in the previous section.

The proposed Field Reserve Panel has assigned to it certain of the functions to which legal objections were made when they were assigned to the proposed Guard. It is to be noted that, in the revised proposal, the members of the Panel would be called upon to perform these functions only in response to a specific decision of a United Nations organ, and the question of legality could be considered by the competent organ at the time the particular decision is made. There can be no doubt that the functions of observation of truce terms and supervision of plebiscites are generally within the authority of the United Nations under the Charter.

Need for the proposed units—The need for the proposed Field Service has already been set forth in the Secretary-General's report to the third session of the General Assembly (A/656) and in his remarks at the 200th plenary meeting, on 29 April 1949.

The proposed Field Reserve Panel will enable the organs of the United Nations to have ready to hand the names of qualified personnel from all Member States to fulfil tasks of observation and supervision when desired. Heretofore, the organs have had to rely on emergency recruitment, which has not always been satisfactory as regards individual qualifications, and has been particularly unsatisfactory from the standpoint of equitable geographical participation by Member States in these important tasks of the United Nations.

Cost—The estimated cost of the proposed Field Service is $1,083,500 for the first year (detailed estimates annexed). The cost would be less for succeeding years. This compares with an estimated preliminary estimate of $4,000,000 for the former Guard proposal.

ANNEX

ESTIMATES FOR THE FIRST YEAR OF OPERATION OF A UNITED NATIONS FIELD SERVICE

I. SALARIES—Estimate—$538,000

(a) *Headquarters Unit—$26,500*

The personnel of the Headquarters Unit would receive the salaries and allowances paid to the staff of the Secretariat at Headquarters and, therefore, would be subject to deductions from pay of amounts due the United Nations as pension payments and tax assessments.

Number	*Title*	*Grade*	*Base salary*	*Total*
1	Chief, Field Service	17	$10,610	$10,610
1	Administrative Officer	14	7,400	7,400
1	Secretary	6	3,070	3,070
3				21,080
	Plus Pension Fund contribution and allowances			5,420
				$26,500

(b) *Field-Operation Group—$28,500*

As the salaries would be paid by the Governments, the following estimate is based on the approximate scale of salaries for officers and enlisted personnel of a Member Government.

The field-operation group would consist of the following technical branches:

(i) Supply and transportation;
(ii) Finance;
(iii) Communications.

The above three branches would be the planning and training officers for the staff, and would consist of the following personnel:

Number	*Title*	*Salaries and allowances*	*Total*
1	Supply and Transportation Officer	$4,500	$4,500
1	Supply and Transportation Officer	3,500	3,500
1	Finance Officer	4,500	4,500
1	Medical Officer	4,500	4,500
1	Communications Officer	4,500	4,500
2	Junior Communications Officers	3,500	7,000
7			$28,500

(c) *Field Units—$483,000*

Field Units would be recruited with sufficient personnel to establish six units of forty-seven men, each unit consisting of one senior officer, one junior officer, five team leaders and forty team members. Units of this size could effectively assist a mission, since 24-hour duty would be required on a mission assignment for communications, security and transportation. The personnel for the six units would be as follows:

Number	*Title*	*Salaries and allowances*	*Total*
6	Senior Officers	$4,500	$27,000
6	Junior Officers	3,500	21,000
30	Team leaders	2,500	75,000
240	Team members	2,000	480,000
282			$603,000
	Less saving from deferred recruitment		120,000
			$483,000

II. SUBSISTENCE AND QUARTERS—$320,000

For the initial year of the Field Service, the personnel would be stationed at Headquarters for approximately five months for training prior to mission assignment. When personnel are assigned to a mission, expenses in connexion with subsistence and quarters would be payable from mission appropriations.

(a) *For team members—$300,000*

In addition to salaries and allowances, team members would receive full subsistence in dormitories. It is estimated that dormitory facilities, including all utilities, could be obtained on a rental basis in the Headquarters area at an estimated cost of $100,000 per year. Estimated cost of food and food preparation—$120,000.

(i) For food and food preparation, $2 a day

(ii) For maintenance, $1 a day

Total, $3 a day for 270 persons for 150 days.

For miscellaneous expenses while stationed at Headquarters, team members would receive cash payments of $2 per day—$80,000.

(b) *For officers and team leaders—$20,000*

In lieu of subsistence and quarters, officers and team leaders would be paid $7 a day while stationed at Headquarters.

III. INITIAL RECRUITMENT EXPENSES—$75,000

Cost of transportation to Headquarters from country of origin. Estimate $325 for 200, and $100 for 100. In subsequent years, the cost of replacement on a two-year basis would require a similar amount annually.

IV. STORES AND EQUIPMENT—$140,500

(a) For procurement of uniforms at an estimated cost of $300 for each man. Although the officers and enlisted personnel would be seconded from Governments, it is anticipated that the personnel would wear United Nations uniforms—$90,000. In subsequent years, the cost would be about half this amount.

(b) *Transportation equipment*

For training purposes at Headquarters, it is planned to procure five jeeps with trailers at a cost of $2,000 each, and two supply trucks at $2,000 each. Maintenance and repair cost for first year estimated at $1,500. Total estimate—$15,500. In subsequent years, the cost would be about half this amount.

(c) *Communication equipment*

For training purposes, approximately $25,000 would be required for the procurement of two mobile transmission units. A unit would consist of 1 transmitter and spares, 2 receivers, 1 truck, 1 power supply unit, 1 set of test equipment. The total estimate, including cost of maintenance and replacement cost for minor repairs, is $25,000. In subsequent years, the cost would be less.

(d) *Expendable supplies*

Fuel, oil, and other similar costs incidental to operating above equipment—$5,000.

(e) *Training supplies*

Documentation films, and other training supplies—$5,000.

V. WELFARE—$5,000

For medical supplies and equipment and facilities for welfare purposes.

VI. COMPENSATION FOR INJURIES—$5,000

Over a period of several years, the cost of compensation for injuries while on duty at Headquarters would approximate $5,000 a year.

SUMMARY OF ESTIMATES

I.	SALARIES	$538,000
II.	SUBSISTENCE AND QUARTERS	320,000
III.	INITIAL RECRUITMENT EXPENSES	75,000
IV.	STORES AND EQUIPMENT	140,500
V.	WELFARE	5,000
VI.	COMPENSATION FOR INJURIES	5,000
	Total estimates for United Nations Field Service	$1,083,500

If, after the first year of organization and training, it should appear feasible to supplant in full the existing security guard service at Headquarters by the Field Service, the offsetting saving would approximate $225,000.

* * * * * * *

United Nations
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

A/959
24 August 1949

UNITED NATIONS FIELD SERVICE

Report of the Special Committee on a United Nations Guard

PART I

BRIEF HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE DISCUSSIONS RELATING TO THE QUESTION OF A UNITED NATIONS GUARD

1. In the introduction to his annual report covering the period from 1 July 1947 to 30 June 1948 (A/565), the Secretary-General, under the heading "Proposals for further strengthening of the United Nations," stated that he had under study the creation of a small guard force of 1,000 to 5,000 men to be placed at the disposal of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

2. On 28 September 1948, the Secretary-General submitted a substantive report to the third regular session of the General Assembly (A/656) on the need for a United Nations guard force.

3. The General Assembly referred the question to the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, which considered it at its 30th, 31st and 32nd meetings (7 and 11 April 1949). At the beginning of the discussion, Mr. Feller, representative of the Secretary-General, explained that the Secretary-General was in favour of establishing a special committee of ten to twelve members, including the five permanent members of the Security Council, to study the problem and report to the fourth regular session of the General Assembly. At its 32nd meeting the Committee adopted, by 41 votes to 6, a draft resolution proposing the creation of a special committee to consider all the relevant aspects of the question, including the technical, budgetary and legal problems involved, together with such other proposals as might be made by Member States or by the Secretary-General.

4. On 29 April 1949, the General Assembly adopted the resolution (270 (III)) by 47 votes to 6, with 1 abstention, the composition of the Special Committee being determined as follows: Australia, Brazil, China, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, France, Greece, Haiti, Pakistan, Poland, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom and United States of America.

5. At its first meeting, held on 24 June 1949, the Special Committee elected the following officers: Chairman, Mr. Gonzalez Fernandez (Colombia); Vice-Chairman, Mr. Rudzinski (Poland); Rapporteur, Mr. Shann (Australia). The remaining members of the Committee were as follows:

Brazil	Mr. Guerreiro
China	Mr. Ho Has-jo
Czechoslovakia	Mr. Nosek
France	Mr. Ordonneau
Greece	Mr. Kyrou
Haiti	Major Haspil
Pakistan	Abdur Rahim Khan
Sweden	Mr. Wollin
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	Mr. Tsarapkin
United Kingdom	Mr. Laskey
United States of America	Mr. Noyes

6. At the first meeting of the Special Committee, the Secretary-General presented a revision of his original proposal recommending the creation of a Field Service and a Field Reserve Panel. The first, comprising a maximum of 300 regularly employed men, would provide technical services and ensure the security of

missions. The second would be a reserve of individuals to be called upon for observation functions in connexion with truce enforcement, plebiscites, etc. The Secretary-General withdrew his original proposal, and the revised proposal became the only one before the Committee.

7. During the general debate which followed, the representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Poland opposed the revised proposal. A detailed statement of the views expressed by the representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Czechoslovakia and Poland is contained in part III of this report.

8. The United States of America, the United Kingdom, Australia, Brazil, Haiti, Sweden, Colombia and Greece favoured the Secretary-General's revised proposal in principle.

9. The representative of Pakistan emphasized the desirability of utilizing local services. He did not, however, make any definite commitments with regard to the Secretary-General's revised proposal.

10. The representatives of France and Colombia recommended, as an alternative to the creation of new organs, that the existing Headquarters Guard Force be expanded in order to take over the functions of the proposed Field Service. The French representative reserved his position in respect of the proposal for a Field Reserve Panel.

11. The representatives of China and Poland urged that first priority be given to an examination of the legal aspect of the proposal.

12. The representative of the United Kingdom expressed agreement in principle with that part of the proposal relating to a Field Service, but reserved his opinion in respect of a Field Reserve Panel. The United Kingdom delegation preferred a system of individual recruitment for the proposed Panel, based on the competence of the individual, to a system of secondment by Governments.

13. The representative of Czechoslovakia criticized the Secretary-General's proposal on legal, technical and budgetary grounds.

14. At its 4th meeting, held on 5 July 1949, the Committee requested the Rapporteur to prepare a working paper enumerating all the issues which had been raised in the general discussion, and presenting an examination of those issues, together with certain conclusions. The Rapporteur's working paper (A/AC.29/W.1) was submitted at the 5th meeting, held on 8 July, and was discussed paragraph by paragraph.

15. At the 6th meeting, held on 13 July, the representative of Poland presented an informal working paper dealing with the legal aspects of the Secretary-General's proposal.

PART II

OBSERVATIONS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

FIELD SERVICE

A. *Desirability of the establishment by the United Nations of a Field Service*

16. The majority of the members of the Special Committee were in favour of the establishment of a Field Service having the functions set forth by the Secretary-General. Certain of these members stated that they regarded the revised proposal of the Secretary-General as a substantial improvement on the original proposal for the establishment of a United Nations Guard. In the view of the majority, the Field Service was not an international military force and therefore its establishment could not give rise to legal objections. Its functions would in fact amount to a systematization of the regular functions of the Secretariat.

17. The Committee approved the principle of the establishment of the proposed Field Service.

B. *Secondments from Member Governments or direct employment by the United Nations*

18. Several members of the Committee (Colombia, Pakistan, United Kingdom and United States of America) expressed concern at the Secretary-General's proposal that the members of the Field Service should be recruited exclusively through secondment from Member Governments. They thought that this would result in an unnecessary restriction on the choice of personnel and great inequalities in pay, which would impair efficiency. It was considered that the supplementary expenses which direct recruitment would involve would be offset by the advantages of that method. No strong views in favour of secondment were expressed, although some members considered that, in exceptional cases, recruitment might be made through secondment from Member Governments.

19. The Special Committee recommends that, as a rule, the Secretary-General should recruit the Field Service in accordance with usual Secretariat practices, employing the method which, in his experience, has proved to be the most conducive to efficiency.

C. *Separate functions of the Field Service and the Field Reserve Panel*

20. In the view of the majority of the Committee, the two units were quite separate by their nature, and had different characteristics and different purposes. If, in some exceptional cases, personnel of one unit might be needed to perform the functions of the other unit, such use should then be authorized by the competent United Nations organ.

D. *Relationship between the Field Service and the existing Headquarters Guard Force*

21. Several members suggested that the Field Service might be organized through enlargement of the present Headquarters Guard Force, while others were of the opinion that the latter should be merged in the proposed new Field Service. The representatives of Colombia and Brazil stressed the need to avoid overlapping and, at the same time, to take care to protect the rights of present employees. The Secretary-General suggested certain practical difficulties which might arise in an early merger or enlargement of the existing Guard Force.

22. The Special Committee recommends that, after the establishment of the Field Service, the Secretary-General should make a careful study of the practicability of merging as many as possible of the functions of the Headquarters Guard Force in those of the Field Service, and that he should, meanwhile, take the necessary measures for avoiding overlapping of duties between the two services.

E. *Use of the services of Member States*

23. The representative of Pakistan called special attention to the desirability of using, for the purposes outlined in the Secretary-General's proposal, the services of Member States in whose territories United Nations missions operate. The Secretary-General pointed out that the services of Member States were used wherever possible, but that there were many instances where the use of United Nations staff was essential for reasons of efficiency and impartiality. It was also suggested by the representatives of Colombia and Pakistan that, in each case, it should be ascertained whether the employment of local services was practical, and that only if this were considered impracticable should the appropriate existing services of the United Nations be employed.

24. The Special Committee recommends that the Secretary-General should continue to seek the co-operation of Governments in whose territory the Field Service might be called upon to operate, and that the Service should be utilized only where the use of local services is not practicable.

F. *Nomenclature*

25. The representative of China suggested that it would be desirable to make the non-military nature of the proposed Field Service clear by the use of non-military terms in describing the personnel of the Service.

26. The Special Committee noted that, while certain of these terms were common to civil as well as military organizations (e.g. "Field Offices," "Translating Service," "Legal Officer," etc.), the Secretary-General had changed most of the personnel designations in order that they might be more descriptive of the duties to be performed.

G. *Technical aspects*

27. It was the view of the majority of the Committee that it should not concern itself with technical aspects of the organization of the Field Service, and that they should be left to the discretion of the Secretary-General.

28. The Special Committee noted that the members of the Field Service would not regularly be supplied with arms of any kind, except as mentioned in the Secretary-General's revised proposal.

H. *Budgetary aspects*

29. The Committee discussed in some detail the question of the net costs of the Field Service to the United Nations. As presented the Secretary-General's revised proposals appeared to add a considerable sum to the United Nations budget, but the representative of the Secretary-General was able to point out to the Committee that there would be substantial compensating savings in mission budgets, through systematization of these services. Broadly speaking, the Secretary-General's view was that it would probably be less expensive to the United Nations to operate equivalent services on the new basis.

30. The Special Committee, while of the opinion that there was no need for a detailed budget examination, which could be left to the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions and the Fifth Committee of the Assembly, noted the information supplied by the Secretariat on this question, whereby, if the Field Service were recruited to the full strength of 300 and the present personnel of approximately 200 in the field were replaced by this Service, the net additional cost to the United Nations would be $233,000. This figure did not include possible future savings which might be occasioned by the absorption of the present Headquarters Guard Force. The Committee also noted the assurance given by the representative of the Secretary-General that the Field Service would not necessarily be built up to its full strength in the immediate future, but that personnel would be recruited only as and when required.

31. The Committee also stressed the relationship of this aspect of the question to that mentioned under section D above, emphasizing the need for exercising care to avoid expensive duplication.

I. *Legal aspects*

32. The majority of the Committee was of the opinion that the proposals of the Secretary-General did not give rise to legal objections. The proposed Field Service could not be considered as an armed force under Article 43 of the Charter, nor could it ever be used for enforcement purposes under Chapter VII. The sole function of the proposed Service would be to render technical services to missions operating under the provisions of the Charter and it stood therefore on precisely the same legal basis as any other unit of the Secretariat. Moreover, there was no doubt, in the view of the majority, that Article 97 of the Charter, which provides that "the Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary-General and such staff as the Organization may require," gave full authority to the Secretary-General to create such a unit, possessing the functions which would be assigned to the Field Service.

J. *Form of action by the Special Committee*

33. For the reasons set forth in part III of the present report, the representatives of Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics were opposed to a recommendation by the Special Committee that the General Assembly should approve the establishment of the porposed Field Service.

34. The representative of Czechoslovakia drew attention to what he regarded as a flaw of logic in the Secretary-General's proposal, namely, that, although the Secretary-General had been certain of his legal position, he had nevertheless seen fit to refer the matter to the General Assembly for approval.

35. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics pointed out that the functions of the Secretariat had been set forth in detail in the report of the Preparatory Commission, and in the subsequent resolutions adopted in 1946 by the General Assembly. There was no mention in those documents of the proposed Service under consideration. The view of the majority of the Committee on this matter was expressed by the representative of France, who pointed out that the decision of the Preparatory Commission, although approved by the Assembly in 1946, might later be modified. In his opinion it was within the competence of the Secretary-General to set up the proposed unit, and, if the resolutions of February 1946 did not mention that competence, the Secretary-General was consistent in consulting the General Assembly. In any event, decisions of the Preparatory Commission were not on the same footing as the Charter.

36. The Special Committee recommends, by 10 votes to 2, 2 members being absent, the adoption by the General Assembly of the following resolution:

"The General Assembly

"Having considered the report of the Special Committee established by General Assembly resolution 270 (III) of 29 April 1949,

"Being of the opinion that the United Nations Field Service, as proposed by the Secretary-General in document A/AC.29/1 and modified by the report of the Special Committee (A/959), will contribute to the more efficient operation of United Nations missions,

"Considering that the Secretary-General has authority to establish the United Nations Field Service, subject to budgetary limitations and the normal administrative controls of the General Assembly,

"Takes note of the intention of the Secretary-General to establish this proposed unit as modified by the observations contained in the report of the Special Committee."

PANEL OF FIELD OBSERVERS

K. *Desirability of the establishment by the United Nations of a Panel of Field Observers*

37. The majority of the members of the Committee expressed themselves in favour of the establishment of the proposed Panel. It was considered that the situation which has hitherto obtained, whereby the recruitment of observers had been carried out haphazardly and under emergency conditions, was unsatisfactory. This situation had resulted in the placing of too great a burden on a few Member Governments, in a lack of assurance that the most efficient personnel had been secured in every case, and in a serious deficiency in geographical distribution. Several representatives expressed the opinion that the institution of such a Panel would mean added security and confidence in the work of the United Nations in the field. For the reasons set out in part III of the present report the representatives of Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics were opposed to setting up the Panel.

38. The Special Committee recommends that the General Assembly should authorize the Secretary-General to establish and maintain the Panel.

L. *Methods of selecting names*

39. Two representatives suggested that the Panel should not consist exclusively of persons in the service of Governments, since persons who had retired from

service either with Governments or with the United Nations might be ideally qualified. On the other hand, some doubts were expressed concerning the desirability of including volunteers in the list. The majority of the members of the Committee stressed the need for special qualifications and wide background for the members of the Panel.

40. The Special Committee recommends that the Panel should consist of qualified persons selected by the Secretary-General in consultation with national Governments or from lists of names recommended by national Governments, whether or not such persons are in national service. The selection should be based upon the principle of equitable geographical distribution.

M. *Nomenclature*

41. It was considered that the name "Field Reserve Panel" suggested by the Secretary-General did not express adequately the functions of the Panel and therefore might lead to misunderstanding.

42. The Special Committee recommends that the proposed Panel therefore be known as "United Nations Panel of Field Observers."

N. *Administration of the oath*

43. The representative of Pakistan was strongly of the opinion that it would contribute to the prestige and effectiveness of the Panel if the oath of service to the United Nations were administered in all cases. The terms of this oath are as follows:

> "I solemnly swear (undertake, affirm, promise) to exercise in all loyalty, discretion and conscience the functions entrusted to me as a member of the international service of the United Nations, to discharge those functions and regulate my conduct with the interests of the United Nations only in view, and not to seek or accept instructions in regard to the performance of my duties from any Government or other authority external to the Organization."

44. Certain representatives expressed some doubts on this score, since a constitutional problem might be involved. It was the view of the representatives of Australia and the United States of America that, in view of the difficulties involved, it might be better to leave the matter to the discretion of the Secretary-General to negotiate in individual cases with the Governments concerned.

O. *Legal aspects*

45. The majority of the Committee held the opinion that the establishment of the Panel would in no way contravene the Charter. It was pointed out that the Panel would be created for the sole purpose of assisting missions engaged in functions of observation and supervision, and in no case could the members of the Panel be considered as "armed forces" under Article 43 of the Charter.

46. The Panel was to be available to any competent organ of the United Nations and would be called into service only as a result of a specific decision by such an organ. The Security Council would, of course, be a competent organ. It was pointed out that the General Assembly had in the past dealt with matters relating to the pacific settlement of international disputes and had created commissions which had functioned in the field. The question whether an organ would in each case be competent to avail itself of the services of the proposed Panel could not be considered by the Special Committee.

P. *Form of action by the Committee*

47. The Committee recommends, by 9 votes to 2, with 1 abstention (two members being absent), that the General Assembly adopt the following resolution:

> *"The General Assembly,*
>
> *"Having considered* the report of the Special Committee established by General Assembly resolution 270 (III), of 29 April 1949,

"*Desirous* of facilitating the work of the United Nations in the pacific settlement of disputes under the provisions of the Charter,

"*Being of the opinion* that the proposed United Nations Panel of Field Observers will contribute to this end,

"*Taking note* of the intention of the Secretary-General to undertake the administrative arrangements for the proposed Panel with due regard to the observations contained in the report of the Special Committee,

"*Requests* the Secretary-General to establish and maintain a list of persons qualified to assist United Nations missions in the functions of observation and supervision, such persons to be called to service in response to a specific resolution by a competent organ of the United Nations; such list shall be known as the *United Nations Panel of Observers* and shall be established and maintained with due regard to the observations contained in the report of the Special Committee and based upon the principle of equitable geographical distribution."

PART III

VIEWS OF THE MINORITY, CONSISTING OF THE DELEGATIONS OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND POLAND

48. The delegations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Czechoslovakia and Poland opposed the establishment of a Field Service and Field Reserve Panel within the United Nations Secretariat. Their objections were based on the following considerations.

(i) The Secretary-General's revised proposal for the establishment of a Field Service and a Field Reserve Panel within the Secretariat, and his original proposal for the establishment of a United Nations Guard, are beyond the powers conferred upon the Secretary-General under the Charter. The basic provisions regarding the powers and duties of the Secretary-General and regarding the Secretariat are set forth in Chapter XV of the Charter and are defined in minute detail in the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly in February 1946 and, in particular, in resolutions 11 (I) of 1 February 1946 and 13 (I) of 13 February 1946 (see also Annex II to the latter resolution). The rights and duties of the Secretary-General and the Secretariat are set forth in still greater detail in the report of the Preparatory Commission, chapter VIII, section 2, *which was transmitted to the Secretary-General for his guidance* by General Assembly resolution 13 (I) of 13 February 1946. None of those documents contains a single provision, decision or rule which would entitle the Secretary-General to set up a Field Service as part of the Secretariat, a Field Reserve Panel or a permanent Panel of Field Observers.

(ii) These delegations observed that there is substantially no difference between the Secretary-General's original proposal for the establishment of a United Nations Guard, which was the subject of severe criticism at the third regular session of the General Assembly, and his revised proposal for the establishment of a Field Service and Field Reserve Panel. The functions of the Field Service and Field Reserve Panel are the same as those of the United Nations Guard as proposed by the Secretary-General in his first proposal which, as is well known, was not adopted by the General Assembly.

(iii) The Field Service proposed by the Secretary-General has the character of a military unit: it consists solely of physically fit men between the ages of 22 and 30 with special military training. The Secretary-General's proposal provides that such persons shall be enrolled in units commanded by officers, shall be subject to military discipline, shall wear uniforms, be equipped with arms, be stationed for training and undergo supplementary special training of a military character. The above facts show that the Field Service would be a unit of purely

military type. The Charter, however, does not provide that any units of military type should be at the disposal of the Secretary-General. Consequently, the establishment of a Field Service within the Secretariat is contrary to the Charter and cannot be permitted without a violation of the Charter. In accordance with the Charter, no organ, with the exception of the Security Council, has any legal basis for the establishment and use of any armed forces or units of military type whatsoever.

Therefore, any proposal to set up an armed force or unit not specially provided for by the Charter, in whatever form it may be put forward, is contrary to the Charter and is illegal; to adopt such a proposal would be a clear breach of the Charter.

(iv) The suggested functions of the Field Service to guard United Nations missions and provide them with transport and communications can and should be fulfilled by the forces and services of the States on the territory of which United Nations missions are to act. There is no need to create a Field Service, thus violating the Charter.

(v) These delegations also noted that the Secretary-General has gone even farther in his revised proposal and increased the size of the Field Reserve four times—from 500 to 2,000 men.

(vi) According to the Secretary-General's proposal, the members of the Field Reserve Panel will carry protective weapons and serve as observers of truce terms, supervise polling in plebiscites, and perform other duties. These delegations pointed out that the observation of truce terms arises directly out of Chapter VI or Chapter VII of the Charter, on the pacific settlement of disputes and on action with respect to threats to the peace, and consequently, under Articles 24, 34, 36 and 39 of the Charter, is within the sole competence of the Security Council and not of any other organ of the United Nations. As for the supervision of plebiscites, the dispatch by the United Nations of its own staff for this purpose would serve as a handy pretext for interference in the internal affairs of various States and for violating their sovereignty.

(vii) Thus the setting up and use of a United Nations Field Reserve Panel or Panel of Field Observers, like the setting up of a Field Service, is not within the competence of the Secretary-General and is illegal. The proposal of the Secretary-General concerning a United Nations Field Reserve Panel or, as it appears in the draft resolution adopted by the majority of the Committee, a Panel of Field Observers, infringes Articles 24 and 36 of the Charter, under the terms of which matters of this kind lie solely within the competence of the Security Council and no other organ of the United Nations has power to deal with them.

(viii) These delegations also pointed out to the Committee that the adoption of the proposal for a Field Service or for a Field Reserve Panel or Panel of Field Observers would lead to a confusion of the functions of various organs of the United Nations, and the intrusion by other organs of the United Nations into matters which under the Charter lie within the exclusive competence of the Security Council, and would inevitably lead to disorder and confusion in the affairs of the Organization.

(ix) These delegations also stated that the employment of militarized units of the Field Service and the Field Reserve Panel in the territory of other States might easily lead to friction or even to collisions between units of the United Nations Service or Panel and one or both of the parties to the dispute, and that the United Nations might thus, instead of playing the part of mediator between parties to a dispute, even itself become a party to the conflict; that it would infringe the fundamental principles, tasks and aims of the United Nations; and that it would undermine the authority and prestige of the Organization.

The following are some of the recent publications of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace:

Fifth Report—Security and Disarmament Under the United Nations. June, 1947

Sixth Report—Collective Self-Defense Under the United Nations. May, 1948

Draft International Bill of Human Rights, prepared by the Committee on Human Rights of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace. February, 1947

Europe in the Modern Age, by Cyril J. Bath. May, 1948

Statement on United States Proposed Trusteeship Agreement for the Japanese Mandated Islands, prepared by the Trusteeship Committee of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace. February, 1947

The Security of the United States and Western Europe, prepared by the Drafting Committee of the Commission. January, 1949

Uniting the Nations for Health, prepared by a Standing Committee for the Commission composed of C.-E. A. Winslow, Chairman, Frank C. Boudreau and Edward H. Hume. July, 1947

United Nations Guards—Recommendations to the United States Delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations. September, 1948

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS

45 East 65th Street, New York 21, New York

I enclose $..... to enable the Association to carry on an educational program on behalf of this report (United Nations Guards and Technical Field Services).

Name .....

Address.....

.....

AMERICAN BIROBIDJAN COMMITTEE (*AMBIJAN*)

103 PARK AVENUE • MUrray Hill 3-8895-6-7 • NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

November 29, 1949

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Council On African Affairs
23 West 26th St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The American Birobidjan Committee extends to you a cordial invitation to to be our honored guest and guest speaker at our Annual National Dinner on December 10, 1949, 6:30 P.M. at the Commodore Hotel, New York, N.Y.

You may perhaps remember the discussion I had with you at the Paris Peace Conference of the program and activities of the Ambijan Committee. Next to the Negro people, the Jewish people are suffering of the greatest discrimination and oppression. The Ambijan Committee is representative of the common people among the Jews, and it has been devoted to post-war Jewish rehabilitation, the strengthening of understanding and friendship between the people of this country and the Soviet Union and the furthering of the cause of world peace.

Our National Annual Dinner will be the Opening Session of our National Conference. It is the task of the Conference to further the struggle against anti-Semitism and fascism; to expand the work for post-war Jewish rehabilitation, for the upbuilding of Israel, for the cultivation and strengthening of understanding and friendship with the Soviet Union and for world peace. We are convinced that your appearance at our Dinner and your address will serve to visualize to the masses of the Jewish people the growing bound of friendship and cooperation between the Jew and the Negro, which is so essential for our common struggle for peace and progress and the welfare of our country and international friendship.

We are looking forward to welcome you as our guest speaker at our Dinner on December 10th.

Sincerely yours,

J.M. BUDISH
Executive Vice-President

jmb/lm

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November 30, 1949

Mr. J. M. Budish
Executive Vice-President
American Birobidjan Committee
103 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

23-1-18

My dear Mr. Budish:

I am very sympathetic with your organization and its work, but it will be impossible for me to attend your dinner on December 10, on account of engagements which I have already made.

I hope I may serve you at some future time.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

AMERICAN CONTINENTAL CONGRESS FOR WORLD PEACE
Suite 71, 49 West 44 Street, New York 18, N.Y.
Telephone: Murray Hill 7-4292

July 20, 1949

Dear Friends:

Perhaps you have already heard the important news that an American Continental Congress for World Peace is to be held in Mexico City on September 5th through the 10th.

Enclosed is the first call to the Congress with some of the initial sponsors, prominent men and women from the arts, sciences, professions, church, trade unions, women and youth organizations from Latin and North America.

(15)

In a war-threatened world, the interests of all are in peril--- whether it be in freedom of expression for the arts, sciences and education, whether it be in housing or employment or living standards. At this Congress, the peoples of the Americas will meet together to discuss their common problems in order to work out a cooperative program for peace.

In addition to plenary sessions, there will be commissions in which the delegates will have the opportunity to exchange experiences with people in organizations similar to those they represent.

We are sending you this advance information concerning the Congress as you undoubtedly will want to participate in sending delegates or observers.

CP-04-23

W. E. B. Du Bois

W. E. B. Du Bois

Linus Pauling

Linus Pauling

John Clark

John Clark

O. John Rogge

O. John Rogge

Uta Hagen

Uta Hagen

For the American Continental Congress for World Peace

[ENC]

CALL TO THE AMERICAN CONTINENTAL CONGRESS FOR WORLD PEACE

- - -

We, the signers of this call, invite all men and women of good will of the Americas to attend the Continental Congress for Peace which will meet in Mexico City on September 5th through September 10th of this year.

The activities of those who would profit from another world war are being felt more intensely each day by the peoples of the Americas. The war-makers have started an armament race which already affects many nations of this continent. They have burdened the peoples with unbearable war budgets, have ignored the sovereignty of nations, have organized aggressive military blocs, have weakened the economic conditions of the people and have violated our sacred democratic rights.

The peoples of the Americas can not remain indifferent to these acts. While those who would benefit from war strive to take the nations of this continent along the road to misery, slavery and death, the people love and desire peace as the way to well-being and progress. But it is necessary that they unite to show their will and strength. This is our aim in calling the American Continental Congress.

We call upon all individuals and institutions throughout the Americas who want peace; we call upon all cultural, trade union, religious, women, youth, farm and fraternal organizations which are interested in freeing this continent from horrors of the new war. We call upon all men and women, regardless of their political and religious differences, who are ready to stop this drive towards war. We know the democratic and peace-loving traditions of our continent and we are sure that our voices will be heard.

We firmly believe that we, the peoples of the Americas, can guarantee our well-being and progress only by living together in peace and freedom in a free and peaceful world. Each country of the Americas needs to gear its life to the free, normal and increasing development of its natural resources without foreign interference or detrimental subordination. War preparations and accompanying anti-democratic measures hinder this. Therefore, the powerful demand for peace by the people from Alaska to Patagonia must be expressed at the Continental Congress in Mexico.

Peace is the road to liberty and greatness for the Americas.

Working for peace the Americas fulfil their highest destiny in the service of the world. We believe the presence and support of all will assure the realization of this destiny. We call, therefore, upon all the peoples of the Americas to respond to the historic date of September 5th in Mexico City.

Mexico City, June 1949

[ENC]

INITIAL LIST OF SPONSORS FOR THE AMERICAN CONTINENTAL CONGRESS FOR WORLD PEACE.

- - -

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Fernando Benítez	Writer
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Dr. Carlos Graef Fernández	Mathematician and Physicist
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Dr. Fernando Ortiz	Anthropologist & archeologist
Dr. Carlos Márquez Sterling	Professor of Economics Havana University. President of the National Constituent Assembly.
Dr. Domingo Villamil	Catholic Theologian

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Dr. Omar Catunda	Professor of Mathematics-São Paulo University
Dr. Mario Fabio	Professor of Medicine, University of Brazil
Edoardo de Guarnieri	Conductor and Composer
Paul Guimarens de Fonseca	Professor of Chemistry-São Paulo University
Oscar Niemeyer	Architect
Cándido Portinari	Painter
Graciliano Ramos	Writer
Mario Schemberg	Professor of nuclear physics-S. Paulo University

FROM COSTA RICA:

Don Joaquín García Monge	Writer

FROM CHILE:

Pablo Neruda	Poet

23C-40

[ENC]

AMERICAN CONTINENTAL CONGRESS FOR PEACE

Enrique Gonzalez Martinez, President
Louis Enrique Delano, General Secretary

United States Committee

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Rev. Fred I. Cairns
Ethel Chaplin
Howard Da Silva
William Esterman
Dr. W.L. Gordon
Farley Granger
George Gudze
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23C-40

uopwa/19

24-48-32

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Caio Prado,Jr., Sociologist
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Bernabe Michelena, Sculptor
Jesualdo Sosa, Teacher, Writer
Carlos Ledezma, Bacteriologist
Carlos Herrera McLean, Architect
Domingo Bazzurro, Painter

United States members of the Continental Committee are not identified since they are well known here.

UOPWA

July 21, 1949

3500 East Fairpoint
Pasadena 8, California
July 27, 1949

Dr. W. E. D. DuBois
American Continental Congress for
World Peace
Suite 70, 49 West 44th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am very pleased that you are going to serve as one of the United States vice-presidents for the American Continental Congress for World Peace. I regret that, because of the great distance of Pasadena from New York and some local problems that are keeping me tied up this summer, it is not possible for me to come to the meeting of the United States Committee on Monday, nor to attend the Congress itself.

I feel that the fine group of people not only in the United States but elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere who have already responded to the call for the Continental Congress for World Peace assures its success. Please feel free to call on me whenever I can be of help.

With very best wishes to you and your colleagues, I am

Sincerely yours,

Linus Pauling

Linus Pauling:W

24-4-10

August 5, 1949

Mr. Linus Pauling
3500 East Fiarpoint
Pasadena 8, California

Dear Mr. Pauling:

Thank you very much for your kind letter of July 27. I sincerely hope that our cooperation may be successful in strengthening the stand for Peace which the world today needs more than anything else.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

UNITED STATES COMMITTEE

AMERICAN CONTINENTAL CONGRESS FOR PEACE

President: ENRIQUE GONZALEZ MARTINEZ
General Secretary: LOUIS ENRIQUE DELANO

August 12, 1949

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Suite 70
49 West 44th Street
New York 18, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 7-4292

23-40-49

Dear Sponsor:

Enclosed is a copy of the Call to the Continental Congress for Peace of which you are a Sponsor. Since the printing of this Call the names on the enclosed list have been received and additional ones are still coming to the office. You will be glad to note the wide and distinguished support in many countries of the Western hemisphere and to know that a large number of delegates and observers are arranging to go from the United States as well as from Canada and Latin America. We hope that you are planning to be among them.

This Continental Congress will take place on the eve of the next General Assembly of the United Nations and on the eve of an important meeting of the Big Four Foreign Ministers. An expression of the united will to peace of the peoples of the Western hemisphere can prove a positive influence against the drive toward war.

Thanks to those who like yourself understand how important an inter-American peace movement can be in the world-wide effort to prevent another world war, it has been possible to carry on the work of this office and to print the Call. But as you know the United States Committee is ad hoc and must function without the support or staff of an established organization. The Committee has had to depend for funds to carry on its work as well as for funds to meet its share of the expenses of the Conference in Mexico City upon contributions of individuals and organizations concerned with peace.

You may be among those who have already contributed financially to make this conference possible. If not, may I assure you that any financial assistance you can give us will be deeply appreciated at this time and will help make this significant gathering a success.

Sincerely yours,

Linus Pauling
Linus Pauling

W. E. B. DuBois
W. E. B. DuBois

uopwa/19
enc.

CALL TO THE American Continental Congress for PEACE

230-40

MEXICO CITY
Sept. 5 – Sept. 10

1949

THE CALL

We, the signers of this call, invite all men and women of good will of the Americas to attend the Continental Congress for Peace which will meet in Mexico City on September 5th through September 10th of this year.

The activities of those who would profit from another world war are being felt more intensely each day by the peoples of the Americas. The war-makers have started an armament race which already affects many nations of this continent. They have burdened the peoples with unbearable war budgets, have ignored the sovereignty of nations, have organized aggressive military blocs, have weakened the economic conditions of the people and have violated our sacred democratic rights.

The peoples of the Americas can not remain indifferent to these acts. While those who would benefit from war strive to take the nations of this continent along the road to misery, slavery and death, the people love and desire peace as the way to well-being and progress. But it is necessary that they unite to show their will and strength. This is our aim in calling the American Continental Congress.

We call upon all individuals and institutions throughout the Americas who want peace; we call upon all cultural, trade union, religious, women, youth, farm and fraternal organizations which are interested in freeing this continent from the horrors of a new war. We call upon all men and women, regardless of their political and religious differences, who are ready to stop this drive towards war. We know the democratic and peace-loving traditions of our continent and we are sure that our voices will be heard.

We firmly believe that we, the peoples of the Americas, can guarantee our well-being and progress only by living together in peace and freedom in a free and peaceful world. Each country of the Americas needs to gear its life to the free, normal and increasing development of its natural resources without foreign interference or detrimental subordination. War preparations and accompanying anti-democratic measures hinder this. Therefore, the powerful demand for peace by the people from Alaska to Patagonia must be expressed at the Continental Congress in Mexico.

Peace is the road to liberty and greatness for the Americas.

Working for peace the Americas fulfill their highest destiny in the service of the world. We believe the presence and support of all will assure the realization of this destiny. We call, therefore, upon all the peoples of the Americas to respond to the historic date of September 5th in Mexico City.

Mexico City, June 1949

AMERICAN CONTINENTAL CONGRESS FOR PEACE

ENRIQUE GONZALEZ MARTINEZ, President

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Julia Arevalo de Roche, *senator*
Enrique Rodriguez, *congressman, trade unionist*
Elia Gil Salguero, *poetess*
Jesualdo Sosa, *writer and educator*

PROGRAM

Monday, September 5 — Saturday, September 10

Sessions: 10 A.M. to 1 P.M. and 4 to 7 P. M.

MONDAY
Morning — Registration
Afternoon — Reception for Foreign Delegates
Evening — Keynote Session

TUESDAY
Plenary Session

WEDNESDAY & THURSDAY
Mornings — Panel Sessions for Representatives from the Trade Unions, the Arts, Sciences and Professions, Youth and Women's Organizations
Evenings — Plenary Sessions

FRIDAY
Closing Session

SATURDAY
Fiesta For Peace

A special series of art exhibits, dance recitals, plays and concerts will be presented throughout the week in honor of the delegates.

Delegates must be elected by national and local organizations. Individuals will be welcomed as visitors and observers.

For information on travel check with your local travel agencies.

Address all communications to —
American Continental Congress for Peace
Room 70, 49 West 44th Street, N. Y. 18, N. Y.

American Continental Congress for Peace
Room 70, 49 West 44th Street, N. Y. 18, N. Y.

I shall attend as a ☐ delegate
☐ observer

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Organization _____

Please list names and addresses of any additional delegates.

CALL

FROM WOMEN'S SPONSORING COMMITTEE

We, the undersigned women together with women from all the countries of North and South America, call upon all American women to undertake a great collective effort to prevent another world war.

We believe that a supreme effort to save world peace must be made NOW. We speak to the hearts and consciences of all American women, urging them to support and participate in this Peace Congress.

Let us oppose disunity with unity; replace hatred by understanding and brotherhood; defend life against those who bring death! Let us build the barrier of Peace across the path of the war-makers!

FROM THE UNITED STATES

Charlotta A. Bass
Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown
Muriel Draper
Mineola V. Ingersol
Ada B. Jackson
Frances Leber
Susan B. Anthony MacAvoy
Vivian Carter Mason
Elizabeth Moos
Eslanda G. Robeson
Rose Russell
Elizabeth Sasuly
Dr. Maude Slye
Jeannette Stern Turner
Marion Ulmer
Daisy Kendall Ward
Ella Winter
Margaret Zorach
Viola M. Brown
Helen S. Mangold
Charlotte Stern

FROM CANADA

Marion Bacon
May Birchard
Mary Bleakner
Estelle Craig
Mary Endicott
Margaret Fairley
Mary Hecht
Edith Holton
Wilhelmine Hurley
Grace Knight
Miriam Kotler
Anne Lee
Freda Lipman
Rae Lucock
Byrna Mann
Ethel Neilson
Dorise W. Nielsen
Kari Poloni
Rose Ross
Edna Ryerson
Eva Sanderson
Agnes Sparratt
Marion Stewart
Mary Tennison
Helen Wilks
Idele Wilson
Shiela Young

FROM MEXICO

Maria Asuysolo
Eladia D'Acosta
Esther Chapa
Professor Esthela Jimenez Esponda
Adelina Gendejas
Maria Izquierdo
Elisa G. Uda Ramos Pedrueza
Josefina Arce Uda de Galvez Perez
Aurea Procel
Torre G. Rosa

FROM BRAZIL

Silvia Pessoa de Andrade
Manhas Barreto
Itacy Mendonca Barroso
Nair Batista
Aldaisa Viana Bonavides
Fernanda Brito
Margarida do Amaral Calado
Margarida Saboia de Carvalho
Mary Emilie
Barbara Feitosa
Flora Gueiro Ferreira
Branca Fialho
Nice Figueiredo
Marina Roxo D. da Fonseca
Claudia Caleno
Arcelina Mochel Goto
Antonieta Hampshire
Nuta Bartlet James
Octavia Konder
Iracoma Amaral Lima
Elza Iauerbrown Maia
Eline Mochel Matos
Mariana Ferreira de Menezes
Maislowa Menezes
Celita de Oliveira Muniz
Erlita Oeste
Rita Ribeiro Pedrosa
Djanira G. Pereira
Ana Perez
Maria Portinari
Zelina Pontes
Maria Seda Santos
Nise da Silveira
Italia Ciribele Soares
Alice Tiririca
Maria Werneck

FROM ARGENTINA

Gerarda Scolamieri
Margarita F. de Ponce
Alcira de la Pena
Telma Reca
Maria Rosa Oliver
Olga Cossettini
Carmen Charles
Fanny J. de Edelman
Teresa Aguirre Paz
Berta P. deBraslavski
Berta P. de Braslavski
Matilde Elia de Etchegoyen
Cecilia Mossin Kottin
Nelly Dobranich
Amalia Viglione de Onetto
Nina Borzone
Elsa Balza
Ana B. de Perez Ibanez
Aida de Patruco
Irma Othar
Margot Matarazzo
Hebe de Paeta
Calle Guevara
Matilde Aleman
Antonia Banegas
Ofelia Britos de Dobranich
Ana Maria Elguera
Ofelia Olmi
Regina Nino
Estela Canto
Carlota D. de Calo
Aurelia Morello
Susana G. de Dominguez
Carmen Tejeria
Rosa Scheiner
Inda Miravet
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AMERICAN CONTINENTAL CONGRESS FOR PEACE
Suite 70 • 49 West 44 Street • New York 18, N. Y. • MU 7-4292

48A

Re: Continental Congress for Peace. -Mexico City--9/49

(New York Times, 9/8/49, p. 15, by William P. Carney)

Mexico City. September 7.

"Today, O. John Rogge of New York . . . was sidetracked when he tried to make a speech accusing the Soviet Union equally with the United States of 'exploitation' of China. Another delegate was recognized in Mr. Rogge's place.

"The United States delegation had been provided with a copy of Mr. Rogge's speech. Mr. Rogge gave a copy of it to The New York Times, saying he hoped he could deliver it tomorrow without eliminating two 'objectionable' paragraphs which follow:

"'The Soviet Union is not free from colonialism and exploitation. It participated with the United States in the abritrary and deliberate division of Korea and Viet Nam. I could not justify what the Russians did in Manchuria; nor can I justify what they are currently doing in Yugoslavia.

"' . . . we tell Western Europe to stop trading with the East. The Cominform . . . tells its countries to stop trading with the Yugoslavs.'"

(New York Times, 9/9/49. p. 9, by William P. Carney)

Mexico City, September 8.

"O. John Rogge . . . who rose to speak last night but was sidetracked by recognition of another speaker, presided at this after-

noon's plenary session.

. . . .

"He also said he had learned that The New York Times reported he was sidetracked when he attempted to speak last night, but this was 'not true because my speech is not being typed, translated and mimeographed and as soon as this has been completed I shall have the pleasure of addressing you tomorrow and tell you about our vanishing civil liberties in the United States.'"

"Only this morning Mr. Rogge told The New York Times that he was not worried about not being permitted to speak last night because he thought he would surely manage to get the floor today. He had supplied this correspondent in advance with a copy of his speech, which criticized Russia equally with the United States."

- - - - -

(New York Times, 9/10/49, p. 8 by William P. Carney)

Mexico City, September 9.

"After having been by passed for three days on various pretexts, O. John Rogge . . . finally was allowed to speak today to the Continental Congress for Peace.

"His criticism of Soviet Russia in the advance copy of the speech distributed Tuesday remained in the rewritten version he delivered, but they were buried in a much greater volume of denunciation of the United States Government for 'suppressions of civil liberty.'"

"Mr. Rogge observed that 'today those who are unorthodox are labelled subversives."

file A SF

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AMERICAN CONTINENTAL CONGRESS FOR PEACE

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General Secretary: LOUIS ENRIQUE DELANO

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Suite 70
49 West 44th Street
New York 18, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 7-4292

23-40-21

September 15, 1949

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York City

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We have all been eagerly waiting your return to hear, what I am certain will be very exciting reports of the All-Union Peace Conference, and to tell you of the wonderful meetings in Mexico City.

Please don't forget that we are counting on you, both as Vice-Chairman of the American Congress and a delegate to the one in Moscow, to speak at our committee's "Report Meeting" on Monday evening, September 26 st the City Center. We are keeping our fingers crossed that you have no earlier speaking engagements, so that we can announce the very first report of the All Union Peace Conference.

We are hoping to make this meeting a kind of round-up report of all the important peace efforts - the Waldorf, Paris, Mexican and Moscow conferences, as well as the Labor-Peace Conference which is to be held in Chicago the beginning of next month.

Could you have your secretary call us as soon as possible to confirm the September 26th date?

Sincerely yours,
Elizabeth Moos
Elizabeth Moos

[American Continental Congress for Peace]

23-40-20

September 19, 1949

Mrs. Elizabeth Moos
Arts, Sciences and Professions
49 West 44th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Moos:

I shall be glad to speak on Monday evening, September 26, at the City Center for fifteen minutes.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Am. Council for A Democratic Greece]

File

AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR A DEMOCRATIC GREECE

152 WEST 42nd STREET • WIsconsin 7-6744 • NEW YORK, 18, N. Y.

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24-83-43

September 2, 1949

W. E. B. Du Bois
409 Edgecombe Ave.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

It is our conviction that the question of American intervention in Greece has reached a point of active danger. Having carefully studied the role of our government in that country, we have great fear that unless the attention of Americans is centered on this Greek tragedy, we will begin to count the cost in the lives of our young men.

It is for this reason that I urge you to read and sponsor the enclosed petition, which we will print and distribute among leading American figures in all walks of life, and among the people at large.

Please use the enclosed stamped envelope for your reply. I will look for it.

Cordially,

Abraham L. Pomerantz

Abraham L. Pomerantz

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GENERAL FOREIGN AGENTS - NEW YORK CENTRAL SYSTEM

November 18, 1949

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
409 Edgecomb Ave.
Apartment 13-H
New York 32, N. Y.

23-11-40

Dear Sir:

We acknowledge receipt of your letter dated November 16, concerning books to a friend in Jamaica.

The books should be packed well, preferably in a wooden case, marked with consignee's name and address and your name and address. Four declarations, signed where we have marked an "X", also three packing lists, showing your name and address, consignee's name and address, contents of the box and the values.

In order that we may quote charges, please furnish the weight, length, height and width, value and city. For your convenience we enclose a form.

Awaiting your further data, we remain

Yours very truly,

AMERICAN EXPRESS COMPANY

C. E. Saunders
Assistant Export Manager

lek

Encls.

December 21, 1949

23-11-41

Mr. C. E. Saunders
Assistant Export Manager
AMERICAN EXPRESS COMPANY
65 Broadway
New York 6, New York

Dear Sir:

In reply to your letter of November 18, I am enclosing declarations as to a box of books which I wish to ship to the West Indies.

The books are in a wooden box at my residence:

409 Edgecombe Avenue
Apartment 13-H
New York 32, New York

I want to prepay the shipment.

Can you arrange this and have the box picked up?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

STATE COMMITTEE

Dr. Hunton received same + answered Apr. 20. 1949

VITO MARCANTONIO
Chairman

DOUGLAS L. MacMAHON
Secretary

ALVIN UDELL
Treasurer

State Headquarters
570 SEVENTH AVENUE
New York 18, N. Y.

Telephone: LOngacre 5-1200

ARTHUR SCHUTZER, Executive Secretary

Dear Friend:

The Nationalities Division of the New York State American Labor Party invites your organization to participate in an All-Day CONFERENCE ON THE NATIONAL GROUPS AND THE FIGHT FOR PEACE AND CIVIL RIGHTS, May 14, 1949, from 10 A.M. to 5:30 P.M., at the Central Opera House, 205 East 67 Street, New York City.

The heightened drive to war by American reaction through the Atlantic Military Pact and other foreign policy measures is paralleled by increased attacks on the home front against the rights of the nationality groups which make up the United States.

Americans in the nationality groups are particularly concerned with the problem of peace, since it affects not only the United States, but the lands of their origin as well. The nationality groups are among the first victims of the deportation drive and unemployment. They are singled out for attacks on their press and radio, suffer from restrictions on immigration and naturalization, and from a revival of discrimination against the foreign-born. Our Conference will discuss these questions, and the problems of the nationality groups in relation to trade unions and youth. Special attention will be given to political action by the nationality groups and the American Labor Party.

We urge your organization to register its delegates at once to insure a fruitful discussion and a sound program of action for peace and civil rights. We appeal to you to make a contribution to help defray the costs of the Conference.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur D. Kahn

Arthur D. Kahn
Executive Director,
Nationalities Division

ADK/el
uopwa/16
encl.1

230-9

[Enc]

CALL

of the

NATIONALITIES DIVISION
AMERICAN LABOR PARTY
New York's Progressive Party

to an all day

CONFERENCE

on

PEACE

and Political Action

SATURDAY, MAY 14
10:00 A.M. to 5:30 P.M.

at the

CENTRAL OPERA HOUSE
205 EAST 67th STREET
(between 2nd and 3rd Aves.)

836-9

NEW YORK . . . city of Americans from every corner of the globe. Largest Jewish, Puerto Rican, Irish, second largest Italian city in the world.

The National Groups have been the builders of the trade union movement.

The National Groups with their ties to the lands of their origin are particularly menaced by the current war drive.

They can be mobilized for the fight for peace and civil liberties.

The New York State American Labor Party — Nationalities Division — invites all ALP Clubs, National Group organizations, trade unions, other progressive organizations and individuals to a Conference

To discuss the problems of the National Groups

To plan a concrete action program for mobilizing the National Groups for Peace and Civil Rights.

Outstanding authorities on the National Group question will speak and lead the discussion.

Panels on . . .

★

The National Groups and the fight for Peace

★

The National Groups and the fight for Civil Liberties

★

Problems of the Youth in the National Groups

★

National Group approaches in the Trade Unions

★

Combatting Reactionary Forces in the National Groups

★

Building Political Action among the National Groups

REGISTRATION BLANK

(Registration will be limited to the first 500 applicants)

☐ I enclose $1.00 for a delegate registration

Organization.....

☐ I enclose $.50 for an observer registration.

Name .....

Address .....

ORDER BLANK FOR PEOPLE'S FESTIVAL

(Choruses and Dance Groups of numerous national groups and others)

Speaker: VITO MARCANTONIO

CENTRAL OPERA HOUSE, 205 East 67th St.

SUNDAY, MAY 15th, 1949 — 2:00 P.M.

I enclose $..... for ..... tickets at

.....$2.40 (reserved)

.....$1.20 (general admission)

Make checks payable to

NATIONALITIES DIVISION — AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

570 Seventh Avenue, New York 18, N. Y.

Executive Director: ARTHUR D. KAHN

Treasurer: WM. B. CHEREVAS

May 10, 1949

Mr. Arthur D. Kahn
Executive Director
American Labor Party
570 7th Avenue
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Kahn:

In answer to your recent letter to Dr. Du Bois, may I say that the Doctor is still abroad in France. He will return about the end of this month, at which time I will bring your letter to his attention.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

[AMERICAN LABOR PARTY
MAY 15, 1949]

A PEOPLE'S FESTIVAL FOR PEACE

The Songs and Dances of the National Groups

We find strength and inspiration in our dances and songs to rally
to the world-crusade for peace.

232-1

"Our America is like a tree whose roots reach to every corner of the world." — Henry A. Wallace

— *Speaker* —

Congressman VITO MARCANTONIO

●

Festival will also commemorate

- **Anniversary of Israel**
- **Anniversary of James Connolly**
- **I Am An American Day**

UKRAINIAN, JEWISH AND ARMENIAN CHORUSES, JEWISH, PUERTO RICAN, GREEK, ITALIAN FOLK DANCERS, RADISCHEV DANCERS AND CHORUS, CIO CHORUS, PEOPLE'S DANCE GROUP, WEST INDIAN DANCERS

. . . and Others

CENTRAL OPERA HOUSE
205 EAST 67th STREET, NEW YORK

SUNDAY, MAY 15, 1949
2:00 P. M. SHARP

Order Blank

Please send me ..... tickets at

..... $2.40 (reserved)

..... $1.20

..... $.60

Tax Included

Make checks payable to
Nationalities Division
American Labor Party

Sponsored by:

NATIONALITIES DIVISION, AMERICAN LABOR PARTY (NEW YORK'S PROGRESSIVE PARTY)

570 - 7th Avenue — Room 1003 — New York 18, N. Y.

ARTHUR D. KAHN, *Exec. Dir.* — WILLIAM B. CHEREVAS, *Treasurer*

American Labor Party

BRONX COUNTY

1239 SOUTHERN BOULEVARD, BRONX 59, N. Y.
DAYTON 3-3450 - 1 - 2

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Chairman

DR. MAURICE KAUFMAN
Executive Vice-Chairman

JESSE MINTUS
Secretary

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Executive Secretary

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Assistant Treasurer

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CHARLES SCHECKNER
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MYRON SHAPIRO
JULIAN C. TRUPIN
OSCAR WARD
JOHN J. ZITO

25

23-1-13

May 18th, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

T he people in the Bronx have followed with deep interest and endorsement your recent activities and your participation in the Paris Peace Conference. They are most anxious to have you visit with them and to hear from you about your experiences in Paris.

We would like, therefore, to have you appear at a large meeting sponsored by the American Labor Party of Bronx County at Hunts Point Palace on June 1st or 2nd, two weeks from this date.

Leo Isacson and officers of the Bronx County ALP will join you at this meeting, which would be dedicated to advancing the fight for peace and the varying activities in behalf of Negro rights which we have undertaken in the Bronx. I hope very much, therefore, that you will be free on one of these evenings and that you will be able to join us.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Cadden

JOSEPH CADDEN, Executive Secretary
Bronx County American Labor Party

JC: mab
uopwa-16

May 23, 1949

Mr. Joseph Cadden
American Labor Party
1239 Southern Boulevard
Bronx 59, New York

B-1-4

Dear Mr. Cadden:

Answering your letter of May 18, to Dr. Du Bois, may I say that he is still abroad in Paris.

He is expected to return on or about the first of June. I do not think, however, that he would want to attend a meeting on his first day back.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

May 23, 1949

Mr. Johannes Steel, Treasurer
American Labor Party
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Steel:

Answering your letter of May 17, may I say that Dr. Du Bois is still abroad in Paris and is not expected to return until about the end of this month.

I will bring your letter to his attention immediately upon his arrival.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

file 2

[c/MAY 1945]

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

STATE COMMITTEE

VITO MARCANTONIO
Chairman

DOUGLAS L. MacMAHON
Secretary

ALVIN UDELL
Treasurer

State Headquarters
570 SEVENTH AVENUE
New York 18, N. Y.

Telephone: LOngacre 5-1200

ARTHUR SCHUTZER, Executive Secretary

Dear Friend,

Only a few days remain before the Conference on Peace and Political Action called by the Nationalities Division of the N.Y. State American Labor Party on May 14. This Conference will be of vital interest to nationality organizations throughout New York. Following is the agenda:

Morning Session

Chairman: Helen Vasquez, Legislative Director, Local 16, UOPWA (CIO)
Father Clarence Duffy - "The World Mobilizes For Peace"
Arthur Schutzer, Executive Secretary, N.Y. State ALP - "The Progessive Party Peace Campaign"
Harriet Barron, Adminstrative Secretary, American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born - " The Attack on The Civil Rights of the Foreign Born"
Evelina Montenegro - "Puerto Ricans Fight For Peace"
Arthur D. Kahn, Executive Director, Nationalities Division, NY State ALP - "Nationalities in the Peace Drive"

Afternoon Session

Chairman: Vincent Longhi

Panels

PEACE: William Cherevas, Chairman
CIVIL RIGHTS: Ewart Guinier, Secretary-Treasurer, United Public Workers, Chairman
YOUTH: Olga Tkack, Secretary, N.Y. Youth Lodges, Ukrainian American Fraternal Union, I.W.O., Chairman
POLITICAL ACTION: Joseph Novarra, Chairman

General Discussion

As yet, we have not yet received your registration. Would you please fill out the enclosed registration form and return it at your earliest convenience, to help ensure a successful Conference.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur D. Kahn

Arthur D. Kahn
Executive Director, Nationalities Division

ADK/ap
uopwa/16
encl. 1

23-49-16

November 14, 1949

Mr. Vito Marcantonio
1484 First Avenue
New York, New York

My dear Mr. Marcantonio:

May I congratulate your upon the magnificent fight which you made in the last election. In the long run so fine an effort cannot be in vain.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Com [American Labor Party]

1949 AMERICAN LABOR PARTY Municipal Campaign Committee

13 ASTOR PLACE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • ORegon 3-3900

Congressman **VITO MARCANTONIO** for Mayor
PAUL L. ROSS for Comptroller
MINNEOLA INGERSOLL for President, City Council

Treasurers
ALFRED K. STERN
AARON D. SCHNEIDER

November 15, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York, N. Y.

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

23-1-35

Thank you very much for your letter of November 14th and for the sentiments which you expressed. I deeply appreciate them.

You may be sure that the fight will continue.

Sincerely yours,

Vito Marcantonio

Telephone: LEXINGTON { 2-5472 / 2-5475 *Cable Address*: AMRUSCUL

THE AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE
a non-profit corporation
Research • Education • Information • Public Service
58 PARK AVENUE • NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

May 23, 1949

Dear Friend:

As one interested in cultural relations with the Soviet Union, you have, we are sure, been looking forward to the Spring Dinner of the American Russian Institute, where for many years leading Soviet and American public figures and statesmen have shared the same platform. A variety of circumstances this Spring has forced us to postpone the dinner until now when, in view of the lateness of the season, it is impractical to hold it.

I am sure you will understand this situation. You may even welcome, at the end of an arduous dinner-going season, a quiet evening at home. But those of us responsible for the Institute cannot have a quiet evening until we have raised the funds to keep the ARI's doors open. And the ARI is more needed and more used now than ever before.

232-8

Dinners have produced these funds for us in the past. Therefore, we invite you this year to a Dinner-in-Spirit rather than to a dinner in fact. We invite you to reserve seats as before. But this time the entire cover charge of $7.50 will go toward supporting our program, as many of you have told us you wished it could have in the past.

So, we ask you to send us a check for as many seats as you would have taken were it a real dinner. And, in addition, we ask you kindly to enclose another check with the amount of the contribution you gave last year, and which amount, or more, we hope you had planned to contribute had we held a dinner this season. Please fill out and return the enclosed card NOW.

In place of this Dinner-in-Spirit, however, we offer you on June 8th a real, live Reception and Garden Party-in-Fact. It will be held at the Institute, 58 Park Avenue, and will honor His Excellency, Mr. Semyon K. Tsarapkin, Alternate Delegate of the USSR to the Security Council of the United Nations. You are most cordially invited. <u>There will be no solicitation of funds</u>. Let us know promptly on the enclosed card if you wish a ticket.

Sincerely, and with appreciation for your support,

Ernest C. Ropes.

Ernest C. Ropes,
Chairman

BOARD OF DIRECTORS: Ernest C. Ropes, *Chairman* • William W. Lancaster, *Vice Chairman* • Basil N. Bass, *Secretary* • Miles M. Sherover, *Treasurer* • Frances Adams • Edward C. Carter • Daniel S. Gillmor • Mortimer Graves • Robert S. Lynd • Harriet Moore • S. J. Novick • Arthur Upham Pope • Rose N. Rubin • Richard B. Scandrett, Jr. • Harlow Shapley • Maxwell S. Stewart • David Weingard • Henry H. Collins, Jr., *Executive Director*
357

Russia

Mr. Ernest C. Ropes, Chairman

American Russian Institute, Inc.

58 Park Avenue

New York 16, N. Y.

8-DEC

23a-8

Dear Mr. Ropes:

Enclosed find $ _____ for _____ reservations-in-absentia at $7.50 each for the American Russian Institute Dinner-in-Spirit.

I am happy to enclose my contribution in the amount of $ _____ which I had planned to give at the dinner.

☐ I would like to attend the Garden Party Reception at 58 Park Avenue on the afternoon of June 8th to meet His Excellency, Mr. Semyon K. Tsarapkin, and will appreciate your sending me _____ tickets. (There will be no solicitation of funds).

Name _____

Address _____

(Please make checks payable to American Russian Institute, Inc.)

SPECIAL SERVICES

Study outlines and other factual material are published from time to time.

The ARI provides a special translation service, ranging from the reading of a letter to the translation of a book; provides photostats of any material in its library; checks manuscripts for factual accuracy on Soviet subjects. Fees are designed to meet costs of the special projects.

Students at Girl's School No. 29 in Moscow. Sovfoto.

WHO USES THE AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE?

Over 150 American colleges and universities. *Gibson Gray of Tyler, Texas, Columbia University student, says: "Whenever I have a research problem involving the Soviet Union, I make my first point of attack the library of the American Russian Institute. In my present research program on higher education in the Soviet Union, I am using materials from the library on laws, decrees, etc., which I have been unable to find anywhere else."*

Newspapers, magazines, publishers and writers use the services of the ARI.

Maurice Hindus, author, (Humanity Uprooted; The Cossacks) *writes: "The research facilities of the American Russian Institute permit students of Russia, regardless of their personal political views, to check and verify facts on a multitude of Russian subjects. On several occasions, while in search of certain Russian documents, the Institute was the only place in which I could find them."*

ARI services industrial and commercial firms seeking trade with the USSR.

The United Nations, too, draws upon our store of knowledge.

Will You Help This Program?

The ARI maintains this program because it believes it to be of service to America. ARI service fees cannot finance the entire work. Your financial support will help maintain and expand our work to meet the growing need of Americans who require and want information about the USSR. A business reply envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

THE American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union, INC.
58 Park Avenue - New York 16, N. Y.

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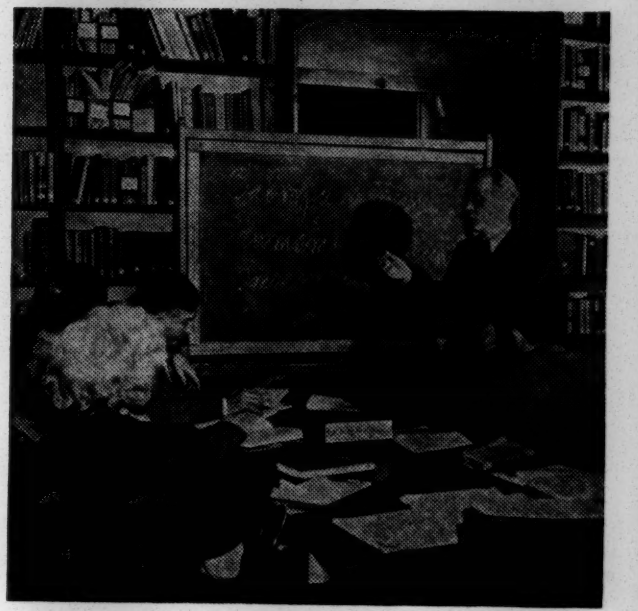
Henry H. Collins, Jr., *Executive Director*

88



Language Class, Library
American Russian Institute

232-8

THE AMERICAN CENTER FOR FACTS ABOUT RUSSIA

WELL INFORMED AMERICANS need accurate, up-to-date information. The American Russian Institute, for 23 years, has been indisputably the American center

[1949?]

for facts on the USSR. The Institute is non-political and non-partisan, devoted to research on the Soviet Union, and dissemination of the results.

The temper of the times has never affected the ARI's handling of factual material. Opinions may vary; but facts don't. The ARI deals only with facts.

Kindergarten provided for worker's children at summer location of the Stalin Auto Plant. *Sovfoto.*

As a well-informed American, can you discuss the Lysenko controversy? Public health in the USSR? World trade of the Soviet Union? Do you know how Russian children live and play?

WHAT DO YOU KNOW about new developments in agriculture, science, art, physical culture, the theatre, dance, sports, architecture, music and industry in the Soviet Union?

Do you have the facts on the Soviet standard of living? On hobbies Russians pursue? Can a Russian own his home, have a servant, own a car, make a will, leave an estate? Does he go to horse races, pay income tax, like baseball?

REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES in the economic, social and political life within the last 30 years have made the USSR the subject of intense discussion wherever people gather. The Soviet Union is a central fact in our world. To write, talk, or think intelligently about it, you need authentic information.

The Services of the Institute

THE LIBRARY

The 13,000 volume Library, well-indexed, is open to the public daily and Saturday. It is exceptionally strong, both in English and Russian, from 1917 to date. Its 350,000 news clippings, and 6,000-name Soviet Who's Who file, both in English, are unique.

Requests for information are welcomed. Simple inquiries are answered without charge.

RESEARCH

The research staff handles assignments on modern Russia capably and quickly. A moderate fee is charged. Service membership fees are adjusted to meet specific needs.

EDUCATION

THE LANGUAGE SCHOOL — offers students some of the best Russian-language teachers in the country. Day and evening groups meet twice weekly. Tuition is $30 a semester.

PUBLICATIONS—*The American Review on the Soviet Union,* is widely respected for its authoritative, original material.

Russian Technical Research News is published for research laboratories, government agencies, industry and universities. It covers material from 30 Russian technical journals.

May 23, 1949

Mr. and Mrs. William Andrews
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, New York

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Andrews:

Your little note to Dr. Du Bois has been received. Dr. Du Bois is still abroad in Paris and will not return until the end of this month.

I will bring your note to his attention immediately upon his arrival.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

233-52

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
April 11, 1949

Dr. Herbert Aptheker
Masses and Mainstream
832 Broadway
New York 3, New York

My dear Dr. Aptheker:

23-41-46

Despite my resolutions, I could not help mulling over the proposal which you and the lawyer made me.

As I have assured you before, anything that I can do in reason to help the accused martyrs, I will do. But again in this case, I think the analogy between the American Negro, whose position I know fairly well, and the Marxists is not good.

Undoubtedly, the Negroes since the fifteenth century in America have been subject to force and violence and also just as clearly where ever they had the intelligence and reasonable opportunity, they revolted; until their revolts culminated in the Haitian Revolution, the Underground Railroad and in their assistance in the American Civil War.

Since that time, while there have been proposals here and there of force and violence against the treatment which they are receiving, it has never amounted to much, because by peaceful methods and agitation, they gradually began to win their fight. It would, therefore, be untrue to say that force and violence against the Negro never evoked corresponding conspiracy and effort to gain their rights by force.

Comparing this now with the Marxists, there is the initial and vast difference that working people are always the vast majority; while the Negro slaves were usually a minority, except of course in the West Indies. The working people are not only oppressed but incur force and violence whenever they show disposition to resist their pressure even by democratic methods. While I do not know the action of all of the working groups, certainly it has been my understanding that whenever they thought they could gain their rights Communism advised them to attemp to do so.

Can it then be said that joining the Communist Party involves a determination to use force and violence? This I am not in position to say in all cases, but I am afraid that if I went on the stand to testify for the accused--a good attorney might easily elicit from me a confession that force and violence has been used by Communists and certainly may be used just as in the case of Negro slaves.

23-41-42

I do not, of course, believe for a moment that this accused group here ever had any overt plans of the sort for America. At the same time, that is simply my belief. Of the accused persons I have only met two, and only know one well. I have information at all as to the action of the party. From 1933 to 1944 I was resident out of the city.

I therefore conclude again that I would do the cause no good, in trying to draw an analogy between the American Negro and the working class of modern days.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

COPY

WEBD:lm

23-42-31

Tuesday (?) the 29th
(MARCH 29, 1892)

Mary Arkes
2637 W Polk St
Chicago, Ill, 98

Dear Sir-

I hope you are
in the best of health
and will be in
Chicago in a few weeks.
Specifically the 19th of April

at Roosevelt College in (2)
Chicago. We would
appreciate some photos of
you so that we may
publicize your arrival
with a picture of yourself.

There are also some
pertinent points you
may wish to know in
regards to Roosevelt College.
At this moment, the
governor of Illinois may
sign a bill of $250 for an
investigation of Communists
at Roosevelt & the U of Chicago.
Also the House of Representatives
may pass a Brayles' Bill
which is a duplication
of the Mundt-Nixon Bill.
Also, a compulsary course
of History uses a book that
is very vicious in attacks

on minority people, particularly the Negroes at the Civil War period. Hicks is the author of a short History Book.

We'd like to hear from you sir and any information we can give you, just write. Please mail pictures as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

Mary

Leopard

23-42-32

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
April 6, 1949

Miss Mary Arkes
2637 West Potomac Street
Chicago 22, Illinois

My dear Miss Arkes:

I have just written a letter to Paul Siminoff at Champaign, Illinois and am enclosing a copy for you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 25, 1949

Dr. R. E. G. Armattoe
Lomeshie Research Centre for
Anthropology and Race Biology
7 Northland Road
Londonderry, N. Ireland

23-10-13

Dear Dr. Armattoe:

You will receive soon, an invitation asking you to attend the Peace Congress of the Council of Arts, Sciences and Letters to be held in New York March 24-26. I hope very much that you can accept this invitation. I am sure it would be a great opportunity for you to see America at its best and for America to hear from you.

I remember with pleasure meeting you in England in 1945.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

The Lomeshie Research Centre for Anthropology and Race Biology.

Section A. — Anthropology.
Section B. — Human Biology.
Section C. — Medicine.
Section D. — Art and Literature.

(Director: Dr. R. E. G. Armattoe, F.L.S., F.Z.S., F.R.A.I., F.S.A., Scot.)

Consulting Hours: By appointment only.
Phone: Londonderry 2903.
Morning, 10 to 12-30. Evening, 7 to 8.
Sunday & Sat. Eve. Excepted.

7 Northland Road,
LONDONDERRY.

2nd March, 1949.

Professor W. E. B. Du Bois,
23, West 26th Street,
NEW YORK.10.
New York.

Dear Professor Du Bois,

23-10-12

Your charming letter of the 25th ultimo marked WEEB:lm, reached me this evening.

I thank you for the honour of inviting me to the Peace Congress of the Council of Arts, Sciences and Letters to be held in New York from the 24th to 26th March.

I had the day before written to some New York Lecture Agents to arrange a lecture tour for me in the States, so that I could speak about my recent scientific mission to West Africa as a Viking Research Travelling Fellow. The expedition has cost so much money that I was hoping that the results of the forthcoming lectures may help to further our Research Programme.here.

I shall be looking forward to seeing what this invitation is like,but should I for some reason be unable to come - I should really love to come - could a message from me be read by the Council?

I remember vividly my meeting you in Mancheater in 1945 and I cherish the hope of renewing our friendship in the near future.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours very sincerely,

R. E. G. Armattoe

per mfd.

Mabel Fowler - Armattoe

THE LOMESHIE RESEARCH CENTRE FOR ANTHROPOLOGY AND RACE BIOLOGY

(Director: Dr. R. E. G. Armattoe, F.L.S., F.Z.S, F.R.A.I., F.S.A., Scot.)

Section A. — Anthropology
Section B. — Human Biology
Section C. — Medicine
Section D. — Art and Literature

Consulting Hours: By appointment only
Phone: Londonderry 2903
Morning, 10 to 12-30 Evening, 7 to 8
Sunday and Sat. Eve. Excepted

LONDONDERRY,
7, Northland Road

7.3.49

Dear Professor Du Bois,

I have just received and answered Prof Harlow Shapley's invitation to the Cultural + Scientific Conference for World Peace to be held in New York. My wife, who is Swiss, is like anxious to see the New World so we shall be flying from Prestwick on the 22nd to arrive in New York on the 23rd. This seems the only way of getting there in time as all the ships have been booked for months ahead.

23-10-11

I am looking forward to meeting you again and seeing America from first hand experience. I have always wanted to see men + women of our race in different milieus and I hope I shall be able to see them despite the crowded programme. Perhaps there will be many coloured writers, poets + scientists with whom one could exchange views and experiences. Having just come back from Africa where conditions shocked me immensely, I can therefore see America in a better focus than I would have done otherwise.

I realise how busy you must be preparing for this Congress.

With best wishes, I am, Yours very sincerely,

R. E. G. Armattoe.

Fill armattoe

ARMATTOE

The Lomeshie Research Centre for Anthropology and Race Biology.

(Director: Dr. R. E. G. Armattoe, F.L.S., F.Z.S., F.R.A.I., F.S.A., Scot.)

Section A. — Anthropology.
Section B. — Human Biology.
Section C. — Medicine.
Section D. — Art and Literature.

Consulting Hours: By appointment only.
Phone: Londonderry 2903.
Morning, 10 to 12-30. Evening, 7 to 8.
Sunday & Sat. Eve. Excepted.

May 4
7 Northland Road,
LONDONDERRY.

19. 4. 49

Dear Dr Du Bois,

23-10-5

At long last I am safely back home and wish to take the first opportunity of thanking you most sincerely for everything. I had been rushed around from Washington to Chicago that when I rang up your office on my return there had been no answer. Somehow I was told in Chicago that you might be attending the Peace Conference in Paris. I had hoped to meet you there but my youngest daughter Karin is not well and I have to bring her home from Dublin.

I just wish to say how much my wife and I enjoyed meeting you. It was most exciting seeing so much eagerness and sense of duty among the younger intellectuals.

What struck me rather forcibly was how few Negroes there were in the meeting. Of course I could understand their fear of being victimised but could they not have been in the audience provided they had the admission money? The Negro Press leaders I met in Harlem were sickeningly + revoltingly mercenary.

I send you my warmest wishes for your continued health and happiness.

Yours very sincerely,

R. [illegible]

2

'PHONE 2903.

MME. R. ARMATTOE.
7, NORTHLAND ROAD.
LONDONDERRY.

11, Oct. 49.

Dear Dr. Dubois,

First of all I must tell you, how very, very pleased I was to have met you. Alas! time was against us to see more of you and I deeply regretted it.

Dr. Armattoe is in Africa since July and my Father is with me to keep me company.

The first news of the shocking Peekskill affair was given on the B.B.C. I could hardly believe it and when I read full particulars in the "National Guardian" that such hate and injustice still exists, I really fully believe, that President Truman should make a nation wide appeal for better understanding. Prior to our trip to America, we heard a lot about colour prejudice but one has to witness certain things in order to be convinced. I assure you, dear Dr. Dubois, that my husband & myself returned to Europe with many new and difficult problems. How the Negro is despised, deprived of freedom, restricted etc. etc. these are problems that a great Nation like America ought amend in the very near future. I am sure that Lincoln could achieve equal rights for white & blacks. It will be a hard & difficult struggle, but Victory should, must be achieved in order to be a true democratic country.

With heartfelt sympathy, I convey to you many greetings from this side of the Atlantic.

Yours very sincerely,

Hanna Armattoe

23-10-8

BY AIR MAIL

AIR LETTER

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

ACCRA 6 PM 5 OCT 1949

PROFESSOR W.E.B.DuBois, L.L.D., D.Litt., L.H.

23 West 26th Street,

NEW YORK, 10 N.Y.

Opened by error.
Sorry!
W.A.H.

Second fold here

To open cut here

Sender's name and address:-

DR. Med. R.E.G. ARMATTOE

P. O. BOX 618,

A C C R A

GOLD COAST.

To open cut here

THE LOMESHIE RESEARCH CENTRE FOR ANTHROPOLOGY
AND RACE BIOLOGY

LONDONDERRY,
7, Northland Road.

P. O. BOX 618,
ACCRA, Gold Coast.
15th October, 1949.

PROFESSOR W.E.B.DuBois, L.L.D., D.Litt., L.H.D.,
23 West 26th Street,
NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

23-10-6

My dear Professor DuBois,

I have been thinking of you and your Mexican Peace Conference. I was reading a copy of your latest work "The World and Africa" and regret that I have no copy at my Londonderry Institute. I wish to thank you for all your kindness to me during my all too-brief stay in your midst.

I was then one of the candidates for this year's Nobel Peace Prize and I had hoped to have both you and Professor Harlow Shapley nominated for next year's.

Alas, Lord Boyd-Orr of U.N.R.R.A. has been awarded the prize! I feel sore on this because I had hoped to break down European prejudice against us and Orientals. I have no zest in allowing my name to go forward again but I realise that if the Negro race is to win recognition everywhere, we must be prepared to keep on knocking until all doors are opened.

To you our veteran leader, I send you good wishes from the heart of the old country, where I have been undertaking researches since July. I hope to join my family in Ireland early in the New Year.

Very sincerely yours,

R.E.G. Armattoe.

October 28, 1949

23-10-9

Mme. R. Armattoe
7, Northland Road
Londonderry
Ireland

My dear Mrs. Armattoe:

I have your letter of October 11, and thank you very much.

I have been very sorry that we did not have a chance to see something of each other, when you were in the United States and get acquainted, but the pace was so swift and hectic that I scarce had a chance to greet you. I am sorry that you had to see so much that was unpleasant in America.

Perhaps if we had had a little more time, you could have known something of our communal life; but at any rate you have had illumination and that ought to help you in your own life and in the future of the family.

My best regards to you and your husband.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

October 28, 1949

Dr. R. E. G. Armattoe
P. O. Box 618
ACCRA, Gold Coast
Africa

Dear Dr. Armattoe:

23-10-7

I have your letter of October 15. I have been out of the country twice since the Peace Congress here. Once to the Peace Congress in Paris where I remained on the Revieria to rest and write, and then later I made a trip to Russia, Poland and Czechoslovakia, all these trips I enjoyed very much and learned a great deal.

I am only sorry that I did not have a chance here in the United States to give you more attention and to show you something of our country which perhaps you did not have a chance to see. I did however have the pleasure of greeting your brother briefly when he passed through to Canada.

I am sending this to Africa, hoping that you may get it before you leave. I should like very much to see the Gold Coast, which I have never had the chance of visiting.

So far as the Nobel prize is concerned, I doubt if any Colored man is going to have sufficient opportunity of working for peace in any conspicuous way so as to bring his name to the attention of the committee.

With all good wishes.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[ARMATTOE]
[1949?]

Modern Africa

by Dr. the Prince R. Armattoe

Late Patron of the ~~German Institute~~
of Science & Learning, London.
Director of the Somaliland Research
Center for Anthropology & Race Biology,
Londonderry, North Ireland.

Africa, one of the oldest of the continents, is probably the least known spot in the globe. We know a lot about her mineral resources and her physical geography but very little of her people and ~~the plight~~ nothing at all of their plight. Africa still remains the great question mark among ~~the~~ the continents & her future is of great interest to Europe, Asia & the Americas. She is nearest to America & one would expect Americans to take a lively interest in this continent. The largest minority in the Americas is of African descent & any study that can throw light upon the nature, manners & customs of the African people must be of paramount importance to American scholars, statesmen & public.

~~All~~ The minorities here have cultural ties to their home countries ~~&~~ We have only to mention

130-5

the Czechs & their Reformer Johann Hus, their educator, Comenius; the Poles Kopernicus & Paderewski; the Swiss of Rousseau, Calvin & Zwingli; the Russians of Dostoevski, Chekov, & Tolstoy; the Italians of Michael Angelo, Raphael, Galileo, Galilei. The Germans, Luther, Kant, Goethe & Schiller, not to talk of their musicians, the French of Moliere, Voltaire & Hugo.

The Negro alone feels that he has no cultural past. ~~But the Greeks & Romans and Europeans~~

He alone despises his cultural past & thus remains despised by all. The great art cultures in bronze & terra cotta of Ife & Benin, the vast political and military organizations of Ghana, Dahomey & Ashanti in the west, of Chaka & Moshesh among the Zulus in South Africa; the Bushman cave paintings in the Cape Province & the traditional folk arts, literature & music of the Negro are unknown to the vast majority of the population of this country — and shameful to say, even of Africa itself.

Give your political allegiance certainly to the United States; contribute to her arts & science to the best of your talents & capacity. But remember this — the measure of your achievement, the degree of your originality will, in the final analysis, depend on how deep your roots are sunk in the

subsoil of your racial background. The truer you remain to this concept, the more novel & more creative ~~because how true~~ your contributions are likely to be.

For any work to succeed & survive the more diverse & luscious it must be. By this is not meant a cultural chauvinism, but merely that you can approach your creative works from a two-fold standpoint, that of Africa & of America. See what your illiterate ancestors did to the Spirituals.

Avoid repetitive & superficial ~~success~~; identify yourselves & the destinies & fortune of the African people because if they remain subject races, you their cousins across the seas will be ~~not~~ 2nd class subjects. If the Africans are free & respected you will also be respected. ~~You~~

You cannot remain aloof & indifferent to Africans & expect others to take interest in you.

The races of Topsland have been cruelly partitioned & are subjected to innumerable economic & political disabilities. Both to British & French lip service to self-determination. Insist that the U.N.O. delegation going to Africa see the real Topsland and not what the rulers want them to see.

23a-5

I have myself just returned from West Africa as a Research Student of the Viking Research Fund Inc., and that I am in Africa is being published in the professional journals and in a forthcoming book, "The Eyes in England & Love, Life & Landlife in African Communities".

[Assoc. of T. & C]

MARION O. JONES
COUNSELOR AT LAW
209 WEST 125TH STREET
SUITE 103
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

UNIVERSITY 4-7092

23-42-7

5
May
1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

As chairman of the re-dedication committee of the Association of Trade and Commerce of New York, Inc., I am wondering if you would be my guest, along with a few other business men, for lunch, at the Theresa Hotel, Saturday afternoon, May 7, at one o'clock, for the purpose of discussing with us the new program of the organization.

I would appreciate it if you would indicate your intentions by telephoning the public relations director of the Association, Mr. Frederick S. Weaver, at Riverside 9-2024, by 2:30 Friday, so that accomodations may be made for your presence.

Looking forward to seeing you, I am

Cordially,

Marion O. Jones.

file

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

April 25, 1949

23-40-25

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York City

My dear Dr. Dubois:

There are more than fourteen African students attending the various colleges here in Atlanta.

While working in Haiti, I became aware of the serious problems facing the non-white foreign student studying in the United States. I decided that on my return to the United States I would attempt to do something about it.

In line with this intention, I have organized the African students into a study group and I have done my best to help them with their problems. I have even attempted to organize an Institute for the study of the problems of the African and the non-white racial groups who live in the Caribbean area. An important part of our program has been to acquaint our student body with African culture.

My experiences have convinced me that Atlanta is not a good place for the development of the plan which I have in mind. I have now decided to try to find a school in the North that would be in position to extend its program to provide campus and non-campus educational services for the non-white foreign student through a department designed to meet the needs of these students.

Lincoln University and Cheyney State Teachers College, in Pennsylvania, are two schools in which such a center might be located. Since my brother is president of Lincoln, I doubt if that school would be interested in digesting two Bonds. Cheyney Teachers College because of its long and distinguished record as a superior school, its spiritual relationship with the Quakers, its strategic location, would, in my opinion, be an excellent place for the organization of a project involving international relations and the guidance and education of the non-white foreign student.

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

P. 2--JMB-Dr. Dubois

It is possible that sufficient money could be found for the financing of this project. During the first one or two years of its inception the program would have to move ahead continuously and slowly.

I am writing to you for advice because of your known experience and interest in affairs that relate to the representatives of the non-white people of the world.

I am not personally acquainted with Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill, president of Cheyney, but it is my intention to write to him. I would be most happy if you would approach him relative to this possibility.

23-40-26

Very truly yours,

J. Max Bond

J. Max Bond
Director School of Education

Dear ... your plan is excellent in theory but ... of course the matter ...

[ATLANTA]

May 4, 1949

Mr. J. Max Bond
Director of School of Education
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Bond:

Answering your letter of April 25, may I say that Dr. Du Bois is abroad in Paris. He is not expected to return until probably the end of this month.

I will bring your letter to his attention, immediately upon his arrival.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

PHYLON
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

July 8, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 W. 40th Street
New York, New York

23-11-14

My dear Doctor Du Bois:

PHYLON is planning for its tenth anniversary special number a symposium on higher education among Negroes. This issue will be published December 1949. Among other things we have asked Mr. William S. Braithwaite to develop a PHYLON profile of yourself and we are hoping that he will consent to do it. In addition we are inviting some of the most outstanding and distinguished scholars and leading thinkers in the field of education to make contributions.

It goes without saying that a contribution in the form of a statement under the broad aegis of higher education by you will constitute a major contribution to the issue. It would also be a personal favor to me during this transitional period of assuming editorial responsibility for the magazine. I am doing my very best to try to keep alive the spirit, purposes and underlying philosophical thinking which you gave the magazine during its initial stages. Then, too, I know of no one who has been more influential on the ideational level than yourself in the field of higher education. I feel that your point of view should be reemphasized in this issue.

I prefer not to give you a topic but rather to leave you free to conceive and develop a statement of about 3000 words as you choose. It could be that you might like to reflect concerning the magazine and the role that you played during the crucial years of its development. In any event, you may feel free to do whatever you like but please let us have a contribution. We are fixing the deadline for October 15. Meanwhile, I would appreciate it if you would drop me a line letting me know whether you can and will accept our cordial invitation.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Respectfully yours,

Mozell C. Hill

Mozell C. Hill
Editor

MCH:C

July 13, 1949

23-11-15

Mr. Mozell C. Hill, Editor
Phylon
Atlanta University
Atlant, Georgia

My dear Mr. Hill:

I would be glad to do anything for you personally, but the circumstances under which I left Atlanta University were such that I have refrained since from taking any part in its activities or contributing to its publications.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

PHYLON
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

July 14, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

23-11-16

My dear Doctor Du Bois:

Thank you for your prompt and candid reply to my letter inviting you to make a contribution to the symposium on education. I certainly have come to appreciate the point of view which you expressed in your letter and would be inclined to accept your position if we could truthfully do a tenth anniversary number and not call on you to make a contribution. This, in my judgment, is impossible, and I would be foolish to even attempt it.

You would be doing me a personal favor if you would condescend and do this for me. I am, as you know, groping with this magazine and certainly need not only contributions but advice and counsel of a person who has had your experiences.

I am writing, then, to ask you if you will reconsider and let us have a short article under the general frame that I outlined in my previous letter.

I will be in New York in August and would like to come in and talk with you. Please let me hear from you at your very earliest convenience.

Cordially yours,

Mozell C. Hill
Editor

MCH:C

July 19, 1949

23-11-17

Mr. Mozell C. Hill, Editor
PHYLON
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mr. Hill:

Answering your letter of July 14, I beg to say that I shall be very glad to talk to you, if you will call when you come to New York; but at the same time I must make it clear that under no circumstances will I contribute to PHYLON.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Mail folder

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 10, 1949

23-11-12

Authors League of America
6 East 39th Street
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Many years ago I was a member of the Authors League, but was dropped about 1921 because of non-payment of dues, which I could not then afford. Just now in looking through my files, I have gone over the correspondance and am writing to you to find out on just what terms if any, a dropped member can be re-instated?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Mark Foldes

The Authors League of America Inc.

SIX EAST THIRTY-NINTH STREET · NEW YORK 16, N. Y. · TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 9-4950

January 18, 1949

23-11-13

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Twenty-eight years is a long time for the Authors Guild to carry a chip on its shoulder about non-payment of dues. If you would like to become a member of the Guild, please fill out the enclosed application blank, which I shall be happy to forward to the Membership Committee for action.

Sincerely,

George Moffett
The Authors Guild

GM:PL
Enc.

President, OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN, 2nd
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The Authors Guild

OF THE AUTHORS LEAGUE OF AMERICA, INC.

SIX EAST THIRTY-NINTH STREET · NEW YORK 16, N.Y. · TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 9-4950

23-11-11

April 8, 1949

Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Burghardt:

We are very happy to tell you that you have been elected to active membership in the Authors Guild of the Authors League of America, Inc. by the Membership Committee.

Our best wishes to you. It gives me personally great pleasure to welcome you to the Guild.

Sincerely,

Irmengarde Eberle

Irmengarde Eberle
For the Membership Committee

IE:RH

President, PAUL GALLICO

Vice President, HELEN HULL

Secretary, GILBERT W. GABRIEL

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Letters of Appreciation

23-44-43

1069 Bergen St
Brooklyn 16, N.Y.
[BAGN4?]

Dr W. E. B. Du Bois
c/o Daily Compass
164 Duane St
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr Du Bois:

I have just read in the Daily Compass, your testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee. I want to congratulate you on the courage & faith right in your statement. You have said, in language even Congressmen can comprehend, what several million of us Americans would like to shout from the housetops.

It is reassuring to realize that a person of your standing is fighting on the side of Reason.

Yours sincerely
Cipriana Bagnuo

8-12-49

Panama City
Ancon Post Office
Canal Zone
Oct 23, 1949

W. E. B. Du Bois, Vice Chairman
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

My dear Sir;

In this letter you will find that I am asking you two favors. From the papers I see that you are fighting for world peace. This is a task. And, I feel that you, Mr. Robeson, the people and myself mean that it will be a fight to the finish. And for us, the fight has just began.

23-7-13

I am attempting to do my best here in Panama. But I have found out that conversation is not accomplishing much. Therefore, I am attempting to write a book.

My purpose in this book is to convince the Colored People in Panama of the feeling of friendship in the minds and thoughts of the Colored Races of the world and the Progressives in America. To convince them that they are our allies; and also, of the satisfaction I think they will receive in seeing the people of Panama and the Negroes of the world as a militant mass for world peace and the betterment of humanity. So, I am asking you for your definition of the Progressive Colored Races. I am asking you to tell me of the way you think they will feel upon hearing of a proressive colored movement in Panama. This I hope to produce in my book.

On the other hand, please send me the address of the true Socialist Party in England. I need to know more about the distribution of ecomomic wealth. Economics in general.

Truly yours

Elisha I. Bailey

Elisha I. Bailey

Bailey

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 7, 1949

Mrs. R. W. Bailey
3 Bradley Avenue
Half Way Tree, Post Office
Jamaica
British West Indies

23-11-43

My dear Pearl:

I received your card and letter. Unfortunately, they were too late for me to send the ham, books, and magazines by that cousin of yours; but all this will be attended to in due time.

In the meantime, I have separated myself entirely from the NAACP at their request, and now have offices in a Penthouse at 23 West 26th Street. They are very nice and commodious and I think I am going to enjoy them.

I shall help the Council on African Affairs by advice but devote myself chiefly to writing. Whether I shall be able to make a complete living or not is not certain, but I have hopes.

Meantime, let me congratulate you and the Doctor upon getting settled so soon and on your way toward success and affluence.

Let me wish you both this belated Merry Christmas and most of the New Year. I shall be writing you again soon.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[BAILEY, PEARL]

23-11-36

Walba Lodge,
2, Bradley Gdns,
West Ealing,
London, W.13.

My dear Dr DuBois,

For fear that you might be off on another leg of your journey, in not getting this off to you. What a grand time you are having! And how nice this is all possible for you, who can so [illegible] that you are

Since I can no longer attend your talks at [illegible] on pertinent issues, I would be glad to have you write us your impressions of the [illegible] we are still unsure of why you go, but [illegible] or what you [illegible]

which may contain your articles
are probably not available here; and,
now that the [illegible]

Moreover, I want a personal view,
not an organized [illegible]
I could use a
subscription to [illegible]
you know you promised to [illegible]

November 14, 1949

Mrs. Pearl Bailey
3 Bradley Avenue
Half Way Tree, Post Office
Jamaica
British West Indies

23-11-44

My dear Pearl:

I am sending you this week, 113 volumes of second hand novels. I regret to say that a good many of them are trash, but they are all entertaining and some really worth reading.

I wrote the British Consul General about these books and I am enclosing his reply for your information. Also I have made some negotiations about the ham but they are not finished yet. I hope before this letter is sealed, I can tell you about that.

My best regards to you and the Doctor. I trust you are enjoying yourself, especially the domestic help. Doubtless you are getting fat and superior.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

[PEARL - Walba Lodge. [1]

R. WELLESLEY BAILEY M.D. (BAILEY) 3 Bradley Avenue,
Half Way Tree,
Jamaica, B.W.I.

Walba is a coined word from Waller and Bailey. Like it? Our garden is beautiful now.

Nov. 17th 1949

My dear Mr. DuBois,

How nice of you to attend to my requests so promptly.

I'm sure I'll be sightless and really fat from sitting so long reading 113 volumes but I'm hoping the entertainment will be well worth it. The ham will not be fattening, for being such a scarce and precious commodity here, we will eat so little of it at a time, the effects of one bite will be worn off by the time I eat the second taste. Swift's "Premium" is really at a premium. Strangely enough, ham is the national meat at Xmas, not turkey, as with us. Turkey is eaten then, but is not "the" dish. Our fruit cake becomes Xmas pudding here, as it is steamed, not baked. I still bake mine. Am still a "Yank".

23-11-37

R. WELLESLEY BAILEY M.D.

3 Bradley Avenue,
Half Way Tree,
Jamaica, B.W.I.

19

About the middle of December the national elections will be held: Manley vs Bustamante; or Communism versus Socialism, it is said. Having been here over a year, we vote, which, I'm not yet sure. The Manleyites or P.N.P's feel sure they will win. Having been asleep when Bustamante got in power, they are now very active to take over the second five year government. In order to win self government, Huggins, recently, at the end of his "reign", introducing a "Press Gag" bill and a "search-and-seizure-for-currency-leaving-the-Island" bill thus incurring the populace's enmity and disgust of English rule, while his wife, Lady Huggins, is touring the U.S. popularizing Jamaica as a coming country and a tourist resort, and

winning the plaudits of the Jamaicans for so doing. That's the political situation in a nut-shell.

Educationally, the Island is growing apace. Almost monthly the calibre of the teaching staff is improving with native sons & daughters returning from abroad with new degrees and with English men & natives being added to the University faculty. Never bad, the situation has greatly improved. The addition of the University to Island culture has "pepped" and stepped up things. While an Englishman is President or Principal, or Headmaster, a native, Sherlock, is vice principal. Still occupying the barrack-like buildings built for the Gibraltar evacuees, new buildings have been started for "Halls" and the faculty are living in oh-so-modern newly built homes on the compounds. There is so much culture here, one eats and drinks it. I am enjoying it all thoroughly. No, I've not developed into a prob yet! nor am I superior, but it's the kind of life I've always enjoyed. But why should I have to explain that to you?

Busses, new "White" busses, bought in this, have now replaced all the tram cars, rails have been taken up and roads are being resurfaced. Along with these modern means of transportation go the old country (Tooneville) busses, the donkey and mule carts, the pannier laden jack & jenny asses, mule drays, and bicycles, ye Gods! the bicycles.

23-11-38

In this "land of wood and water" there is a drought every year, this time lasting 6 months, due to the short sight, lumbarness or stubborness of the City Fathers. "Mona" dam has been built at a staggering expense to the community, but, like the plan to build it, will not hold water. It is now abandoned. We still have droughts.

Yesterday & today the new Archbishop of the Windward Islands is being elected. No news yet. Bishop Gibson, the native son Bishop will not accept the Arch-bishopric because (reason No. 3) no "white" clergy will serve under him. He says he thought I left all that in "Dixie". If you still have it told me about your trip to Russia.

Again thanks, best wishes, regards, love etc. from us both. As ever, Earl.

[5] Same afternoon.

P.S.

The second letter has just arrived. Thanks again. I can just imagine the sedate and scholarly Dr. DuBois in gloves and cane asking the price of hams and the probability of their being shipped to Jamaica, all places. Outlandish! Well! the next time just call up Gimbel's food department and they, in all likelihood, will ship it and send you the bill later. Don't sniff. There just might be a second time. If my southern blood gets the better of me again & I crave "ham", you can start singing, "I hear you calling me."

Oh, yes! Another thing. My husband says I know nothing about politics, never have & probably never will. I think I'll have to agree that one of my blind spots. So — Correction, please. Mabley is both communism & socialism. Customarily he is a Red platform. He says, too, that the Govern

is not to be blamed for the introduction of the Press-gag bill. As Chairman, he had to put the bills before the House when it was introduced and that all present are equally to be blamed. That as may be. I still believe what I believe. He says for an American & against English rule. Perhaps.

The new Archbishop has been elected; is a Rev. Dale from Ireland, 47 years old, an energetic, learned gentleman of the cloth. Experienced as well. His wife was thrown into the pot, too, as being a kindly hostess and public speaker. It would seem I should be shouting soon as a reward for piety or something. Me? I haven't joined any church yet.

Incidentally, if one of those books [illegible] is too trashy (the Young Bride) [illegible] it would be refused!!!

Cheers thanks to you,

Love,

Letters of Intro

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 31, 1949

2-7-43

Dr. R. W. Bailey
3 Bradley Avenue
Half Way Tree Post Office
Jamaica
British West Indies

My dear Dr. Bailey:

May I introduce to you her[redacted]
Mr. William Sherwood, who is interested in race conditions and relations in South America and the Caribbean area. I shall be under great obligations for any help or advice you can give him.

My best regards to you and your family.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Mild Read

22-46-142

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
April 6, 1949

Mr. C. B. Baldwin
Progressive Party
~~30 Park Avenue~~ 56 W. 45 St
New York, New York MU 7-8107

My dear Mr. Baldwin:

I had a very satisfactory tea with Mrs. Blaine. She seemed pleased to see me and we talked for over an hour. She finally proposed during the year, April 1, 1949 to April 1, 1950 to provide my salary and to be one of a committee to take up the question of future compensation during my working years. It was a very pleasant visit and I want to thank you deeply for all that you did to bring it about.

I am enclosing, at your request, a memorandum of the cost of the trip, but you are of course under no obligation to meet it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

Lecture Corres

[Baltimore Forum]

2705 Parkwood Avenue
Baltimore - 17, Md.
January 24, 1949

Dr. DuBois
c/o Civil Rights Congress
205 East 42nd Street
New York - 17, New York

23-9-47

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The Baltimore Forum is a progressive group organized to promote progressive cultural programs. We have just had Howard Fast down for the first Forum and we had a very successful affair on Sunday, January 23rd.

We would like very much if you could come to Baltimore sometime during Negro History Week to speak for us on this subject. If possible, we would like to sponsor you on either February 12th or 13th.

We are a very small group and are working on our own money. So, unfortunately, we cannot pay any big fees. However, we feel that the messages we can get across to the people compensates us for the money. If you can possibly come on either of the above dates, we will be very happy to take care of your expenses.

Please let me know at once as to what your feelings are in the matter.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Jeannette Braverman

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 31, 1949

2-9-48

Mrs. Jeannette Braverman
2705 Parkwood Avenue
Baltimore 17, Maryland

Dear Madame:

I have your kind invitation of January 24, but regret to say that I have engagements on both February 12, and 13. Indeed practically all of my lecture time in February and March is taken. I am sorry.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Prairie View

State College
Prairie View, Texas
July 9, 1949

Hello, there — and how are you these hot days in New York? Mr. Banks told me he saw you and that he regretted that he did not have longer to talk with you. He is as busy as ever here with this Texas State school plus all his other interests.

Our summer has been a full one. I feel very well and am glad to be up and about.

Do come back to see us here.

Love to you and yours. Send a line when you find time.

Sincerely,
Gloriva Virginia Perry Banks.

23-44-69

July 19, 1949

23-44-70

Mrs. Virginia Banks
State College
Prairie View, Texas

My dear Virginia:

It is very nice to get a word from you and to know that you are still up and around. I hope you will not over-do. It was good to get the little glimpse of Mr. Banks and to see that he is in good health.

Mrs. Du Bois is still quite helpless although she is in fairly good spirits and weighs more than she has for years. She has good appetite and may last for a long, long time yet.

Yolande is well and just beginning her vacation; the granddaughter is hoping to attend Fisk after next year. She is now a senior in the Baltimore High School.

I am quite well indeed and hard at work. It was pleasant to have a letter from you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

State College
Prairie View, Texas
August 1, 1949

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

23-44-77

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Mr. Banks was as happy to see you as you were to see him. His only regret came from the fact that he had so little time to spend with you. But life is like that . You must remember how much I hated to have you leave me when you came in for those few moments when I was ill in bed. You can never know how glad we all were to have you here. Do come back soon and stay with us here. I hope that you return while I am up and about and once more before we move from this old house. Of course, I expect to live here at Prairie View and near the campus. The quiet is good for us even if it does hurt your ear drums. Remember ? It is watermelon season here now and the place is flooded with fine melons for sale, and cheap. Mr. Banks' brother and his wife came down from Washington last week and visited with us.

It is good to hear that Mrs. DuBois is in good spirits and health despite her serious illness. I am glad that she has some weight for one can waste away so much when he is unable to stir about and has to lie in bed so much.

I am supposing that your daughter will take her vacation right at home. Where did DuBois spend her vacation last year ? Did she ever go West ? I am wishing her good luck at Fisk whenever she does go there.

This was a year of re-unions at A.U. Mr. Banks could not attend but he did send his contribution and while the class did not reach its goal , they mean to continue their efforts. Josie Dibble sent us a lovely letter about the exercises. 1909-1949.Did I tell you that Mary Denny Walden spent a week with me this year ?

There in N.Y. you had the White news before we did.I agree with you in all you penned as a post-script.

Write and tell us when you mean to come and tell us about Europe. How are you getting on with the brochures and books and novels ? Have you read Mailer's The Naked and the Dead ? Bucklin Moon's Without Magnolias ? Realism.

Always with love and the highest regard for you and your family, I am

Sincerely yours,

Glovina Virginia Perry Banks.

(Glovina Virginia Perry Banks)

(Mrs . W.R.)

[BANKS]

9-3-49

Dear Dee:

I hope you saw "Poppy" and her mouse looking husband in the Courier this week.

School is about to open here. We lost Dr. N. A. Bullock to Dillard. Austin Walden's daughter Jeneleie went to Dillard too.

Mr. Banks is fine and still traveling. I hope all of you are well. I am getting on all right it seems so far.

Have you heard this joke?

A father was about to whip his son for some misdemeanor when the boy asked, "Daddy, did your father whip you?" "Yes, son". "And did his father whip him?". "Yes, son". Then the boy said, "I wonder if there is any way of getting this inherent

23-44-74

rowdyism out of you."

Love to you and yours,

Sincerely,

Virginia.

23-141-75

[BANKS]

Prairie View

State College
Prairie View, Texas
Sept. 10, 1949

23-44-73

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I hope that you are well and that your family is in good health. I am trying hard not to do too much and not to eat too much.

How go the novels and brochures and books? Did your recordings reach you in fine shape — those you shipped from here?

I have to talk to you — too much to write.

Here are a few jokes.

Love to you for both of us.

Sincerely,
Virginia.

23-44-76

September 21, 1949

Mrs. Virginia Banks
State College
Prairie View, Texas

My dear Virginia:

I have your letters and thank you very much for letting me hear from you. I hope you got my communication from Russia. I have just returned from two weeks there and several days in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Paris. It was wonderful.

There is one thing I want particularly to bring to you attention: Lanier has a new secretary at Houston, Ethel Ray Nance, an old friend of mine. I wish you would get in touch with her and guide her with advice. She is an intelligent and straight-thinking person and will be a great help to the school if she has a chance. She is really a great acquisition to the school; she has worked for me and for the NAACP. I am sorry that she could not stay with the NAACP, but of course they would not appreciate a person of her caliber.

I am glad to know that you are getting on well. Mrs. Du Bois is still comfortable and I am in excellent health.

My best regards to you and Mr. Banks.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[1949?] [BANKS]

Advise her! Lawsy me! - She can advise us. I was looking to see a tiny wisp of a girl. She was beautifully dressed in a grayish brown trimmed in brown velvet and buttoned all down front with tiny covered buttons. She thinks of bringing one of her sons to Texas for school - maybe here at P.V. meanwhile I am thinking of building here near the school.

'Texas Independence' 57¢

23-44-39

State College
Prairie View, Texas
October 31,1949

Dear Dr. DuBois :

Your dear letter from Russia came safe andyou know we both wondered how you ever got the visa. But thatis another story. You will tell us when we meet.

I wrote to Miss Nance and she has just answered saying that she has had a cold but that she will be able to visit us this coming Sunday, November 6. Mr. Banks will be here then. Dr. Lanier tell me thatshe was his secretary before she went to you there. And Mr, Banks says that she should not need much guidance. We'll see when we meet.

There is so much to tell. Mr. Banks plans to come to New York for the A.U. trustee meeting sometime soon. School is too full of sorry teachers and pupils. I am doing very well at present. I had a glorious day here yesterday. I heard Bayard Rustin talk at eleven o'clock. He was too, too good.

Love to all of you,

Sincerely yours,

Gloria Virginia Perry Banks.

23-44-82

Prairie View

State College
Prairie View, Texas
Nov. 10, 1949

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

On October 2 Mrs. Ethel Ray Nance wrote a card (correspondence) asking when she might come up and know us. She said that her parents, both gone now, knew and liked you and as she was anxious to see us here. I wrote and told her that any week-end that she chose would be all right. Then on Friday, Nov. 4 she wrote saying that she planned to come up on the bus Sunday. She had suffered from a cold.

On Sunday, Nov. 6 I sent the car over to the P. V. station and Mrs. Nance came on to our house. We chatted and then Mr. Banks talked with her while I prepared the dinner.

Hot Corn muffins with raisins mixed in them
Lettuce, Tomato Salad
Pear preserves (home-made)
Butter (home churned)
Fresh Turnip greens
Candied yams
Roast Beef - gravy.
Lemon pie (home made)
Cold Tea, spiced with Lemon & cloves.

We had a grand day. Of course, we talked of you. Write and tell us where to expect you.

Love to you and yours,

Sincerely,
Gloria Virginia Perry Banks.

23-44-78

Prairie View

THE TEXAS STATE UNIVERSITY FOR NEGROES
THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

W. R. BANKS, VICE CHAIRMAN
PRAIRIE VIEW A. & M. COLLEGE
PRAIRIE VIEW, TEXAS

11 July 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, New York

23-44-71

Dear Dr. DuBois: IN RE: H. Seb Doyle

The late Reverend Doyle was a man about the height, color and weight of John Hope. He had a heavy voice and erect bearing. He was a very brilliant man, an able speaker and thinker.

I do not know of any other Negro associated with Tom Watson.

People who were intimately acquainted with Dr. Doyle are as follows:

1. Bishop R. A. Carter, 4408 Vincennes Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois
   He was a life long friend of Dr. Doyle.

2. His son, Dr. Bertram W. Doyle - Residence Address: 1702 Heiman, Nashville, Tennessee
   I think he will give you some information about his father because I talked with him once about your plan to write something about him.

3. There is another close friend of Dr. Doyle by the name of Reverend J. O. Hudson, Pane College, Augusta, Georgia. When I was in Augusta in May Dr. Hudson was very ill.

I believe that the three persons mentioned above will give you such information as you desire. There is no history of his life. It might be that the present Editor of the "Christian Index" could be persuaded to run through the files covering the years of 1890-97 for something about Dr. Doyle. You might write to Dr. E. P. Murchison, Editor, Christian Index, Box 269, Jackson, Tennessee. It might help to say to him that I suggested the communication. He was a student of mine. Also, you might contact Dr. C. H. Tobias, New York who had intimate knowledge of him in his life time.

I am pleased to state that Mrs. Banks and I are quite well.

With kind regards, I am

Very truly yours,

W. R. Banks
President Emeritus

WRB/ct

23-44-72

September 21, 1949

Dear President and Mrs. Banks:

This will introduce to you, my ~~friend of~~ many years, Ethel Ray Nance. She is secretary to President Lanier: but she is a good deal more than a secretary; she is a woman of education and experience and I want you to take her to your hearts and guide her with the best advice and counsel.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Corr. B

MARGARET CULKIN BANNING
740 EAST SUPERIOR STREET
DULUTH 2, MINNESOTA

May 20, 1949

Dear Mr. DuBois:

In the June issue of McCall's magazine, publication will begin of an autobiography which will be of the greatest interest and importance to American women. It is the story of the adult life of Eleanor Roosevelt, written by herself, with unselfconscious frankness and incomparable discernment.

23-50-30

The telling of this story uncovers practically all the problems which confront women of today who respect their own capacities. Their dilemma is how to become earners, take a proper part as citizens, and at the same time bring up a family, meet illness and trouble in the home, maintain hospitality, and intimate relations, and always be brave enough to endure criticism within and without the family. Mrs. Roosevelt does not argue the problem theoretically. She tells what she herself did.

The autobiography dodges no issue. It is written without vanity. It admits naivete, and occasional wrong judgment, such as continuing to teach -- because she so much loved teaching -- when staying on that job meant sacrificing opportunities that were perhaps more useful. She is frank about money problems, factual about her budget, honest about the very doubtful effect that a woman has on political issues, even through her husband.

The author is the most important woman in the English speaking world at present, and this story shows how such a career could develop under modern conditions. It includes "past valuable experience in the League of Women Voters," amateur money raising for various causes, including political campaigns, professional teaching, professional lecturing, and standing up for her own sex. "I might go to my husband," she writes, "and say that I was very, very weary of reminding him to remind the members of his Cabinet that women were in existence, that they were a factor in the life of the nation, and increasingly important politically." She does not claim that she always got results.

Mrs. Roosevelt has broken more precedents, destroyed more old taboos, and sat in higher places than any other contemporary woman. Yet her story is not remote from the ordinary

experience of any intelligent and conscientious American woman. It is the story of the home and the job, the long, difficult, but never abandoned attempt to bring the impersonal and personal duties of life into proper adjustment.

23-50-31

It is too important in relevant material-for-use to be missed or overlooked by any one of us who holds a job, runs a home, teaches in a school, or works on a civic or political committee. It will be a rebuke to much scandal and misunderstanding and a genuine aid and comfort to modern women.

I do hope that you will recommend it, in any suitable way, to your organization and your friends.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret Culkin Banning

Margaret Culkin Banning

[BARKSDALE]

Atlanta U

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 7, 1949

Mrs. Gaynelle Barksdale
Library
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Gay:

It was nice of you to send me a Christmas card and I appreciate it. I wanted to see you when I was in Atlanta last, but this involved an excursion to the Campus which I did not feel like making.

I hope you are coming to New York sometime soon; if so, you must see my new offices and my apartment on Edgecombe Avenue. Write me and tell me how things are getting on and how you are.

I remember very vividly one most inspiring visit that you made me.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

THE HAYES MEMORIAL LIBRARY

FREMONT, OHIO

30 January 1949.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Perhaps you will recognize the undersigned for the biography of John Peter Altgeld, "Eagle Forgotten"(1938).

I am here at the Hayes Memorial to do a new life of Rutherford Hayes, and this work has led to this appeal to you. I have read what you have written about your personal relation to Hayes in "Dusk of Dawn" and also in "Darkwater", but for my purpose I am eager for more details.

23-3-2

Could you reach back into your memory and recall the actual conversations you had with Hayes concerning your application to the Slater Fund? Could you recall his manner, his attitude toward you, your impression of his appearance, of him as a personality, etc.?

Also, do you have the letters that he sent to you? Yours to him would be here, but not his to you? I am especially interested in how he answered your "impertinent" letter.

I raise this point also: In your "Black Reconstruction", you criticize the results of the supposed "deal" with the Southern leaders when Hayes was permitted to take office, but you do not criticize Hayes himself. Was this out of a personal loyalty to a benefactor or do you think that Hayes was personally without blame. I do not ask this to put you on a spot, but to get the guidance of your viewpoint.

Please forgive this intrusion, but you are one of the few who remain who could give significant insight into Hayes.

Believe me, with great respect, I am

Very truly yours,

HARRY BARNARD.

P.S. I hope it not out of order for me to say that I looked into your works for purposes of research, and remained in your works for purposes of reading, learning and enjoying . That, as you doubtless know so well, does not often happen in your field.

t103

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 21, 1949

Mr. Harry Barnard
The Hayes Memorial Library
Fremont, Ohio

My dear Mr. Barnard:

I am late answering your letter of January 30. I am afraid that I cannot recall now very accurately my one interview with the late president Hayes and my correspondence with him; but I will look up the correspondence and see if there is anything there that would help you, and if brings to my memory anything that I have forgotten.

I thank you very much for your kind words.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Corres. B

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 22, 1949

23-50-29

Mrs. Thomas Bell
340 Belmont Avenue
Newark, New Jersey

Dear Mrs. Bell:

It is going to be impossible for me to come to visit you and the girls next Sunday. I have to attend a Peace Conference here which begins Friday, March 25, and ends Monday, March 28.

We will have to make it some other time.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Cover B

Mrs. Thomas Bell

announces the marriage of her daughter

Thomasina Yolande

to

Dr. Donald C. FitzRoy

on Friday, April the twenty-second

Nineteen hundred and forty-nine

Newark, New Jersey

At Home

One-seventy-six Smith Street

Perth Amboy

New Jersey

230-50

April 28, 1949

Mrs. Thomas Bell
340 Belmont Avenue
Newark, New Jersey

Dear Mrs. Bell:

The announcement of your daughters' marriage has been received. Dr. Du Bois is abroad in Paris in attendance at the Peace Congress. He will return early in May. I shall bring the announcement to his attention immediately upon his arrival.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

230 - 30

Guardian Viedo
Feb 13th 49 Ala

Dr William E B Du Bois

Dear Sir

I am expecting
to go to Nigeria West
Africa on a visit
next summer. Where
I could get a history
of Africa and the
Africans real
and at what price

Sincerely yours

Ira Beritan

23-7-45

Req for info

23-2-46

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 24, 1949

Mr. Ira Benton
Mountain View
Missouri

My dear Mr. Benton:

I would recommend for reading my book, THE WORLD AND AFRICA, published by the Viking Press in 1947.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Bill of Rights Conf. 45-3-92

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

PA066

P WUDA039 NL PD UD NEWYORK NY 10

1949 JUL 11 AM 2 32

DR W E B DUBOIS

23 WEST 26 ST NYK

IF YOU ARE NOT PLANNING TO ATTEND THE BILL OF RIGHTS CONFERENCE IN NEW YORK CITY AT THE HENRY HUDSON HOTEL ON JULY SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH PLEASE SEND US A MESSAGE CONVEYING YOUR IDEAS AS TO THE NEED FOR ACTION AGAINST INCREASING INFRINGEMENT OF OUR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

CLARK FOREMAN CONFERENCE DIRECTOR

45-3-92

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Ford Dave

35-3-100

July 13, 1949

Mr. Clark Foreman
Arts, Sciences and Professions
Hotel Iroquois
49 West 44th Street
New York, New York

My dear Mr. Foreman:

I may not be able to attend the Conference of July 16 and 17, but I am enclosing a message which you may use if you wish.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

33-1-93

[1949?]

Mrs Emmons Blaine
101 East Erie St.
Chicago, Ill

Personal

101 E Erie St.

Mrs Blaine

Chicago

Sep Person 7- 1166

230-40

Mr. Wallace

So. Salem, New York

523

[Anita Blaine]

22-40-137

PERSONAL

January 7, 1949

Dear Mrs. Blaine:

I am sorry to have troubled you this morning, but I was afraid my letter of December 15, might have miscarried in the holiday rush of mail.

My present position has changed somewhat since December 15, and is as follows: I have moved my offices to 23 West 26th St., where the Council of African Affairs has furnished me rent-free, two rooms for my secretary and myself. They pay the secretary and use her part time This may entail some extra expense on my part for clerical aid, especia ially for library research. My library of 2500 books will be installed here, and the council will pay part of the cost of moving and installa ation.

My other expense for the year will be my sick wife and my own livi living. For nursing my wife I am paying $3600 a year. My apartment rent is $1000, and I estimate my living, clothes, etc., at $2400. On the income side I have a pension of $1200 from Atlanta University and a grant this year of $2400 from the NAACP which may or may not be renewed. I can earn something by speeches and miscellaneous writing. But travel is high, and writing should not interfere with my main work.

If then I can be certain of $5000 in addition to the help of the Council of African Affairs and my pensions, I cna concentrate all my efforts, (save such advice and writing as I do for the Council) on my main work: this is an attempt to survey and int rpret the history of the Negro in America, from 1876, the end of Reconstruction tion to 1949 -- "Three score Years and Thirteen". From my own participato ipation, I want to portray from within the feelings, thoughts and stresses of a great modern minority in the mightiest development

of European civilization. I believe that I can do this and make a living message for today and the future. But to do this I must have leisure and freedom.

I am not the only person, nor the most important for pressing work of this sort; nor is my age the most promising; but I believe deeply in the urgency of my plan and the weight of my message and my ability to make it.

I am speaking in Detroit, January 12; I wan be in Chicago January 10, or on any date from January 13 to 19.

Very sincerely,

22-40-128

22-40-139

Recapitulation of financial position of W.E.B. Du Bois.

as of January 7, 1949

Expense, 1949	
Office rent	$1200
Secretary	1680
Research	1000
Personal	
Mrs. Du Bois	3600
W.E.B. D.	2400
rent, N.Y.,	1000
Total,	$10,880
Paid by the Council African Affairs	1880
Deficit	$9000

Income	
Pension, Atlanta University	$1200
" NAACP (?)	2400
Miscellaneous writing & speaking, net	400 ?
Total	$4000
Needed to balance	5000
Total	$9000

22-410-14b

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

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NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

.CF136 NL PD=CHICAGO ILL 26=

1949 MAR 27 AM 12 16

DR W E B DUBOIS=

23 WEST 26 ST NYK=

I SHALL HOPE TO HAVE THE PLEASURE OF SEEING YOU NEXT WEEK. WILL YOU KINDLY TELEGRAPH ME COLLECT WHAT DAYS WILL SUIT YOU BEST=

ANITA BLAINE=..

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Charge to the account of _____ $_____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

23-42-2

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

March 28, 1949
(Straight)

Mrs. Emmons Blaine
101 East Erie Street
Chicago, Ill.

Arrive Chicago Wednesday Afternoon March 30
Could I see you Thursday, Friday or Saturday.
Will telephone on arrival.

W. E. B.

(Do not phone)

7 de Blaine

101 EAST ERIE STREET
CHICAGO 11

7 April 1949

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am sorry there has been so much of an interval between our talking and my following the talk.

I hope there has been no suspense or inconvenience to you on that account.

I was most glad that through the talk it became possible for me to ask for the privilege of being a small part in the arrangements for your work.

It was very good of you to let me come into this region. I am very grateful.

What I understood that you would let me do is to add five thousand dollars to your available funds.

What I imagine you would like to have me do would be to send you a part, say, half of this gift now and send the remainder of it nearer to the end of the year.

If any other way suits you better, please tell me.

With all good wishes

I am sincerely yours,

Anita Blaine

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
409 Edgecombe Avenue,
New York, New York.

22-40-143

409

101 EAST ERIE STREET
CHICAGO 11

18 May 1949.

22-410-144

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I learn from a kindly reminder that the check of which I wrote to you has not gone to you.

I am most sorry for this delay and I hope it has not inconvenienced you.

I am enclosing now my check for five thousand (5,000) dollars, to you, to get it immediately into your hand.

I am sincerely yours,

Anita Blaine

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
409 Edgecombe Avenue,
New York, New York.

Enclosure.

23-41-25

July 19, 1949

Mrs. Emmons Blaine
101 East Erie Street
Chicago 11, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Blaine:

I am taking the liberty of enclosing this clipping from an article which I wrote for THE DAILY COMPASS. I was afraid that perhaps you had not noticed it.

May I say that I am still in good health and hard at work. I trust you are enjoying the Summer.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure: Article

14-00-83

August 17, 1949

Mrs. Emmons Blaine
101 E. ERie
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Mrs. Blaine:

I have received the enclosed invitation. I accepted and expect to fly Saturday the 20th, unless the State Department objects.

I hope to see much of Russia, Poland and Chechoslovakia. I trust this will find you in good health.

Very sincerely

W. E. B. DU BOIS

Corr. B

September 27, 1949

Mrs. Alberta Blaine
101 East Erie
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Mrs. Blaine:

I returned from Europe, Friday, September 16, at noon. I wrote you from Moscow and I trust you received that letter. I left Moscow after two weeks stay on Saturday, September 3. I spent three days in Warsaw, Poland and three in Prague, Czechoslovakia. I never thought it possible that human beings could do to each other in modern days what the Germans did to ~~Prague~~ Warsaw. Here was a great modern city which they bombed from the air, raked with artillery on the ground and finally soldiers with pails of gasoline ran from house to house setting them on fire. The result was incredible devastation. In some cases there was nothing but dust left and all over the city there is a panorama of ruined walls which tell of the unbelievable destruction. Not withstanding this the city is rising again and anew and the spirit of the people is extraordinary. Six bridges across the Vistula River were destroyed and have now been restored and rebuilt in beautiful pattern. Streets are being rebuild; in some cases it is possible to restore them only by the aid of photographs.

Parks are being laid out and flowers planted. There is yet wide evidence of distress and inconvenience. For instance, I found to my dismay in my very nice hotel room that the great wide window looking out on the city had not curtains whatsoever; and I had to ask to be transferred to a more simple room on the fourth floor where curtains were available.

I recognised Prague from what I had seen of it in 1893 as a German student. It is still a busy and beautiful city and did not suffer war destruction; although it suffered all other sorts of inconvenience because of occupation by the German troops for a long time.

In both Poland and Czechoslovakia, the officials received me very kindly and gave me every convenience for seeing the city and for translation of the language. I went to several theaters and finally on the 9th came again to Paris where I had a few days. I wandered for two days in the

24-4-15

Lourve, I went to the Bois de Boulogue I walked [redacted]ked along the banks of the Seine where books and drawings are for sale and at last came back to this country.

It was a most illuminating and informing trip and I am deeply grateful for the opportunity of making it.

I trust that this letter will find you in good health. I am still well.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

23-41-26

November 14, 1949

Mrs. Anita Blaine
101 East Erie Street
Chicago 11, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Blaine:

I am venturing to enclose for you a copy of an article on RUSSIA, based on my last visit and two others before. I thought perhaps you would be interested in it.

I am going to be in Chicago in January for the Congress on American-Soviet Friendship; and in February to address the students of the Illinois Medical School.

On either of these occasions, I should be glad, if you have the leisure, to call on you and talk with you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

Lincoln University

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY
PENNSYLVANIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

November 30, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs, Inc.
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

23-50-40

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I returned from a flying trip to West Africa on November 14. It was quite an astonishing tour, especially in Nigeria.

I visited the Gold Coast and Liberia as well. I was present in the Gold Coast at the opening of the Legislative Council, when the honorable Mr. Quist was appointed to be the first African as President.

Your old acquaintance, Dr. Danquah, presented interpellations to the Government, listed as questions 5 to 49. There were only 59 questions submitted to the Government for answer.

I should like very much to have you visit us, especially to see our African boys.

The news from Nigeria, since I left there, has been much more understandable to me than it would have been had I not made my visit.

Believe it or not, it was estimated that from 100 to 150 thousand persons witnessed a parade in my honor in Lagos.

Sincerely,

Horace M. Bond

Horace M. Bond

HMB/gj

Fisk University Library
Nashville 8, Tennessee

OFFICE OF LIBRARIAN

April 7, 1949

23-41-7

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Let me add a personal word of thanks to the enclosed acknowledgment of your recent gift of manuscripts to Fisk for its special Collection of Negroana. I have a double reason for appreciating these at the present time and I think I can now assure you that they will serve a double purpose. It just happens that my proposed biographical work treating Douglas, Washington, and Du Bois has received strong encouragement this week in the form of a Guggenheim Fellowship. I expect to take a leave for the purpose of working on it during 1950. Prior to that I may have occasion to discuss the plans with you again if that can be arranged.

Let me also thank you at this time for your kind words in behalf of The Poetry of the Negro.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Arna Bontemps

AB:mc

File V

Fisk University Library
Nashville 8, Tennessee

OFFICE OF LIBRARIAN

May 6, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

This is a postscript to my last letter. You may recall that I mentioned the Guggenheim Fellowship in connection with the Douglass-Washington-Du Bois book. Well, the Houghton Mifflin Company is offering to publish it. My concern now is to plan a time for work with your papers, assuming you are still agreeable. During what month after September of this year would this be most convenient from your point of view? Of course you need not be present at the time, but I do look forward to a number of talks with you in connection with the project.

I hope you are back by now from stimulating experiences abroad.

My warmest regards,

Ever sincerely,

Arna Bontemps

AB:mc

24-23-43

May 9, 1949

Mr. Arna Bontemps, Librarian
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Bontemps:

Answering your letter of May 6, may I say that Dr. Du Bois is still abroad in Paris. He is expected to return the latter part of this month.

I will bring your correspondance to his attention immediately upon his arriv[redacted]

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

71-23-44

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 10, 1949

Mr. C. B. Loftis
Front Office Manager
Book-Cadilac Hotel
Detroit, Michigan

My dear Sir:

I have your note of my reservation, but please note that it is for February 20 and 21st and not simply for the 21st.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Beg for autograph

2200 Madison Ave
N.Y., 35, N.Y.
February 7, 1949

Dear Dr Du Bois, —

I am to teach a course on the history of the Negro in the Modern Hemisphere at the City College this Spring, and I have, in the process of acquiring some books, come by a copy of your Black Folk, Then and Now.

I would very much appreciate having the volume autographed and wonder whether you would be willing to do so if I should bring it by your office or your residence at some time convenient for you.

Thank you for giving this matter your kind consideration.

Sincerely yours,
Joseph Borome

23-7-47

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 11, 1949

23-2-48

Mr. Joseph Borome
2200 Madison Avenue
New York 35, New York

My dear Sir:

If you will bring your book to the above address, I shall be glad to autograph it for you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-50-28

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 6, 1949

Mr. William Stanley Braithwaite
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, New York

My dear Mr. Braithwaite:

Thank you so much for the copy of the poems sent me and the kind inscription.

I remember vividly the printing of "Ascension".

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Fill Broderick

1010 East Burlington Street
Iowa City, Iowa
October 9, 1949

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Your departure for Russia deprived me of the opportunity to thank you properly for your kindness in opening your files for my researches during the summer months, and I want to take this occasion to do so. I greatly appreciate the freedom which you have given me to wander through your papers without supervision and your apparent confidence that I am engaged in a serious historical investigation.

23-11-46

You are perhaps surprised that while studying the development of your ideas, I have not consulted with you directly more often. Frankly, I preferred not to wear out my welcome. I started a list of things I wanted to ask you, and as the summer passed, I found the answer to them in subsequent research. So, since I shall hope to have several talks with you when my work is in a later stage of development, I postponed annoying you with my questions until such time as I shall have fundamental questions which go to the roots of your thought and which you alone can answer.

Mrs. Murphy was a great help and a great friend all summer, and to my thanks for your many kindnesses I must add another: my thanks to you for having suhh a nice secretary.

I am looking forward to seeing in print your accounts of your recent trip.

Sincerely yours,

Francis L. Broderick

Francis L. Broderick

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York City

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 1, 1949

Brooks Brothers
Madison Avenue at 44th Street
New York 17, New York

Gentlemen:

Enclosed you will find my check for $4.29 for which will you please send me three boxes, 50 each, of Benson & Hedges gold tipped cigarettes, number 1.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure: Check- $4.29

A36-11

23-50-38

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
April 6, 1949

Brooks Brothers
Madison Avenue at 44th Street
New York 17, New York

Gentlemen:

Enclosed you will find my check for $4.29 for which will you please send me three boxes, 50 each, of Benson & Hedges gold tipped cigarettes, number 1.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure: Check $4.29

June 2, 1949

28-11-45

Brooks Brothers
Madison Avenue at 44th Street
New York 17, New York

Gentlemen:

Enclosed you will find my check for $4.29 for which will you please send me three boxes, 50 each of Benson & Hedges gold tipped cigarettes, number 1.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

42/1D/6

June 27, 1949

Mrs. Ada H. Brown
South 63 & May Street
Englewood, Chicago

Dear Madam:

I am trying to secure data as to the exact age of my wife, Nina Gomer Du Bois. Will you kindly send me an affidavit as to her age or date of her birth so far as you know.

I shall be greatly obliged.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Du Bois
Birth certificate

June 22, 1949

42/1D/3

Mr. S. Joe Brown
207 Sixth Avenue
Des Moines, Iowa

Dear Mr. Brown:

I hope this old address will find you. I am writing to see what you can do to establish the date and place of Mrs. Du Bois' birth.

I know you have known the family a long time. She was born in Indiana, I think in 1872; but I do not know the exact time or place.

Her father moved to Cedar Rapids when she was quite young and possibly before her sister was born. She and her sister went to school in Cedar Rapids and I married her there in 1896.

For the purpose of my social security, I must get some testimony as to her age. Of course I presume a birth certificate is out of the question.

Have you any advice as to what procedure I might take? I shall be greatly obliged for any information you may give me.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

LAW, LOANS, COLLECTIONS PHONE 3-8310

S. JOE BROWN
ATTORNEY AT LAW AND NOTARY PUBLIC
1058 FIFTH AVE.
DES MOINES 14, IOWA 6/24/49

Dr.W.E.B.Du Bois,
23 W.26th St.,
New York 10,N.Y.

Dear Sir and Friend:-

I have your very kind letter of the 22nd instant and was as always glad to have a line from you.However,I regret to be compelled to say that your letter gave me more information than I previously had concerning Mrs.Du Bois' background.

41-84-33

While it is true that I have known her about fifty five years,my first recollection of her is that she was living in Ottumwa,Iowa,with Mr.and Mrs.Charley Taylor,who had three daughters ,the youngest of which,Miss Ada Henson,now a Mrs.Ada Henson Brown,lives in Englewood,a suburb of Chicago,somewhere near South 63rd and May Sts?.at least she did when I visited Chicago in August,1944.

This Mrs.Ada ~~Henson~~ Brown was about Nina's age,and she was about three years my senior, and I was born July 6th,1875,so I would make an affidavit that in my best judgment,your date 1872 would be about correct for the date of her birth.

However,I knew nothing of her family until after the year 1889,for sometime along in there,her sister Bernice,who later became the wife of Atty.H.R.Wright come to Ottumwa where Mrs?Du Bois and I both lived,to visit my cousin,Mrs.Della Marshall,whose last address that I knew was 11th and Ripley Sts.Davenport,Iowa;but whom I think has passed on;but am not sure of it,so a letter addressed to her there might reach her if she is still living.

Prior to that time,I never knew that she had any family;but was of the impression that she was an orphan.

Many years later,I was in ~~Cedar Rapids~~ Marshalltown,Iowa and met her brother,who then lived at Iowa Falls,Iowa,and with whom Bernice made her home for a while after the passing of Atty.Wright;but it was my understanding that he passed before Bernice.

(over)

Since that time I have been told that her father was prominent in the Masonic Fraternity in Iowa back in the '80's;but never saw either her father or her mother and never even heard that they were from Indiana;all that I had ever heard about them was that they lived in Marion,near Cedar Rapids and consequently supposed that Nina was born there.

I hope that you will remember me very kindly to Mrs.Du Bois,whom I shall always remember as the most beautiful young woman in Ottumwa,when I was teen age boy there; and often wished that she were two or three years younger,so that I might try to interest her ~~and~~ becoming more than a mere acquaintance,as she was at that time.

Regretting that I cannot give you the information that you desire;and hoping that thru a letter to either Mrs.Della Marshall 11th and Ripley St.,Davenport or to Mrs. Ada Henson Brown South 63rd and May Sts.Chicago,you may be able to secure the information you seek,I beg to remain,

Most Courteously,yours,

S. Joe Brown

,,, ,,,,,

March the 25th 1949

THE CONSTITUTION ~~THE~~ ORIGAL- ORIGINAL THE SEVEN ARTIULES

I Am trying to get in tuch with we the people in gods we shell trust on the bill of right ,,,,Mr W.E.B. DuBois now I will male this Magazine to you but you can see the heading of it is for every person knows about language and the written laws ,I am sory I have the lawyers and lawmakers stick up on A cimple policy like I have ,and all of it is the truths ?... Man Man I haveing A hard time of my life with people in all Races creed color and kind what went to college ,so Mr DuBois ,every person you see in all races went to college ,there ant no yous in hadeing and runing and trying to have me kill on the sly ,because every move be made about trying to kill me I no it ,so yous all just tell all the lawmakers ,I no it ?.... This Magazine will prove just how it Beaning don ,but every lawyer read it he will see I am dying with the name of beening A Here on the written laws on the Account of language ,and that is what the lawmakers went have me kill about and dont no nothing about ,but if they get this Magazine before they do it will be on them all waise ,when I born in this country ,and trying to help them because Seincets in the white Race have help and I am trying to help them ,when I no I am Americaan man ,and the only thing the lawmakers can do about it is pot me to Deaths ,and dont try to have it don on the sly because I no all about it ?.....All persen born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction theof are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside no state shell make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States nor shall any state deprive any persen of life liberty or property without due process of law nor deny to any persen within its jurisdiction ,the equal protection of the laws ,?....Now to all lawyers that Section of laws is in every state ,but our people cant have that privileges in no state south are north ,if it hade I woulde,d be writeing Magazine for the jewish lawyers because they the Big bosses over the countrys ,and people have got to do what they say are they will have the lawmakers to fixed up to have you kill ,?...Now to all of our people whome it consern some of yous knows about geting kill like Mergandle in India and yous are A wetniess for the jewish people for the white people to take they names and pieture of this Americaan money ,and that is why I Dided get no answer from any of our people from the NAACP office in newyork city are any place Ealse ,and it is on all these Magazine there ant no secreet in this country and I ask for the Historys ,our people should get me some answer if they going to tell the white people when they went to college and no what the historys is ,so if dont get no answer from this one I no our helping the lawmakers in England and not Americaan ,?....

I sent money for the womens to buy paper and stamp ,and money for wetniess and hade policc Department on the Magazine ,it look like that would make any person gave some one A answer ,what good is A organizations if if you are A member of it and you cant get A answer if write the office ,our womens all wais talking about we nead help we nead help ,and I have my life at stake trying to help them ,yous can just cary and bark blude saying we is negros ,and these Magazine going to all countrys ,and all of yous went to college knows we are not negros ?....So I would like for our people to prove why they keep on saying we is negros all of yous what went to college are denying the historys ,before I write the lawmakers in Washington (D.C.) yous hade something to hide behine ,but yous ant hideing behine nothing but A lyie ,and there is no way of geting out of it ,~~M~~ but tell the trush and that is all ?.....

MrsRooevelt ,,MrsWillkey ,,Mrs Minnie Glover ,,Miss Mary A Johnson ,,Miss May Borans ,,Miss Connie Carter ,,Miss Luce Neither ,,Miss Robsion ,,
now the last Magazine I sent out I have these Ladys names on it in frient eg- of this Resolution ,before Jesus of Nazareth was kill ,for the white Races to have A Government and A Bible Society ,they take the name of Nazareth ,and put the name call Chriest ,for the white people to have A Religion two ,and it look like every man and Women in our Race what went college could see that ,and I would like to no why they love to swime in that Criticism and not gave me A answer when I sen them these Magazine ?.....
Here is proof about why I am writeing these Ladys name up .?,,Morals According to the unerring authority of jesus Chriest were far below their pretensions they violated the main priciple of the law the justice and humanity of the mosaic institutions while they rigidly adhered to the most minute particulars ,not merely of the law ,itself but of tradition likewise, ??....Now every white lawyer in the world I would like them to prove that any white race hade any Government and A Bible Society at that time ?....
They can I have the white womens with our womens on the written laws ?...
Influential for besides the want of this popular display of Religion they were notoriously severe in the execution of the national statutes denying all punishment for crime in A future life ,their only way to discourage Delinquency was by the immediate terrors of the law ?.....So this Magazine will prove how the white lawmakers and the Rich people in England and American kill up each others and hing our people up in jial and tell they get ready to worsh up Religion over the jewish people what gave them that what they hade jesus of Nazareth kill and they add the name call Chriest for all of the white Races to have A Government and A Bible society ?....
The Procrustes Atorney Representatives Senators Joint Committee of the LegislatureBord of the General Assembly of the Democrate and ~~Republan--~~ ~~Repbu~~ Republican north west East South and the rich people have them Ku klux klan Churches all over American paying our people what went to college to say we is negros ,to have them Churches for the English lawyers to go in all the ~~Europ--~~ Europen Countrys and kid nap people to sell in this country to jouin the ku klux klan Churches ,and if they dont to jouin they call them Communists and all coine of feake names because England have A feake Democracy and A feake Royal cround ,and this Magazine will prove it ?.....Now all mans in our race will they plesse tell our mens to stop marrieing white womens ,because they can see all these lawmakers no they is Suprmeacy white ,and they Dide,d no that and tell they masters tell them because they have our Mohammedran Religion and Churches in the two countrys ,and they Deaf Doum and Bline mark Exile Englishmens in the two countrys are paying the Christain slave and lost tribe of Israil
So every race can see just why the Ministers lawyers Doctors Deans of all college cary blude in the newsoapers we ant nothing but neiger-Dogs and we getting pay for it ,,Because that is what we went to college for ?....
The white people say they dont wont to mix ,I am the same way because I am civilize Enufe to Read laws and dont halfter call no mob ,every person can see if A man be lock up in Jial and the mob go and get hime that is the lawmakers and the Rich people in that state ,So that will prove to all white Races I dont wont to mix with them but I am going to honour they womens and I will honour our womens ,that is why I wont the Historys of the written laws ,because I am not going to Dishouner my self to Dishouner our womens ,for Magazine to sell in All countrys ,Because I just no I am Suprmeacy black and me and all of our people what have any money we halfter have A mob law because we are not civilize Enufe to Read the laws ,?....
Now that will prove to our mens dont Marrie these white womens when they see how the jewish lawyers do them ,the lawmakers and the Rich people gave the jewish people they box of Civilizason ,and they take the box of Criticism ,so people can see they means to gave the jewish people what

83-52

they money they have and every thing they have to keep they ku klux klan Churches ,because Jesus of Nazareth was our people ,and the name was Add call Christ for the white Races to have A Government and A Bible Society the jewish people mark Englishmens dont wont that ,they wont the laws what kill jesus of Nazareth ,that is the Religion England and Americam have because they is Suprmeacy white ,and they just no that is the best Religion there is and they will keep war war war to have that Religion ?.....
And why they do that because jesus of Nazareth was our people ,and they just love to take our people to worsh up Religion over the jewish people because they have our Mohammedarn Churches and Religion ,and our people will eary blude just to bark in the newspapers we ant nothing but neiger Dogs ,and they no that is our Religion ,our people see I am Asking for the historys and say it ant no secret- Secreet in this country ,and they Deaf Doum and Bline Exile English halfter do what they say and like it as long they eary about other countrys and dont bother them in palestine they no the jewish lawyers will whipe them if they say any thing about in palestine ?.....I Am Groping this policy on the King of England and the president of Americam ,for A permit on Scincets and the written lawsfor Mr- John H Brunson and Miss Luce Neither I cant help my womens unless I help the white womens ,and now I cant get at our womens like I went to because the lawmakers and the Rich people have gave the jewish people they box of Civilizason ,and they keep the box of Critieism ,that is why I am writeing these Magazine to get answer from other countrys when the jewish lawyers dont have it in this country for me to get A answer from my race are the white races ,but I can get answer from other countrys because they no who I am but when ,they get this Magazine they will no the th- big shot negros no about the jewish lawyers Exile Englishmens trying to have me kill like they hade Mergandle in India ,that is why I cant no answer in this country ?....So while the jewish lawyers have they yale look on the lawmakers and the rich people lipes John H Brunson and Miss Luce Neither because we are not going to drown in that Critieism and let the jewish people from palestine be our Masters ,and we will take that permit just as soone as the lord come and tell these jewish lawyers to take them yale look of thes lawmakers lipes so the King of England and the president of Americam can past us that permit ,we will take it and if civilizasen is strong Enufe every lawyer in England are Americam going to gave I am Miss Luce Neither that permit when they read this Magazine are get A rope ?.....The United States had equal progress been made ,the first railway in American to use steam locomotion was A short line from Charleston south Carolina on which an engine was run in january, 1831 I have ask for that history ,for these rail-road lawyers ,to answer these qustions two ,I have here people say they are so smirte and the anti trust lawyers ,so if they is smirte they have the chance to prove it now ?....
The pacification of the Philippine Island was virtually ended with the capture of Aguinaldo on March the 23. 1901 though there have since been several sharp ch clashes with the natives especially with the Meres ,in Mindanao ?....
The first civil Governor was William H Taft and A Legislative Body was appointed consisting of seven commissioners four Americans and three Filipiens, A Legislative Assembly was elected on july the 30, 1907 the Islands are divided into provinces each under an elected Governor and all the towns have self-Government through an elected president and councillors ?...The roecgnition of the absolute independence of the Philippine Islands is one of the problems confronting the United States Government ?....The Secretary of war reported to the President in 1910 that the Filipines were unprepared for Self-Government and that the better if not larger class did not desie it ?....

The natives and Americans in favor of independence hold that the number and the lack of civilixation of the non-Christian tribes have been used as an argument against the ability of the Filipinos to govern themselves, The Washington Government ,whatever its inclinations may be, is of opinion that the time is not not ripe for Granting independence since the progress of the islands would be thereby retarded and internal dissension would result which might involve the United States in international complications ??....Well John H Brunson from the tween States of Carolina wont the History of Aguinaldo the Moros and the three Filipinos ,because the all of us means the sames on all the islands natives two ,I would like for all yous suprmeacy white people to no that and I hope the jewish lawyers dont whipe yous when yous tell them that ,because they say yous white people halfter wait and tell yous lipes get ripe for them Anti yale lock to fall of yous lipes to honour yous self yous language and yous written laws and names ?.... Miss Luce Neither is my boss and we here waiteing with the Buelt of the Mosaic laws for the King of England and the president of the United States to gave us that permit ,if the lawmakers lipes can just get ripe ,that show would help I and Miss Luce Neither because she is my boss ?.... Here where the foundations of the ku klux klan set up in Washington (D.C.) and what it was about ,the political history of Canada since the year 1910 namely Reciprocity with the Uuited States and Canadian naval policy in relation to the Empire ?...The Reciprocity Agreement caused the defeat of the Laurier Government in 1911. the conservatives being carried into office after an interval of fifteen years on the opposition benches?..,

The new minstry was headed by Robert Laird Borden, while Sir Wilfrid Laurier became leader of the opposition ?....Mr Borden at once pushed forward his naval bill, which provided for the construction of three battleships to be under the control of the British Admiralty ?....The bill passed the Canadian house of Commons in the face of strong Liberal opposition but in the Senate where the Liberals still had A majority the bill was killed by the adoption of an amendment that it should first be submitted to the judgment of the country ?....In British Columbia the question of Indian immigration assumed an acute form towards the close of 1913 as the result of A legal decision ?....A Determined attempt was made in the summer of 1914v to land A shipload of Hindus at Vanciuver but the authorities ordered them to be deported the hindus could not understand why they being British subjects should be refused A landing in A British possion and ~~qu~~— questioned the constitutionality of the Dominion act by which they were excluded ?....By the terms of the British north American Act the Canadian parliament is endowed with sovereign power in matters relating to immigration into ~~a~~ry part of the Dominion and this power the court of Appeal upheld ?.... Now to all lawyers whome this consern ,in all Races creed color and kind see all of the lawmakers tell them they can lynch me and tear and feather me but I am they only friend ,this prove that the Catholic people are call Communists and all other feake names ,just like our people ,now here is why the Catholic people beens call these names ,is to fost them in them ku klux klan Churches to lynch up our people with the law what kill jesus of nazareth because he was our people ,so that is why A Supreme are A superior Judge cant be fine to stop these Magazine from going to other countrys ?.....So every lawyer what is Catholic ,have the chance to see what these ku klux klan Ministers going to do now ,because people wont no about they money now ,here is how the jewish lawyers made the English lawyers mark them self they Coulde,d do nothing with our people ,after they start the slave Poin Union with they people ,and they come to palestine and wont rual before they could under the written laws ,for the lack of Civilizason ,so they call our people Hindus ?....

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So they fixed up whth Englishmens and the Chinese that we supremcay white and they tell the Englishmens we was just Hindus and they could tell them where some os our Capital at ,if they ~~trans~~ translated they Bible into negro-English language ,now why the jewish lawyers no that was one of the Richs place in Asia at that time ,and they was after the money them just like are to day ?....So to day the jewish lawyers fine out they Deafe and dume and Bline Exile Englishmens cant honour them self to honour they language the written laws and names ,because they Dide,d no they was supreacy white and tell they tell them ,so all the English lawyers can see they name them self negros ,because jewish lawyers tell them we was Hindus ?... So that prove to All lawyers that the jewish lawyers have the English lawyers immigration ,people from all countrys to fest them to joine they mob Churches to lynch our people ,that is why they put that amendment in Washington (D.C.) in 1913 ,they adopted in Canadia from 1910 to 1912 because they love they Religion ?....So every lawyer can see why the lawyers call Civil and Federal and Rich people in England and American have the box of Critisism ,and these Magazine goes to all countrys because the jewish people halfter have the money ,as long as they have wetniess that on the countrys ,so people in all countrys can see that when they get these Magazines ?.....Here is how the ku klux klan start in England ,At Henry death the succession fell into dispute ?..He had lost his only son his daughter Matilda married first to the emperor Henry V. had wedded subsequently count Geoffrey of Anjou, by whom she had a son Henry strove , during his life, to bind his nobles by oath to accept matilda and her son as his successors but their, promises were broken when he died they gave the crown to stephen of Blois whose mother was Henry,s ~~sis~~ sister ~~whose~~ whereupen there ensued the most dreadful period of civil war and anarchy that England ever knew , stephen at his coronation swore to promises which he did not keep losing many of his supporters for that reason ,the empress Matilda and her young son Henry had numerous partisans , and each side was able to destroy the authority of the other ?.....The price of the support given to both was the same absolute license to build castles to practise private war ,to hang their private enemies to plunder their neighbors to coin their money to exercise their petty tyrannies as they pleased ?....Castles innumerable sprang up and as fast as they were built they were filled with devils ,each lord judged and taxed and coined ?....The feudal spirit of disintegration had for once its full ply ,even party union was at an end and every baron fought on his own behalf ,feudalism had its day and the completeness of its triumph insured its fall ?,,, Now that is what the Talf Hartly laws start ,for the Governers to were the names of Pilate ,and the mayors to were the names of Pontius , and I am to write up Magazine to send to ~~a~~ other countrys about it for the jewish people on the Account of the lawmakers cant honour them to honour they language the written laws and names ,and our people are the same way Easy as that is our people all waise talking about the Bible and ones what to college cant on it ,and say they go to Churche ,if they do they could gave me A answer I am trying to get A answer from our womens ,to get them out the way and will get the mens with Critisism ?....But the only thing I can tell them on this one ,they no about the jewish lawyers going to have they mark Exile Englishmens ,going to have me kill like they did Mergandle in India ,and they no about the jewish lawyers have the white people name and picture of this American money ,and any man white are black try to stop yous womens from writeing me at once he knows all about all of the subjest ?.... our womens should no I make two copy out of these Magazine going in all countrys ,they should no I woulde,d put up money in the NAACP office in Nwe-yory city if if I Dide,d no what I was doing ,and to prove that every

person what read this Magazine,in all Races creed color are kind stop going to fothing tallers about ,because they just going to tell yous something to get yous money ?....Now if any fothing taller think he can do any thing with this Magazine tell them to answer these qustions and publish it in the newspapers ,because this John H Brunson from the tween States of Carolina I am in the Rang all of yous fothing tallers dont mean A thing because yous ant got the swing ,I am runing from Egypt to Europe not , Begging I am betten ,and the Governors from the tween States of Carolina are betten on me like they Did Joe lews ,and I will try and see them are be put to Deaths ?....All of our womens what work at the newspapers prest, they are the ones on the spot ,caring blude we ant nothing but negros ,and sending news to Hartford (Conn) we just hope the lord dont come down and let the white focks tell us nothing about it ,and the white man doing more runing and caring then the white womens ,they just scherd the jewish lawyers will whipe them ,now when they get this Magazine they going to look for , they womens ,and lock up her up on some old lyie about the war ,and A women ant got no business fighting no war at all ,but they went like the man to try and save the country ,and the jewish people put the mens in war for them to on the countrys ,and the credit the white womens get in jugg in jail for the jewish women to be A Engal over her ?....And our womens have they,s comeing ,if they going to set down and wait for our mens because they have yous womens to hide behine ,as long as they can keep yous from gaveing me A answer ,but what our womens should do if they scherd to put they name on the involevop e ,put some these big shot mens on and if they dont like it tell take it to the police Department and tell them to fine me the man who write it ?...And I no we will get that money because the jewish people ow- on the countrys ,I make A break at Bashup Grave and father Devine ,and yous womens are wholeing me up cant get no as answer from yous womens ,send stamp and money to gave me A answer I am going to see what they is putting down are be put to Deaths ?.... Here is A Resolution for Mr Winston Churchill ,and Mr Herburt Hoover , and they will halfter fine all the lawmakers in England and American , on this policy I am Sorry about the news I here about Mr Thomas E Dewey when he run for president with Mr Hery Truman ,Mr Dewey was trying people from Geblen ,and he was geblen hard and an any one Ealse to be Elected and he race to get to the white house he put on the turkey Buszard souit yous people were call the ku klux klan and got to the Dellwere rover and thet Death warrant of jèsus Chriest organizations Bible they have on the Account A lettle money will make every thing all right when yous do that to have A Sciencts kill ?....Some workmen while excavating in the ancint city of Amiternum now Aquila).in the ancient city of Naples found an antique mable vase in which lay concealed A copper plate bearing on obverse side A long inscription in the Hebrew tongue ?.... This when translated proved to be the death warrant of jesus Chriest?... On the reverse side of the plate were found the words ?....A Similar plate is sent to each tribe ?...After its excavation, it was enclosed in an ebony box, and preserved in the sacristy of the Carthusians ?...This relic if genuine, is to Christians the most impressive and interesting legal document in existence ?....~~Ithas~~- It has been faithfully transcribed and reads as follows ?....Sentence rendered by Pontius Pilate acting Governor of lower ~~Gah~~- Galilee stating that jesus of Nazareth shell suffer death on the cross ??....In the year seventeen of the Emperor Tiberius Caeser and the 27th day of March the city of the holy ~~jes~~- Jerusalem ?...Annas and Caiaphas being priests sacrificators of the people of god ?...Pontius Pilate Governor of lower Galilee sitting in the presidential chair of the praetory condemns jesus of Nazareth ~~of~~- to die on the cross between two thieves the great and notorious evidence of the people saying ?????.....

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i- (1) jesos is A senditious (2) He is sedneer (3) He is the Enemy of the law ?...now there where all the Big shot negros ,Minsters Dooters lawyers Beans Perffers of all college in england ,an't American will prove that they is British jubjects and negros ,and they will answer these qustions and tell the white mens ,they will tell them but not me ,because I am just A tramp and they is Edngated ,and they is supremeady black ,and the jewish people teash them civilizasson ,and every thing the jewish people say they will do and they is wetnieas for the jewish people any thing they say and they want all countrys to no that ,and they are going to gave me no answer because that is what they want to college for ?....(4) He calls himself falsely the son of god (5) He calls himself falsely the king of Israel (6) He entered into the temple felled by A multitube beaing palm-brasches in their hands ?...Prders the first centurion quilius cornelius ,to lead him to the place of execution forbids any person whomsoever either poor or rich to oppose the death of jesus Christ ?...Now Mr Winston Churchill,,and Mr hubart Hoover halfter fine scme foshing teller in they race to prove to civil lawyers that they have A Government before Jesus of Nazareth because this blame is on England American Canaiada ,and yous civil lawyers halfter get this Magazine From the police Department on the Account of what the civil and federal lawyers are trying to do to poor me trying to on the language the written lawz tc honour my name ,to honour all womens because they is the women of all man eine ?....Now womens what Burth kids knows what they have to go through with ,and she love her kid ,some men love his kids but not like that women do ,so that is why I am dieing with my shoes on my foot up- to petrect all womens honour ,and I would like fob them to gave me A answer if they going to fine cut from the mens what are going to do about it ?.....Mr Wenston Churchill ,,and Mr Herburt Hoover and all of they lawmakers ,will halfter see this ,to prove they stole the written laws ,from the Arabs in palestine ,and they procstant Religion from Germany ,The schoolmasters of the middle age world, they first taught us the great prineiple of the division of labour to which we ove ,at this moment, that England is what she is instead of being covered with A horde of peasants, each makeing and producing everything for himself and starving each upon his rood of ground ?.....They transcribed all or composed all the books of the then world ?...Many of them spent their lives in doing nothing but writing and the number of books even of these tc be found in single monasteries ,considering the tedious labor of copying in altogether astonishing ?....They preserved to us the treasures of classical antiquity ?...They brought in from abroad arts and new knowledge ,and while they taught men to know that they had A common humanity A common father in heaven taught them also to profit by each others, wisdom instead of remaining in isolated ignoranse ,?....They too were the great witnesses against feudal caste ?...With them was neither high born nor low born rich nor poor worth was their only test ,?...The meanest self entering there might become the lord of knight and vassals the counsellor of kings and princes ?....
Men may talk of democracy these old monasteries were the most democratic institutions the world had ever tillthen seen ?...Will that prove that the Englishmens are livening of our people and the German people knowledge with they masters laws ,because they are civilize Knufe A Government becase-
because they cant honour they language to honour A written law ?....
And I halfter States to grop A two copy Magazine for the jewish people to sell because they have A yale look on the lawmakers and the rich people lipes think can live on other people knowlege on Seinects ,because they is Suprmeacy white ,and they Dide,d no that and tell the jewish people tell them ,they show halfter tell people about they money when the lord come down and have these jewish lawyers to take them yale look of they lipes ?.....

Senator George from the state of (G.A.)I no just how it is when you trys to whole up your hand ,and every body is down you ,I have read your Resolution ,in the newspapers ,about all lawyers ,~~about~~ wont to fuilt all the lawmakers in the south ,but I would like for all of yous to no before I will stand ,and let yous lawmakers be Criticize ,I will be put to Deaths ,I have work with white people from (G.A.)and they have treat me good ,and I never will forget it, I show glade Senator Gorge from the state of (G.A.) prove to all lawyers he was not going to let them run over him ,to let the painjumpers be they masters ,senator Pupper from the state of ~~(FA~~ (FLA..)wonts all lawyers like you to help him because he is A scinects on the written laws ,and my home is in the south ?....Now here is why all lawyers is trying to put all the fuilt on yous all lawmakers in the south ,ku klux klan the name of A ssecret society in the Southern States bitterly opposed to the exercise of the electoral franchis e by the negroes Early in 1868 this society issued lists of proscribed persons who if they did not quit the country after warning became lible to assassination ?....General Grant endeavored to suppress the society ?...Its repression by the militia in Arkansas was ordered November, 1868 and it became the subject of the legislation at Washington june 1871 under which many persons were tried and convicted for lawless outrages and murders ?...Vigorous prosecutions speedily destroyed the organization ?....So that is the fuilt is on every lawyer in the south now ,so all of yous southern lawyers will halfter get to were Aguinaldo was capture and the Moros and three Filipinos March the 23 1901 on the Account od the British Coumbia adopted they amendment in Washington in 1913 to kill up Governors and Scinects ,and each others in this country for the jewish people that is they masters ,that is why they start they organization in Canada and lost of ku klux klan Churches where they can so south and burn crosses and kill our people to worsh up Religion ,and say it the white people in the south ?.....It two bade the English lawyers mearsed swords with the Arabs to prove to ~~eyy~~ all countrys that they was civilize Enufe to have A written Government and A Bible society and let the jewish lawyers trap them to gave them they Government ,and I am trying to weak them up to tell them ,and they trying to have me because jesus of nazareth was our people ,and the laws what kill him they gave it to the English lawyers and they cant see on the Account of they Eyes and the Magazine will tell why ?....The jewish lawyers should not made them drive every races they can in to Ango Sexion and sent John thr Gospeal fater they stole the written laws from our Arabs from palestine and stole the proestant Religion from Germany ,and Every time I send out A Magazine for the jewish lawyers the lawmakers in three countrys start calling people Communists nezi nathas spys ,for the white people to go and join they ku klux klan Churches ,to kill up each others ,if they have much to say to our people ,because jesus of nazareth was our people and ant no white race hade A written Government ,and tell they add the name call Chriest ,and the jewish lawyers gave the Englishmens the Business when they hade to mark them self from the other white Races and proveing that they are the ones do the steailing ?...I Quoite about lawmakers now in three countrys ,Vell vell vee wont the black Honnit to change States with this two copy Magazine ,vell vell vee wont the people in Hungary to no that was true ,about vee Deaf Dum and bline mark Exile Englishmens try to have Josef Cardinal Mindszenty ,kill and fuilt the Catholic people and vell vell that what vee Exile mark was before they stole the proestant Religion from Germany ,vell vell thay call the Catholic people Communists now ,vell vell to prove that ,they hade the leaders from the ~~Bu~~ public Loan to pay A old bill where he hade his name sine as wetniess for the man to get the money ,they wony that for the ku klux klan ministers to go to Hungary to see this man be put to Deaths ?....

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Vell vell when the black Hommit change States with this two copy Magazine vee wont people to no the public Loan at 988 Main Street Hartford (Conn) vell vell they call them self ynkees ,and they go down south to take the black Hommit people to worsh up Religion with and put fuilt on the white in the south ,and dont no nothing about ,that is why they take his money and vell vell they wont procrustes Atorney Representative ,senaters Military Governors ,in all countrys see how these love vee jewish people in this country ,the yankees in the north love vee jewish people lests more then the one in the south ?....Vell vell the balck Hommit have A Magazine once A Munths and when it get to (N.Y.) state vee mark yankees neigers say they is second class and Guaranteed ,civil lawyers from all countrys no the seeall negros cant on no prest ,when the yankees go down south to take them to worsh up Religion with ,that is why they paying them what went to college to say we ant nothing but negros ,and went all countrys to fuilt vee jewish people ?.....Vell vell the Black Hommit dont no vee hade vee mark yankees to stop his mail from going south to his Sister and law with his little Nieces because vee hade the Leaders of the public lern to coin out over two Hundred Dallors for the ku klux klan minsters to go to Hungary and have ,Josef ,-Cardinal Mindszenty ,but to Deaths ,because he was A Religious Seincets and vee mark Exile yankees dont believe they on people is Seincets ,with Religious ,and the written laws ,vell vell Raymond E Baldwin ,Sid Gunning Henry A wallace ,vell vell they is mens ,and there ant no yous of calling the womens ,because vee jewish womens is Engil over them ,because vell vell they halfter honour them self ,and honour they language and the written laws and they can reach up and grabe they names to honour they womens and vell vell vee jewish people ant going to have that ,that is why vee have the Black Hommit to write these Magazine to sell in all countrys ?.... Vell vell the Herald Tribune ,and the Pittsburgh Courier ,newspapers in (P.A.) state couse vee mark Exile yankees ,to have A WPA and A bread line in that state ,vell vell why dont the lawmakers and the rich people gave vee jewish lawyers the keys ,and vee will send them to Gragamer school because vee have made vee Derf dum bline mark Exile Englishmens ,Change the Stamps in this country ,and vee ask the black Hommit to buy some of the Stamps ,to see how they is ?....Vell vell that why the post Masters Generals in (N.Y.) they halfter put on our people Magazine be- because they go south to worsh up Religion ,over the jewish people ,because Jesus of Nazareth was our people ,and he was A Seincets walk on Earth just like I am and the jewish people gave them that law ,they but on our Magazine they is second class mark yankees and Guaranteed ,and the jewish people owns all the prests ?....Vell vell the Black Hommit talking his landlord house at 220 windson ST and the little baby Girls ,,vell vell vee fixed up with the post master General where he cant here from his little Nieces in south Carolina ,and these little Babys here was white ,and vee mark Exile yankees here scherd to say any thing to vee jewish lawyers ,because they scheard vee jewish lawyers will whipe them ,and they halfter do what vee jewish people say do ?...Vell vell all the Italian come in this country vee tell them get in class with vee mark Exile yankees ,and have vee your box of Civilizason ,and if any of the Black Hommit people say any thing to yous ya- just Hump your shoulder ,and they will no yous Supremacy white and vee mark Exile yankees will take yous to they Ku klux klan Churches and if yous say any thing about what they do with the young tender negros when they go south to lynch they and take the old tufe and to worsh up Religion with in the newspapers and over the Radio ,they will lynch yous because they dont wont to tell what they da with the young negros ?.... Vell vell that is what vee mark Exile Englishmens adopted the British Columbia amendment in Washington (D.C.) in 1913 ,when they come from England ,and Canada ,to go south to lynch the young tender negers they dont no body to no what they do with they vell vell that is why they

kill up each others to keep one from telling it ?....So vell vell vee wont civil lawyers from all countrys to see vee cant bee boather with vee mix up neigers ,because vee Segreated ,and jimcrow them from Eurp- Eropte in A Asiatic country ,and vell vell lawyers in all countrys can see vee bosses the countrys inthe Asiatic zione ?.....Vell vell the ba- black Honnit trying to get A answer from his womens in his race ,vell vell all they is to come vee whiskey store and get A fife and to Churche and were out they knees ,and hallor wallor all over the floor ,and if any money fall out they pocket ,they paster will sneek and get that to gave vee jewish people because they went to college ,and vell vell some women what went to Graham school halfter get the Bible and show that to them about honour mother first ,and father next ,and our womens went to college cant see that to gave me A answer ?...I will on quoite about the jewish lawyers now , it is Serious for our people to let this Magazine go to all countrys that are doing me just like they Did jesus of Nazareth ,and he was our people and they went to college ,and no that and cant gave me A answer the womens should be the first one to gave me A answer ,when they no they are A mother of all man cine kind ?.....983 Main street at the public Loan Travelers insurance ,the Hartford Times ,the Hartford Courant ,I have tryed to Respiect them all I no because I no they are Hurmon ,but to prove they think I am not Hoom- Hurmon ,they have try to have come person ,to sneek in the house I am at and go to the tolit ,and set the house on fir ,to have me kill just the news I here ,about the lawmakers they will have me kill like Mergandle in India ?....So Mr Winston Churchill, and Mr Herburt Hoover ,I hope yous will get this news ,yous dont halfter do that to have me kill ,because I am trying to help yous out ,the jewish lawyers from palestine no they are doing yous wrong ,and just because I am trying to help yous out ,they are makeing yous the trying to kill me because made yous Beried our flag and Chearetер ,and said they was they- Jews ,?...So Mr Winston Churchill ,,and Mr Herburt Hoover ,,all yous all are doing fooling yous self About Russian ,and think yous all are fooling the public in all countrys ,because when civil lawyers from other countrys Grop this policy on me I will grop on yous all ,I just wont to let yous all no ,I am in the rang and yous dont mean A thing because yous ant got the swing ?....So Mr winston Churchill ,,and Mr Herburt Hoover ,,yous and all the lawmakers in American Canada England ,just take up our people and the Irsh people flag and Cheacter ,for the good yous are doing ,the qustion about perlharber is all over now ,if that is any news to yous all ?.... Year yeas yeas it is all over about the Japs and perharber I mean the Japs japs japs it is all over now ,the japs in Union with the Mosaic laws in all countrys ,and they no there ant no country ,wont to fight countrys cant honour them self ,all they wont is A looking ga glass ,and A box of Criticism ,and A mob law to kill up Governors and Scinects ,to look for young tender negers ,and no body no what they do with them ,and the old Tufe negers ,they take them to worsh Religion over they masters ?..... I Am sorrie that is what the Englishmens went to China for the Thrifty Cheacter after they jewish people from palestine fool them say we Supreacy- Suprmeacy white ,and they tell the Englishmens our people was hindus and yous Berrie they flag and Cheacter ,and say they is negros ,and the English mens did that ,and to day the jewish people is puting Every country on the mark Englishmens and his brother ,and they cant wen ,when they cant honour them self to honour they language the written laws and they names ?.....They halfter tell about the warrant of jesus of Nazareth ,and jesus Chriest ,when they no the name of chriest was for all the white Races to have A Government and A Bible Society ,so them thirfty Cheacter yous get from the Chinese ,and that the Englishmens and his Brother will halfter tell all countrys about that now ?.....

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Now to all Civil and Federal ,whome this Consern ,in all States ,here is why the jewish lawyers wont me to Change States ,with this Magazine ,these Leaders at 983 main ST the public Loan ,when they send me this Ballit of the money this man haf- hade to pay back ,and I write them back for A Reciet ,where I can ask him about the money I pades ,because I Dide,d wnot him to pay me what he hade to pay ,when I no he was [redacted] Humen ,and all Races is ,so I sees him now ,but I cant ask him ,about the money I pay and I no they is Federal lawyers ?....So all these Tipes of lawyers ,This Magazine will prove to the same tipes of lawyers in all countrys ,will no these Tipes of lawyers though out the state ,Even dont no they is Humen , and Dide,d gave me no answer ,to try to get my money ,all what read any letter ,are Magazine ,I sent them ,when I hade to Change States to drop these Magazines ?....Now people will think why I write about these Federal lawyers ,here and there ,but I halfter write like they masters tell me ,and they masters ,wont the Travelers Insurance Builden ,for they Rage shop ,and the public Loan for they office ,and they going to send them Grahamer school and Teach them they are Humen ,and they will no other people are Humen ,so these little white Baby Girls ,what I was talking about at 220 windsor ST Hartford (Conn) the jewish lawyers wont Civil and Federal lawyers in all white Races from all countrys ,to send the news back in this country ,that them little white Baby Girls are Humen and the jewish people owns the countrys ,and they have got to send these lawyers to Grahamer school ?....Here is how the jewish lawyers ,have the lawmakers and the rich people Finace in ,the jewish people hade them telling to tell they people ,to tell our colored people dnot have nothing to do with me ,and dont have any thing to say to me ,so now the jewish people have the box of Civilizasen ,,and telling white and colored ,yous all to take the box of Criticism ,because the Black Hennit ,Paul Robison , W.E.B. DuBios ,Henry A Wallace ,J.Strom Thurmond ,think they smite trying to weake every body in this country up ,but the jewish people owns the countrys ,and they now and put Winston Churchill ,,Herbut Hoover ,and the two Leaders of the 80th Congressmens ,what start me to writeing Magazine for me to get them the news the jewish lawyers going have them in Grahamer school first to Teach them they are Humen ?.....
The jewish lawyers ,just proveing to Civil lawyers in all Countrys that the 80th Congressmens ,over though the Government ,and gave it to them ,when they brought the Resolution up About Treason ,and I write them A letter that I was the founder of the Editor of Treason ,so I write Again ,and said Mr Henry A Wallace was two inpointant to be A presidant ,this time ,because he was A Scinests on language and the written laws ,proveing to every lawyer in the country ,the Government was over thoughed then ?....So yous wont some more lawyers to run for president ,and I see some them was Scinests ,and I tryed to block them and if I get A answer all of yous will gave me Credit for trying to block yous from Beans president this time ,I am A man dont want to see no man get kill gor ignorence ,and when it come to A Scinests ,that duble ignorance ?.... Mr Henry A Wallace from the west ,and Mr J. Strom Thurmond from the south it will be some body get yous the news that the Notoriour Here better known them Black Billions from the Tween States of Carolina have grop this Magazine ,and gone ,on the state right road for Egypt and Europe ,with A light Earth quick and Teebees in politics ,and dont worry about me when I no what I am puting down ,I no these jewish lawyers think they smite smirte ,but if I can get amore answer I am going to weake them up and let them get smirte Knufe for me ,I will prove to them I am not the lawmakers and the Rich people in theses countrys ,I cant let Civil lawyers in all countrys see that I am so ignorant ,to let the jewish people be my masters ,and brag about it ?.....

Mr W.E.B. DuBious ,I am the founder of why these big shot negros wonted to kick you out of the NAACP ,and every white lawyer in the country going to gave you credit for me ,and the rich people two ,when they see this Magazine ,because every person wont to no about they money ,and the police Department will gave the best credit ,and the Nae-- Mayors and Governors of all ?....Now to prove that the police Department can see we nead that money ,all of them just like I am got wine in they jows ,the taxs Eateing up they money like A hog Eate corn ,and you no they can see where we need that money when the painjumpers owns the countrys ,and brag about to all countrys ,so any person cant make this Magazine out just gave it to the police Department ?....So Mr DuBious you can see ,if any person dont like this Magazine ,tell them go to the police Department ,and tell them get me the man who write the Magazine ,and I no some body will answer these qustion then ,and that will prove to the public if I am lyieing are telling the Truchs ,because my life is at stake for the lack of civilizason ,for some of these lawmakers is lyieing two ,I dont say all of them but some of them is lyieing ,and this Magazine will fine them out ?....

Now Mr DuBious ,you said ,you could help ,I think you for that ,but when you ra read this ,you will see you was helping your self ,and every Race in American ,Canada ,England ,Creed color and kind ,what no there language the written laws ,and no people is Humen ,and is any lawyers ,wont to gave any Argument ,about it ,tell them ,to answer ,these qustion ,are send the police Department ,to fine the man who write it ,and Mr DuBious ,I woulde,d lyie to A man ,like you ,on the Acount ,of what you have Don to help all of our people in three countrys ?....And you is the best help ,the white people have in the three countrys ,that if the jewish lawyers ,would let them see that ,high Egucated mens ,like Mr Henry A Wallace ,and Mr J. Strom-Thurmond ,they are the only ,Supreme ,and Superior ,Judge ,in this cointry have sent me black and white yous all was Mr DuBious ,,so I hope you can fine some of our people ,white mens like them ,cant weak our people up ,our people halfter weak the white people up ,because ,our people ,halfter About the jewish people ,went down in Egpt ,and larn ,our language ,and Maried in our race to get the law historys ,to put they on people in Slave in Russian ,and they cant on Russian now ,so you can see yous three mens the three countrys every race of people cant on of Superior ,in every walk of life ,and you cant fine no man in the three countrys can get in frient of yous on that ,abd- and dump every word on the three countrys to the King ,presidents and all the lawmakers ,and have them to prove what are they going to do about it now ?....So Mr DuBious ,you halfter see some of our womens ,what went to Grahamer school ,to tell our womens what went to college ,I am just proveing how the bible was Translated for the white people to have ,A Bible society and A written Government and we hade to larn the white people language ,and the jewish lawyers have some of them now ,so schred ,they dont no they is Humen ,and that is why I cant get no answer from Washington (D.C.)and tell I get some wetniess from our womens ,because our mens are hideing behine them ,but some of our womens hafter gave me some answer ,from this ,and if they dont gave me no answer ,they just look for any thing to hapeing to them ,because people wont to no about they money now ,?....Here all of our womens see I am asking for the history they and the white people two ,and that prove there ant no secrect in the country ,so yous went to college no ant no negerdogs , and every country is looking down on the negers negers negers Dogs womens went college in north American ,if Dide,d ask for them historys ,and every country no the Secrect is gone from this country ,?...Our people is Religious and I no it ,but you halfter to have law to have Religion ,and these Mazines prove how White people worsh up Religion ,and your paster went to college fixed where the white people can fine you to worsh up Religion ,?....

230-50

After this Magazine goes out ,all of our people what born in this country what went to college ,if they say is negros ,they is A inament to his self and all of his people and all the white people ,with out law there ant no money ,and my people ,cant tell me what are they going to do ,on the Acount of they pastor went to college ,I am going to tell yous all about that and so please tell of our people yous see ?....England the lawyers Stole the prostent Religion from Germeny ,and drive his people and all Races of people they can ,in to Ange Sexion and sent John the Gospal ,and the law b— the Russian Polish made up to hing Jesus of Nazareth ,and they add name call chriest ,for all the White Races to have A Government ,and A Bible Society ,and the law they gave it to the English lawyers what they hing Jesus of Nazareth with ,to prove that the mob law minister from England Canada ,and the north ,go south and hing our people in frint of they preestnat ,to prove to civil lawyers from all countrys that they stole the procstant Religion from Germery ,and put all the fuilt on the southern white man beeause he ant got no body to speak for him ,and my home do there ,and when A person ant got no help I no just how that is ?.... Senator Reese From the State of (Tenn) I will trying ,and get your honour out this state ,about how you honour the womens in the state of (Conn) and she is your womens ,and I no they went for get you ,Miss Luee Neither At the Convations in Philadelphia ,she is A lady no just how to jump down Seinects About the written laws ,and all of her mens in her to— state run and leave her like A Rabbit leave his young one ,I have not never here of that in my life I have here of good lawyers in the west ,but Miss Neither made them lawyers ,get on they house ,and went west ,she prove to them she was A superior in this state ,and she is ,she is A white women no the Mosaic laws ,and I have her for my boss ,I have three of our womens in Hartford for my boss ,oho my oho my just the honour of A leady ,what make think some one honour them and you dont even no but by names ,and read what they have don ,them are the womens I call my boss ,but I am not the chance to buy A newspaper now ,and aftere I was the founder of Seinects in this state I cant even vote any more ,the jewish lawyers dont have no to vote they say if I was to talk about voteing they fix it up and send me to Carolina and send the mob behine me like they all wais do and have lynch and say it the white people in Carolina ?.....I An miss Luee Neither ,wont that permet on this Mosaic laws ,from the president of American,Canada ,and the Ging of England ,we civilize Knufe to read law ,and we can— ant going to let the jewish people be our masters ,if we can fine Knufe lawyers what is civil and federal no they is humen ,and we can fine some Supreme are superior Juges ,I think we will get it ,?....the UAW-CIO Union AFL Lodge ELKS all yous people have A change at this Magazine ,it nat no secreet ,the jewish people are the bosses now ,the civil lawyers was fineing fuilt of all branchs of the CIO AFL Union ,but they have it on the civil lawyers now ,and here is all the womens ,yous dont no yous is Humen ,and yous show dont no we is humen ,when this Magazine was mail in A nother state ,telling about they money ,and when yous ,over thoughed the Government ,and calling people feake names and said they are the ones doing it ?....Now every women is all Races have A change to Come with the come on now with the Written laws ,and every man lawyer trys to stop yous Grop Humen on them ,Walter white ,and Paul— Frinly Wilson ,halfter to be fine ,the big shot negros ,they hafter stand for every negro lawyer in the Country ,because they now all about my case ,and they no about me geting kill now ,I got the news I am Afried some of yous going to get kill in stated of trying to have me kill ,yous are proveing that how yous hade Jesus of Nazareth kill ,why I cant get no Answer ,83 Canton ST Hartford (Conn)
John H Brunson

kill up each others to keep one from telling it ?....So vell vell vee wont civil lawyers from all countrys to see vee cant bee boather with vee mix up neigers ,because vee Segreated ,and jimcrow them from Europe Eropte in A Asiatic country ,and vell vell lawyers in all countrys can see vee bosses the countrys inthe Asiatic zione ?.....Vell vell the ba- black Honnit trying to get A answer from his womens in his race ,vell vell all they is to come vee whiskey store and get A fife and to Churche and were out they knees ,and hallor wallor all over the floor ,and if any money fall out they pocket ,they paster will sneek and get that to gave vee jewish people because they went to college ,and vell vell some women what went to Graham school halfter get the Bible and show that to them about honour mother first ,and father next ,and our womens went to college cant see that to gave me A answer ?...I will on quoite about the jewish lawyers now , it is Serious for our people to let this Magazine go to all countrys that are doing me just like they Did jesus of Nazareth ,and he was our people and they went to college ,and no that and cant gave me A answer the womens should be the first one to gave me A answer ,when they no they are A mother of all man cine kind ?.....983 Main street at the public Loan Travelers insurance ,the Hartford Times ,the Hartford Courant ,I have tryed to Respiect them all I no because I no they are Hurmon ,but to prove they think I am not Hebe- Hurmon ,they have try to have come person ,to sneek in the house I am at and go to the tolit ,and set the house on fir ,to have me kill just the news I here ,about the lawmakers they will have me kill like Mergandle in India ?....So Mr Winston Churchill, and Mr Herburt Hoover ,I hope yous will get this news ,yous dont halfter do that to have me kill ,because I am trying to help yous out ,the jewish lawyers from palestine no they are doing yous wrong ,and just because I am trying to help yous out ,they are makeing yous the trying to kill me because made yous Beried our flag and Cheareter ,and said they was the- Jews ,?...So Mr Winston Churchill ,,and Mr Herburt Hoover ,,all yous all are doing fooling yous self About Russian ,and think yous all are fooling the public in all countrys ,because when civil lawyers from other countrys Grop this policy on me I will grop on yous all ,I just wont to let yous all no ,I am in the rang and yous dont mean A thing because yous ant got the swing ?....So Mr winston Churchill ,,and Mr Herburt Hoover ,,yous and all the lawmakers in American Canada England ,just take up our people and the Irsh people flag and Cheacter ,for the good yous are doing ,the qustion about perlharber is all over now ,if that is any news to yous all ?.... Year yeas yeas it is all over about the Japs and perharber I mean the Japs japs japs it is all over now ,the japs in Union with the Mosaic laws in all countrys ,and they no there ant no country ,wont to fight countrys cant honour them self ,all they wont is A looking ga glass ,and A box of Criticism ,and A mob law to kill up Governors and Scinects ,to look for young tender negers ,and no body no what they do with them ,and the old Tufe negers ,they take them to worsh Religion over they masters ?..... I Am sorrie that is what the Englishmens went to China for the Thrifty Cheacter after they jewish people from palestine fool them say we Supreacy Suprmeacy white ,and they tell the Englishmens our people was hindus and yous Berrie they flag and Cheacter ,and say they is negros ,and the English mens did that ,and to day the jewish people is puting Every country on the mark Englishmens and his brother ,and they cant wen ,when they cant honour them self to honour they language the written laws and they names ?.....They halfter tell about the warrant of jesus of Nazareth ,and jesus Chriest ,when they no the name of chriest was for all the white Races to have A Government and A Bible Society ,so them thirfty Cheacter yous get from the Chinese ,and that the Englishmens and his Brother will halfter tell all countrys about that now ?.....

230-50

Various Letters

April 11, 1949

Mr. John H. Brunson
83 Canton Street
Hartford, Conneticut

My dear Mr. Brunson:

I have received your article of March 25, 1949. As I have told you before, I am not connected with any Journal now and therefore have no way of securing publication for any article however deserving.

I do not see anything else that I can do in your case. But if there is, I shall be glad for you to let me know.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-50-11

[c AUGUST, 1949]

Dear Dr. DuBois

Since I returned to this country I have been groping - trying to find my place. At times I have been confused and at a loss. I was not quite sure what I could do and having lost Mother, who was always my guide, I aimlessly sought an anchor.

My time was not completly lost since working in various places acquainted me with this country and its people, and I partialy regained my confidance.

23-50-35

Of course there was never any doubt or wavering on my part, I just did not know where I could take my place.

During the last years, Mama did quite a lot of research on the history of Colonial peoples because she wanted to devote her energies to anti-imperialist work. Mama & and I had many conversations together and she hoped very much that I would devote myself also to that work.

As you probably know I made several attempts to see you and ask for advice, but for the reasons stated above I did not consider it fair to ~~see~~ occupy your time.

I have always considered returning to school, and recently I passed the entrance test to Columbia's School of General Studies, and since it is new to me I would very much

like your advice on subjects and instructors.

My other request is of a different nature, and although I hope for success I do not wish to ~~inconvenience~~ inconvenience you.

I am going to the Mexico City Peace Congress as an individual, and I thought perhaps that I may be of some use on the American delegation, since I feel that this could be a good starting point for me to take my place in the struggle.

I realize that my request is somewhat odd, but if there is anything you could do, without any personal inconvenience, I would be very grateful.

Most sincerely yours

Charles Burroughs

Camp Wo-Chi-Ca
Port Murray
New Jersey.

23-50-36

August 24, 1949

Mr. Charles Burroughs
Camp Wo-Chi-Ca
Port Murray, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Burroughs:

Your letter has arrived just after Dr. Du Bois' departure for Russia.

However, after reading your letter, since Dr. Du Bois is not here, I took the liberty of calling Miss Shirley Graham, who is on the Committee for Arrangements for the Mexico City Peace Congress. She thought you would be an asset to the Delegation and asked that you get in touch with Mrs. Elizabeth Moos, at 49 West 44th Street, New York City. Her telephone is MUrray Hill 7-4292.

You may say that you have been in contact with this office, and that you know Dr. Du Bois, it might be of some assistence.

I am sure Dr. Du Bois will not mind my taking these liberties. I hope it will be of some assistence to you.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

Feb 1949

california labor school, inc.

240 GOLDEN GATE AVENUE • SAN FRANCISCO 2, CALIFORNIA • GRAYSTONE 4-8601

DAVID JENKINS, Director
HOLLAND ROBERTS, Educational Director
GEORGE HITCHCOCK, Cultural Director

May 25, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
African Aid Committee
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I read your magnificent statement on the Peace Conference and it gave all of us out here in the West a sense of the Conference and its meaning.

23-9-80

We plan to hold a Peace Conference in San Francisco, modeled on the one held in New York, July 15-16-17. I understand that you will be attending the NAACP Convention in Los Angeles at about the same time. If you could be present at our Conference, it would be tremendously important for the Peace movement here in California.

Could you let me know whether it would be possible for you to participate, as well as possibly for you to do some speaking in a number of other places in this area. May I hear from you?

Warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

David Jenkins

David Jenkins
Director

uopwa 34-cio

June 2, 1949

Mr. David Jenkins, Director
California Labor School, Inc.
240 Golden Gate Avenue
San Francisco 2, California

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

Answering your letter of May 25, may I say that it is unlikely that Dr. Du Bois will be visiting in California this summer.

As you know already, he is no longer connected with the NAACP and therefore will not be attending the Convention.

Due to an already overloaded schedule he will be unable to accept any further speaking engagements for the near future. He appreciates your interest.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

LM:m

Phone PEekskill 7-2879 P. O. Box No. 2

CAMP
FOLLOWERS OF THE TRAIL, Inc.

BUCHANAN, N. Y.

August 4, 1949

23-9-23

African Aid Committee
23 West 26thStreet
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Doctor DuBois:

I would like to know whether you would be able to send us a speaker for one of thefollowing dates:

Friday, August 25th or Friday, Septemsber 1st

I understand that one of our committee has already contacted you about a speaker, but we have not heard from you concerning this.

We would appreciate a speedy reply.

Yours Sincerely,

Raya Sternart

Raya Sternart, Chairman
Fund Raising Committee

August 5, 1949

Miss Raya Sternart, Chairman
Fund Raising Committee
Camp Followers of the Trail, Inc.
Buchanan, New York

Dear Miss Sternart:

Answering your letter of August 4, to Dr. Du Bois may I say that Dr. Du Bois already has a very heavy schedule himself and cannot undertake any further commitments. I regret to say also that at this time there is no one whom he can send to speak for you. Perhaps later in the Fall.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

LYM:m

Corres. C

September 27, 1949

23-11-22

Care, Inc.
50 Broadway
New York, New York

Gentleman:

I want to send to a young woman in Prague, Czechoslovakia, the following articles:

Six pairs of first quality nylons, size, 9
in a neutral shade--51 guage-Business sheer.
Two pounds of Martinsons Coffee--regular
Two pounds of the best quality English
Breakfast Tea
Two pounds of chocolate bars.

Could you make such a shipment and let me know what the cost will be? Also tell me if there will be any difficulty in her receiving these goods.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Carter]

215 EAST 72ND STREET

Corr. C

April 22, 1949

23-11-20

Dear Dr. BuBois:

Mr. Carter and I are inviting some friends on Monday evening, May 9, at 8:30, to hear an off-the-record discussion by experts on "What is happening in China?."

The discussion will be led by Richard Lauterbach, author of "Danger From the Far East;" Annalee Jacoby, co-author of "Thunder Out of China;" and Philip Jaffe, author of "New Frontiers in Asia."

There will be no appeal for funds, but Dr. Ernest Osborne, chairman of China Aid Council, will tell us how this organization plans to help the brave Chinese people.

I do hope you can be with us.

Sincerely yours,

Alice Tarr

April 28, 1949

Mrs. Alice Carter
215 East 72nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Carter:

Answering your letter of April 22, may I say that Dr. Du Bois is abroad in Paris in attendance at the Peace Congress. He will, therefore, be unable to attend the gathering at your home on Monday evening, May 9.

He is expected to return early in May, and I shall bring your letter to his attention immediately upon his arrival.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

CERCLE DES LETTRES FRANÇAISES
DE PARIS

Président d'Honneur : Claude MORGAN

SIÈGE :
MAISON DE LA PENSÉE
2, RUE DE L'ÉLYSÉE
PARIS-VIIIE
TÉL. : ANJOU 05-79

PARIS, LE 21 Avril 1949

23-43-27

M. Dubois -
Delegation USA

Madame et Chère Amie,

Vous nous avez fait le plaisir d'accepter notre invitation au

"GRAND DÎNER DE LA PAIX"

organisé par le CERCLE de PARIS des LETTRES FRANÇAISES le Lundi 25 Avril à 20 Heures au Pavillon Dauphine.

Vous nous ferez très certainement l'honneur de votre présence, et nous vous prions de trouver ici, Madame et Chère Amie, l'expression de nos sentiments les meilleurs.

La Secrétaire Générale

M Faure

Du Bois Birth Certificate

421D12

June 22, 1949

Bureau of Vital Statistics
Cedar Rapids
Iowa

Gentlemen:

I am seeking to establish the age of my wife, Nina Gomer Du Bois. She was the daughter of Charles Gomer who was a hotel cook and lived many years in Cedar Rapids.

He came there when his two daughters were young, probably about 1875. They both attended the public schools there for many years. I think that the older, Nina, was born in Indiana and not in Iowa. Can you furnish me any data--as for instance-when they were enrolled in the public school? Whether either Nina or her sister Bernice were born in Cedar Rapids?

I know their mother died there about 1878. Can you verify that?

I shall be glad of any assistence and will pay any cost.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

June 22, 1949

Bureau of Vital Stastics

Cedar Rapids
Iowa

42/12/5

WEBD:jm June 24, 1949

Bureau of Marriage Licenses
Cedar Rapids
Iowa
WEBD:lm
Gentlemen:

On May 12, 1896, I was married to Nina Gomer in Cedar Rapids. I want to find if on the Marriage Certificate the date of my wife's birth or her age was put down. If so, I would like a certified copy of that entry in order that I may have some date as to her age for my social security.

I shall be glad to pay any cost.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

June 24, 1949

Bureau of Marriage Licenses
Cedar Rapids
Iowa

[CHENEY . . .]

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
CHEYNEY TRAINING SCHOOL FOR TEACHERS
STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
CHEYNEY, PENNSYLVANIA

February 8, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10
New York

23-44-67

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are looking forward with interest and pleasure to your appearance here as Scholars Orator on Friday, February 18, 1949. You should plan to leave 30th Street Philadelphia not later than 5:01 thus reaching Cheyney at 5:44 in good time for supper. If you care to come earlier you have only to send a card and you will be met at the designated time. The enclosed train schedule may be useful.

Unfortunately, artists and scholars come here always at a sacrifice. We simply do not have the money by which to offer these eminent people any real fee. Yet the line of great spirits passing our way is impressive. It is not possible for us to think of offering you for instance any adequate compensation. If you can find here genuine appreciation and some refreshment we shall have to take comfort in that rather than in the modest check which you take away. I am happy, however, to discover that I can add $25.00 more to your fee. Please accept this with the assurance that at this time I am doing my best.

Very sincerely yours,

Leslie Pinckney Hill

Leslie Pinckney Hill
President

LPH/S
Enc.

23 West 26th Street
New York 1[illegible], New York
February 10, 1949

23-44-68

Mr. Leslie P. Hill, President
Cheyney Training School for Teachers
Cheyney, Pennsylvania

My dear Mr. Hill:

I shall be with you Friday, February 18. I shall be driven over from Wilmington by my friend Mrs. Goens. We will be on time. If you can accommodate us it will be better for us to stay all night and return to Wilmington on Saturday. Sunday I have to fly to Detroit. My subject will be "The New Africa."

With best regards to you and the family.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[CHINA WELFARE]

Talitha A. Gerlach
160 East 48th Street
New York 17, N. Y.

January 12, 1949.

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
Council on African Affairs,
23 West 26th Street,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Du Bois, -

It is with pleasure that I forward the enclosed letter from Madame Sun Yat-Sen addressed to you as one of the Honorary Members of the China Welfare Fund.

23-19-6

Madame Sun speaks eloquently of the changed situation facing the CWF and the great need for setting up an organization in the United States to work on behalf of the CWF and the Chinese people.

In order that the four Honorary Members on the CWF in New York City may discuss this question together, I am suggesting that we meet at luncheon on Tuesday, January 18th, at the New Weston Hotel, Madison Avenue and 50th Street, 12:30 o'clock, private dining room, second floor.

In this invitation, I am joined by three other former members of the China Aid Council, who worked with Madame Sun in China.

This will give us, eight deeply interested friends of Madame Sun and the China Welfare Fund, an opportunity to pool our thinking on next steps to be taken in the United States.

Will you kindly telephone me regarding the suitability of this date - PLaza 3-4700 between 9 and 5o'clock;
PLaza 5-0936 after office hours
or drop me a note at the above address, Apt 15 J.

With the sincere hope that all eight of us will be present next Tuesday, I am,

Sincerely yours,
Talitha Gerlach
Talitha Gerlach

[CHINA WELFARE]

23-49-7

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 14, 1949

Miss Talitha A. Gerlach
160 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York

My dear Miss Gerlach:

Answering your letter of January 12, May I say that I would be greatly honored to serve as a member of the China Welfare Fund. I am writing Madame Sun Yat-Sen to that effect and enclosing a copy of this letter.

I shall make every effort to be present at the meeting Tuesday, January 18.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[CHINA WELFARE]

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 14, 1949

Madame Sun Yat-Sen
86 Kwang Tung Road
Room 104
Shanghai, China

My dear Madame:

23-49-5

I have your letter of December 14, and have assured Miss Gerlach of my sympathy and willingness to cooperate. I am afraid I may not be able to do much in a material way, as my connection with persons of wealth in the United States has never been strong; but anything I can do, I shall do willingly, because of my great regard I have for the memory of Sun Yat-Sen, and my deep sympathy for the struggles of the Chinese people.

When I was in China for a few days in 1936, I tried several times to get in touch with you, but was unable to do so. I have, however, followed your work with sympathy and appreciation and hope that I may do something to help. I am
dear Madame

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

[CHINA WELFARE...]

(54).

19 JAN 17 PM 3 01

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1949 JAN 17

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

.NB051 DL PD=NWF NEWYORK NY 17 211P=

=W E B DUBOIS=

=23 WEST 26 ST=

23-29-14

=JANUARY EIGHTEENTH LUNCHEON REGARDING CHINA WELFARE FUND PROPOSED MY SPECIAL DELIVERY LETTER TO YOU JANUARY TWELFTH NOW POSTPONED TO FRIDAY JANUARY TWENTY FIRST. WRITING DETAILS= TALITHA GERLACH 160 EAST 48 ST APT 15J NEW YORK 17 NY=

=160 48 15J 17 SG

LL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[CHINA WELFARE]

SUITE 1019
119 WEST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 19, N.Y.

March 8, 1949

Dear Dr. DuBois:

23-49-1

Madame Sun Yat-Sen has recently cabled an urgent appeal to America for an accelerated program of relief to China. In response to her plea, a new nationwide China Welfare Appeal is being organized.

A few friends of China are getting together, informally, for cocktails, Thursday afternoon, March 17th, at 5:00, at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Lionel C. Perera, Jr., 912 Fifth Avenue, to discuss what can be done to help speed American aid to the Chinese people and to launch the new relief organization.

Nym Wales (Mrs. Edgar Snow), T. O. Thackrey, Dr. Arthur Chung and Ilona Ralf Sues will take part in our discussion and help analyze recent developments in China. It will be an historic gathering and we shall be very happy to have you join us.

Won't you please return the enclosed card and say you will come.

Cordially,

Talitha Gerlach
Talitha Gerlach

Richard Watts Jr.
Richard Watts, Jr.

[China Welfare Fund]

Talitha A. Gerlach
160 East 48th Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Lec. pending
Apr. 19

March 28, 1949

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois, -

Permit me the pleasure of sending my humble word of congratulation for the stirring speech which you made at Madison Square Garden last Sunday night. The outstanding event which the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace was, in no small measure was due to your presence and active participation in the program.

23-44-27

Madame Sun Yat-Sen with her usual wisdom and insight chose well when she invited you as an Honorary Member of the China Welfare Fund. The committee planning the dinner on April 19th at the Roosevelt Hotel to initiate the Friendship Cargo for China has given me the additional pleasure of inviting you to be one of our guest speakers on that evening. It will honor the dinner and Madame Sun as well to list your name on our program for this significant event.

We are confidently expecting your acceptance of this invitation by return mail.

Sincerely yours,
Talitha Gerlach
Talitha Gerlach
for the Initiating Committee
China Welfare Appeal

P.S. The dinner is being scheduled for six thirty o'clock on the evening of April nineteenth.

Dr DuBois is leaving town
but asks not to say that he will
speak April 19

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 30, 1949

Miss Talitha Gerlach
160 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Miss Gerlach:

Dr. Du Bois is leaving town today, but asked me to say that he will be glad to speak on April 19.

Very sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

[CHINA WELFARE]

愛仁

Dinner April 19th ***Tuesday 6:30 O'clock***

Initiating a **FRIENDSHIP CARGO FOR CHINA** and honoring **MADAME SUN YAT-SEN,** Chairman of the China Welfare Fund, for her many years of humanitarian service to her people and to the cause of world peace and friendship.

HOTEL ROOSEVELT, MADISON AT 45th STREET

Cover $7.50. R.S.V.P. Dress Optional

You are most cordially invited.

The China Welfare Fund has one yardstick by which it functions: "Aid Without Discrimination! There is no section of China which does not need outside support. No part of the land is excluded and we object to and fight against obstruction of relief and rehabilitation for political reasons. Our projects extend to people in every corner of China no matter how they reason or where they reside."

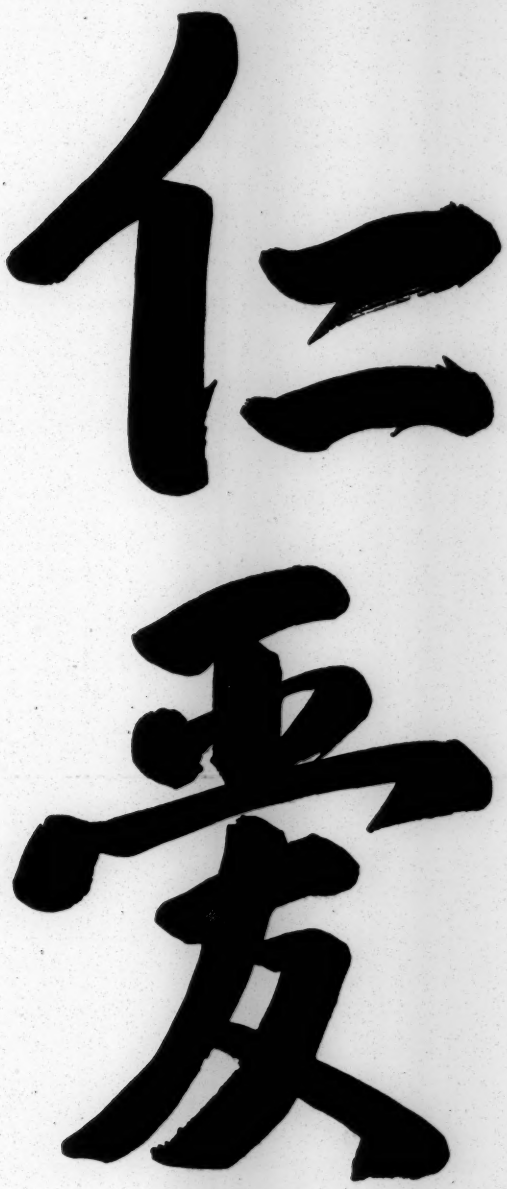
Madame Sun Yat-Sen

"My husband, General Stilwell, thought so highly of Madame Sun Yat-Sen and her welfare work that I have dedicated the Stilwell Papers to that great lady. This dedication is intended as a token of the great esteem in which we held her. . . . The work of her organization the China Welfare Fund is worthy of all possible support. Madame Sun's organization, like herself, is incorruptible and is concerned solely with giving relief to those most in need of it."

Winifred Stilwell

"The contribution of Madame Sun Yat-Sen to her country is, above all, one of example. She manifests qualities China needs in great measure: integrity, selflessness, incorruptibility, courage and compassion. She represents the best qualities of character and the highest hopes of the Chinese people.

John Hersey



PROGRAM

MME. SUN YAT-SEN from China by transcription • LAU SHAW

DOUGLAS P. FALCONER • DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS • RICHARD WATTS, JR.

REV. STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN • CHINESE STUDENT CHORUS

The Friendship Cargo will be sent to

CHINA WELFARE FUND

Madame Sun Yat-sen, chairman

Honorary Members of China Welfare Fund

(Partial List)

James Bertram
Dr. Berislav Borcic
The Honorable Lady Cripps
W. E. B. DuBois
Dr. Leo Eloesser
E. Y. Harburg
Kuo Mo-jo
Richard E. Lauterbach
Lord Lindsay of Birker
Mao Tun
Dr. Joseph Needham
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit
Paul Robeson
Lady Violet Seymour
Mrs. Joseph W. Stilwell

Sponsors

(partial list)

Clark Andrews
Edith Atwater
Rev. Lee H. Ball
T. A. Bisson
Dr. Paul Su-Hua Chi
Lee J. Cobb
Nicolai Cikovsky
John O. Crane
Freda Diamond
Martha Dodd
Muriel Draper
Mrs. Welthy H. Fisher
Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman
Martin Gabel
Dr. Leon Gerber
Talitha Gerlach
Herman B. Gerringer
Elinor S. Gimbel
Mrs. Edmonia Grant
Anne Guthrie
David Haber
Langston Hughes
Rev. Kenneth de P. Hughes
Peggy LeBoutillier
Ray Lev
Dr. Robert Levinson
Dr. Roger W. Lewis
Mrs. George Marshall
Dr. Kirtley F. Mather
Clifford Odets
Ida Pruitt
Dorothy Perera
Lionel C. Perera, Jr.
Dr. Hector J. Ritey
Lau Shaw
Johannes Steel
Alfred K. Stern
Ilona Ralf Sues
Frank Taylor
Dr. Donald Tewksbury
Olive van Horn
Nym Wales
Charlotte Ware
Richard Watts, Jr.

INTERIM COMMITTEE CHINA WELFARE APPEAL

Suite 1118, 119 West 57th Street New York 19, N. Y.

CHINA WELFARE APPEAL INC.

Friendship Cargo For China

119 West 57th Street, *Suite 1118*, New York, N. Y., Tel. COlumbus 5-5740

June 10, 1949

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Humanity

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Love

"The humane man is one who desiring to sustain himself, sustains others, and desiring to develop himself, develops others."

Confucius
Analects, vi, 28

Dear Friend:

A little boy in a Yellow River village in China, his spleen monstrously swollen with the dreaded kala-azar, will die as thousands of other children have died unless a cheap but unavailable drug arrives to save him.

The desperate need of the Chinese people has been spoken of so often that it has lost urgency for many of us. Yet as Madame Sun Yat-sen, great Chinese humanitarian and democrat, reports from Shanghai, "momentous changes in other spheres will not abate the flood of distress for a long time to come." Chinese men, women and children, people like ourselves, are beginning to rebuild their lives in peace after many years of war, war that has cost over three million lives since 1945 alone. You can help them.

Here at home, with drugstores on almost every corner, it is hard to imagine a whole hospital without a single clinical thermometer or stethoscope, with no hypodermic needles or anesthetics to ease pain. Yet these conditions have actually been reported from the famous International Peace Hospitals, whose fine work, even under such intolerable circumstances, has been described by a World Health Organization leader as "a pattern for the practice of public health medicine all over the Far East." Shortages no less tragic afflict child care and education projects all over China.

It is in response to the need for an agency through which Americans can assist the Chinese people directly, through incorruptible channels and without political strings, that the China Welfare Appeal has been organized. All contributions will be sent to Madame Sun Yat-sen, chairman of the China Welfare Fund, for distribution to projects in every part of the country. The China Welfare Fund has operated among the Chinese people for eleven years. It has been the only relief organization to make need and honest use, not politics, the sole claim to help. The China Welfare Appeal is established on the same principles. It supports the entire China Welfare Fund program -- the International

Mrs. Evans F. Carlson, Hon. Chairman *Talitha Gerlach, Hon. Secretary-Treasurer*

Sponsors: *Dr. Thomas Addis* *Dr. Vaughn S. Albertson* *Walter Allmendinger* *Clark Andrews* *Edith Atwater* *William R. Babcock* *Rev. Lee H. Ball* *Rev. Merrill Otis Bates* *Dr. Bernard Baum* *T. S. Behre* *T. A. Bisson* *Millen Brand* *Edwin Berry Burgum* *David Burliuk* *Dr. Allan M. Butler* *Dr. Chang Hsueh-yen* *Dr. Paul Su-hua Chi*

over

Sponsors continued:

Dr. Arthur Chung Nicolai Cikovsky Lee J. Cobb John O. Crane Dr. Percy M. Dawson Prof. John DeBoer Freda Diamond Mary A. Dingman Martha Dodd Prof. I. J. Domas Prof. Harl R. Douglas Muriel Draper Dr. W. E. B. DuBois Mamie Dunn Frederick V. Field Welthy Honsinger Fisher Evelyn Beresford Fox Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman Martin Gabel Dr. Leon Gerber Herman B. Gerringer Elinor S. Gimbel Edmonia Grant Anne Guthrie Prof. David Haber Uta Hagen Prof. Georgia Harkness E. Y. Harburg Prof. Walter M. Horton B. W. Huebsch Langston Hughes Rev. Kenneth de P. Hughes Robert Josephy Dr. John A. Kingsbury Rev. John Howland Lathrop Lau Shaw Peggy Le Boutillier Ray Lev Dr. Robert Levinson Dr. Roger A. Lewis Hon. Warren G. Magnuson Mrs. George Marshall Prof. Kirtley F. Mather Prof. F. O. Matthieson Rev. Jack R. McMichael Arthur Miller Dr. Philip Morrison Stanley Nowak Clifford Odets Mrs. John K. Ormond Samuel Ornitz Prof. Ernest G. Osborne Dorothy Perera Lionel C. Perera, Jr. Martin Popper Ida Pruitt Anton Refregier Wallingford Riegger Dr. Hector J. Ritey Muriel Rukeyser Prof. Vida D. Scudder Elizabeth Selsbee Dr. Maud Slye Edgar Snow Dr. Samuel Standard Johannes Steel Harry C. Steinmetz Alfred K. Stern Dirk J. Struik Ilona Ralf Sues Frank Taylor Margaret Stanley Tesdell Dr. Donald Tewksbury Siu May Ting Bishop P. L. Tsen Olive Van Horn Mary Van Kleeck Nym Wales Henry A. Wallace Charlotte Ware Richard Watts, Jr. Prof. C. Martin Wilbur Howard Willard Ruth M. Williams James Waterman Wise Mary C. Wright

Peace Hospitals, Bethune medical training centers, child care and educational programs, seed and tool collections to help Chinese farmers.

"All of us", says Madame Sun, "are on the threshold of being able to live like human beings with one another. Yet there are those who would slam the door in our faces. Contributions must be maintained for those projects which have their starting point in the cause of the people. The Chinese people need genuine assistance placed in their own hands."

The China Welfare Appeal offers you the opportunity to make a gift of this kind and in this spirit. It will prove to the Chinese people that our humanity does not change with the headlines. Won't you please send what you can today?

Very sincerely yours,

Peggy T. Carlson

EFC:CW
enc.

Mrs. Evans F. Carlson
Honorary Chairman

P.S. If you think of others who should receive this appeal, please send us their names and addresses right on the bottom of this sheet.

23C-49

CHINA WELFARE APPEAL INC.

Friendship Cargo For China

[redacted] New York, N. Y., Tel. COlumbus 5-5740

133 West 44th Street

July 22, 1949

Dear Committee Member:

The question of permanent office space for China Welfare Appeal has now moved into a final stage, which I take pleasure in reporting to members of the Board of Directors and of the Initiating Committee.

When our temporary office at 119 West 57th Street had to be vacated on June 30th, the Initiating Committee held discussions with Indusco - the American Committee in Aid of Chinese Industrial Cooperatives - about sharing new office space which they were considering at 439 Fourth Avenue, 3rd floor. Meantime China Welfare Appeal had the opportunity to sublet temporarily from the Federated Press at 133 West 44th Street.

One week ago, Indusco took occupancy of its new space and yesterday at a regular Board meeting, voted to sever relationships with United Service to China, thus clearing away the one reservation which our Initiating Committee had about sharing space with this organization.

Therefore at the expiration of one month's rental for our present quarters, China Welfare Appeal will move to 439 Fourth Avenue, where we will still pay $50 per month rent plus $3 for cleaning and $2 or $3 for electricity, making a total of $55 or $56 per month. Indusco is making available to us without charge such necessary office facilities as typewriter, mimeograph, addressograph, table and chairs which we lack.

This arrangement with Indusco fulfills the original hope of our Initiating Committee for permanent headquarters. If you have any questions, please call Mollie Kalman at our present telephone, CO 5-5740. Moving day will be on or about August 5th!

Sincerely yours,

Talitha Gerlach

Talitha Gerlach, President
China Welfare Appeal Inc.

TG/mk

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Humanity

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Love

"The humane man is one who desiring to sustain himself, sustains others, and desiring to develop himself, develops others."

Confucius
Analects, vi, 28

230-49

Mrs. Evans F. Carlson, Hon. Chairman *Talitha Gerlach, Hon. Secretary-Treasurer*

Sponsors: *Dr. Thomas Addis* *Dr. Vaughn S. Albertson* *Walter Allmendinger* *Clark Andrews* *Edith Atwater* *William R. Babcock* *Rev. Lee H. Ball* *Rev. Merrill Otis Bates* *Dr. Bernard Baum* *T. S. Behre* *T. A. Bisson* *Millen Brand* *Edwin Berry Burgum* *David Burliuk* *Dr. Allan M. Butler* *Dr. Chang Hsueh-yen* *Dr. Paul Su-hua Chi*

over

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[FROM CHINA WELFARE FUND?]

COPY

CHINA WELFARE FUND

988-A Linsen Lu (C)
Shanghai, China
Sept. 22, 1949

[GERLACH]

Dear Talitha:

We have just received your first letters since the liberation. They are dated June 25th (two letters), July 28th, August 9th and August 27th (the original). This means that while communications are slower, at least there are communications and we can carry on our joint efforts.

Congratulations on your election as chairman of the board of directors!! And please pass on our congratulations to the rest of your newly elected board.

All of us were very much thrilled about the news concerning the Los Angeles dinner. It made the whole case of CWA stronger and definitely showed that the New York innaugural dinner could be backed with concrete action in other regions. The San Francisco dinner and the others you are promoting will add to this idea. In addition, it indicates you are taking the message of New China to the country as a whole. This too is important.

[330-49]

Gerry writes me from Shanghai that you cabled that Dr. Eloesser's message has already been received. This should go a long way toward making the San Francisco event a success. That is what we all told him. He sent two messages, just to check up. One was a telegraphic message, which had to be short because of costs. The other was a written message which could be longer. We are hoping that your cable meant both were in your hands.

At this date there still is no definite decision on the future of the CWF and its reorganization. Not only you and we here are awaiting this final word, but even the CLARA people are sitting anxiously by the sidelines. What happens to us is inter-related with what takes place with them. Therefore, we have a common interest in the matter. However, I am sure you understand that the basic work of our new government's formation comes first, and all the efforts must go into that task. It is a gigantic one and our friends are working relentlessly to accomplish it. As soon as we get even an indication of what the future for us will be like, we will cable you.

We realize how necessary it is to have CWA make purchases immediately with the funds you have raised. Gerry is pressing CLARA for their priority list. In the meantime they did indicate that they need X-Ray equipment with any electric current possibilities and this we wired to you. When the purchase is completed and you are ready to ship, please cable us. We then will get the final shipping instructions from CLARA and forward these to you.

For the moment, we are holding up on all personnel movements through the CWF. There are several reasons. One is that we want the basic decisions made in regard to our future before we make any commitments. The other is that CLARA will have to review its policy in regard to foreign personnel before they can give us some new instructions to follow. I think there is a possibility that there will be some changes made, although this is not a certainty. When Gerry was in Peiping he talked with Dr. C.K. Ssu, who is head of all medical and public health work in the New China. Dr. Ssu told

in session at this very moment in Peiping on a national level. These meetings will decide policy and program for the coming months and years.

There are two ideas I can give you as a result of these meetings. The sessions in Shanghai decided that maternity and child care would receive the emphasis of the official medical departments. And within this scope, the greater emphasis would be on preventive medicine, medical and sanitation education for the public rather than curative. The reason is that they have not enough qualified people and supplies to reach all those in need. Therefore, they will try to prevent as much sickness as possible.

The other idea is that a national program is being devised. In Gerry's talks with Dr. Ssu, he was told that as soon as this is completed, CWF would receive a copy of it with indications as to what the government wants us to do. When this is accomplished, we will then be able to give your medical committee some real jobs. For example, the People's Government wants to attain self-sufficiency in the manufacture of drugs and instruments. This will take a great deal of work, money and plans. It will also take people who know how to do these things. Therefore, one of these days we may be calling on CWA for all or part of these requirements.

Thank you for the statement regarding our Chase Bank account. We needed that information. If you could keep us abreast with a little note once a month, this would be fine. As soon as we can work out a few more details, we will send you a total amount check and allow you to close the CAC-CWF account and open up a CWA-CWF account under the same arrangements as we now have, that is, we sign the checks from this end.

The latest reports we have been able to obtain on the Los Angeles Nursery and some recent pictures should be on their way to you within a very short time. We realize that it is impossible for you to do anything without information and we are constantly asking CLARA for assistance in this matter. We have just sent them a wire asking for the latest reports and pictures on the IPH's and the medical colleges.

I have not seen the Durdin story regarding the possibility of a major famine here in 1950. It is true that we have had terrible floods in the East this summer. Whether this will lead to famine or not, I do not know. There is a possibility that all of this tragedy can be avoided. In some of the flooded areas, the damage has not been as great as was first thought. Also, the People's Government has been able to move with such dispatch and effectiveness, that perhaps some of the impending pictures as probably painted by Durdin will be reduced to wishful thinking on his part. This does not mean there will not be hardship. Nor does it mean that the CWA idea of asking for a campaign based on the disasters which have hit China is incorrect. It merely means that we have a chance to avert the <u>major</u> in our difficulties.

In the meantime, we have asked CLARA to get a decision on whether they want a famine campaign or not. Since this deals with the presentation of China abroad, we felt we have to get their decision first. We are asking them to take up the question on the highest level, the original wire being sent to Tung Pi-wu. To date there has not been any reply, although we have sent them letters to follow up the wire and will continue to do this.

him there was nothing official yet, but in their preliminary thinking, they felt that in the future foreign personnel who could do ordinary jobs would not be required. They will be able to take care of these things themselves. What they will want is people who can do things which they cannot do themselves because of lack of technical know-how or lack of trained personnel. This allows for too broad an interpretation, so I am sure that more specific lines will be drawn, thus making it easier to do a good job in this field. Once again, we will let you know soonest. In the meantime, I suggest that people like Dr. Arthur Chung, who has been so helpful, get in touch personally with both Hsuing Ching-ting (熊瑾玎), CLARA, Peiping, and Dr. C.K. Ssu (蘇井觀), of the Medical Bureau of the People's Government, in care of CLARA. Their Peiping address is: 東黃城根大草廠十六號

In regard to shipping, I have checked with the office and they advise the following:

a. One method is to ship to J.M. Tan and the International Trading Co-operative Society and he will handle it for us. He is already handling Foster Parents Plan shipments to North China, so we can add this to the job. Just let us know what you ship and when so we can get you receipts. Also, send us copies of any letter you send him. Send him the bills of lading direct and let him know the materials are to be transshipped to CLARA, Tientsin. Here are the Chinese characters of their address in Tientsin: 天津煙台道五十號

b. The other method is to find out through your contacts on the West Coast which shipping companies are shipping direct to Tientsin. There are some doing this already, and it is likely that this will increase as the blockade becomes more and more hopeless. Send the bills of lading to CLARA direct. Let us know what you send and when, however, so we will inform the CLARA headquarters and get you receipts.

83C-49

You asked about USC in China. I can tell you that they have practically closed down. They have pared their office staff to a few people who are sitting in expectation of doing some work rather than actually doing it. I think they are about to drop off the vine - a rotten apple. I have heard of no plans to set them up in Taiwan or Canton, which is also about to become liberated.

Your news in the July 28th letter about the activities of the CAC was important and Gerry is about to write to the CLARA people and others to explain the reason their doctor did not come to China. This must be done to make everything as clear as possible. Actually, Mildred Price wrote such a negative letter about Dr. Goland that it was impossible for us to accept him.

Gerry has contacted the American Advisory Committee and as soon as the Childcraft books come in, we will get our share. Please thank Dr. Osborne for thinking of us.

I think that the formation of a medical committee for CWA is a wise move. At the moment, we cannot give them any specific projects to go out and work for, but this should be changed in the near future. In the first place, CWF has established a medical department of its own. One of the purposes of this department will be to more formalize the liaison with CLARA's medical section just so we can act with greater effectiveness in their behalf. In the second place, there are medical meetings being held all over the country and one is

We knew that there was some confusion among the Friends Service Committee as to what attitude they should take with CAC and CWA. Gerry had several talks with Frank Miles, who is head of the FSU in China, to straighten him out. Miles passed this back to the United States. Gerry tells me that just the other day Miles came into our office and informed him that FSU had definitely turned CAC down in the very recent past. Therefore, perhaps a little clarity has entered the scene.

As for the Mills story, this sounds rather strange to me. As Gerry has written you, he seemed to be all mixed up regarding the issues and the actual situation in the United States on the CAC business. I did not see him, but Gerry did several times and tried to give him the correct version of the matter. Further, his story that the people here wanted to heal the breach does not match with what Gerry was told in Peiping. He wrote you that the friends here said they were backing CWA and the only thing left to decide was how this support was to be signified. I hope to get this question of "how" settled during my stay in Peiping.

I will write to Mr. Gulledge direct as you suggested, since I agree that this is a more effective method. As you know, you just send us those people to whom you feel letters should go, and we will comply with your request immediately.

Congratulations on your new office! And your permanancy!

It is difficult for me to comment on the letter enclosed with your August 27th letter. As Gerry has written, he too had conversations with Mills on this subject. However, the main objective of these discussions was how to isolate CAC as well as how to provide the platform for greater understanding between the American and Chinese people. He also emphasized that no such move should be made without first consulting you and Eppie since we did not want anything to hurt the chances of CWA in its first stages. We are much interested in Mills activities in this connection, therefore, and would appreciate you keeping us informed on what steps he takes.

As for the whole question, we feel that this is something that must be decided back there. If the suggested organizational pattern is one which would make an effective force for you as well as for the New China, I think something could be worked out here to support it. Perhaps this is another question upon which I can get some thinking while I am in Peiping and I will let you know, if the ideas are clearcut.

Well, Miss Talitha, that is all for now. We will have to correspond more often so as to make the letters shorter and more frequent. I hope I have answered all your questions, but if there are any tag-ends, please send them on and I will do my best.

Fondest regards to you and warmest wishes for continued success of CWA.

Very sincerely yours,

Soong Ching Ling
(Madame Sun Yat-sen)

CHINA WELFARE APPEAL INC.

Friendship Cargo For China

~~119 West 57th Street, Suite 1118, New York, N. Y. Tel. COlumbus 5-5740~~

439 Fourth Avenue New York 16, N. Y. Tel. MUrray Hill 6-8525

October 11, 1949

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Humanity

23C-49

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Love

OFFICE MEMO TO: Members of the Board of Directors

FROM: Talitha Gerlach, Chairman

Dear Board Member:

The next meeting of the Board of Directors will be held at the office on Wednesday, October 19th at 8:00 p. m.

Several important matters are awaiting formal action, and there are decisions to be made on 1949-50 campaign plans. It is vital that each one of us make a special effort to be present at this time, and I sincerely hope for a full attendance.

If you will telephone the office - MUrray Hill 6-8525 to let us know if you can come, it will be greatly appreciated.

"The humane man is one who desiring to sustain himself, sustains others, and desiring to develop himself, develops others."

Confucius
Analects, vi, 28

Mrs. Evans F. Carlson, Hon. Chairman *Talitha Gerlach, Hon. Secretary-Treasurer*

Sponsors: *Dr. Thomas Addis* *Dr. Vaughn S. Albertson* *Walter Allmendinger* *Clark Andrews* *Edith Atwater* *William R. Babcock* *Rev. Lee H. Ball* *Rev. Merrill Otis Bates* *Dr. Bernard Baum* *T. S. Behre* *T. A. Bisson* *Millen Brand* *Edwin Berry Burgum* *David Burliuk* *Dr. Allan M. Butler* *Dr. Chang Hsueh-yen* *Dr. Paul Su-hua Chi*

over

China Welfare Appeal, Inc.
439 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N.Y.

Tel: MUrray Hill 6-8525

Received: Oct. 31, 1949.

23C-49

BRIEF REPORT ON MEDICAL PROGRAM AND CHILDREN'S PROGRAM

By

Chinese Liberated Areas Relief Administration, Peiping - Summer 1949.
(Transmitted by China Welfare Fund, Shanghai)

Introduction:

At the end of 1947 when UNRRA closed, the Chinese Liberated Areas Relief Administration (CLARA) office in Shanghai was moved to the Liberated Areas in North China.

Chairman Tung Pi-wu and Secretary Wu Yun-fu called a meeting. CLARA personnel from different areas participated. Directions for CLARA work in the future were discussed. The personnel present at the meeting decided to open the Head Office in Shihchiachuang and a liaison office in Loyang in order to receive China Welfare Fund supplies through the Friends Service Unit and also to make contact and coordination between the Liberated Areas and the international relief organizations and other unofficial relief organizations easier.

In March 1949, responsible persons of CLARA arrived in Peking and in April CLARA personnel of Shihchiachuang went to organize the Tientsin office.

For one and a half years, due to reduced remittances from international relief organizations for the Liberated Areas, and also due to the transportation problem caused by the war, CLARA could not get sufficient supplies from the China Welfare Fund. As a result, the International Peace Hospitals and child welfare program assisted by China Welfare Fund had to be financed by the People's Government, mainly or entirely in some cases.

I. Medical Program:

1. Hospitals: In 1946, when the Kuomintang invaded the Liberated Areas, most of the International Peace Hospitals (IPHs) had to move. The Kuomintang invaded the Central Liberated Area first and the IPH at Hsuanhuatien had to evacuate to the areas within Honan-Hopeh-Shensi.

The IPH in the Hu-Sing Temple of the Kiangsu-Anhwei liberated area, due to the war, was reorganized into several mobile medical teams and circulating clinics against contagious diseases, giving services both to the front and the rear. Afterwards due to the great changes of the war, most of these medical teams became parts of field hospitals.

The Chenteh East Hopeh IPH, because of the enemy's invasion, evacuated to the plains of the East Hopeh liberated area, while the Kalgan IPH of the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei liberated area, having a good building and better equipment, evacuated to the mountain regions in the Fuping area and built itself up in a village just three miles away from Dr. Bethune's grave.

In March 1947, Yenan was taken by the Kuomintang. The IPH there had to evacuate northwest to Shansi and resettled in Sanchia, a town on the west coast of the Yellow River.

The IPH in Linyi, Shantung evacuated to the mountain region of the East Shantung Peninsula.

The IPH originally in Hopeh-Honan-Shantung, when the war was near Hantan, moved to the Tai Hang mountains in 1946, and by May 1948, it moved to Changchih.

The IPHs in Shansi and Suiyuan remained and carried on their work as usual. Of the eight IPHs, the latter two were the least effected by the war. At that time there were five IPHs left in the Liberated Areas of North China, East China, Northwest China and Central China.

After Yenan was taken back by the People's Liberation Army, the Northwest China IPH moved back to Yenan where they rebuilt their home on the previous site which had been destroyed by the Kuomintang general, Hu Tsung-nan.

The IPH of Central China, after the liberation of Chenchow and Kaifeng, moved into these two cities. Expansion work was started by absorbing the local hospitals. There is now an IPH in each city.

These two hospitals started by Dr. Tan Chuang (graduate of Yale-in-China Medical College) opened six branches and O.P.D. clinic departments. Altogether they have 450 beds.

The IPH of East China was organized on the foundation of the former Shantung IPH and Dr. Gung Nai-chueng (graduate of Liaoning College) is the head.

In North China, at present, we have two IPHs, one at Changchih, and the other in Shihchiachuang. The Changchih IPH is headed by Dr. Ho Mu, a specialist in tuberculosis and a returned student from France. This hospital had 150 beds. It often sends medical teams consisting of three or four doctors and more than ten nurses to give treatment to the people in the mountain regions or to villages in North Honan. The Shihchiachuang IPH was organized in April 1948. It was a combination of the Shansi-Chahar-Hopeh IPH with those hospitals which were part of the North China Medical College. Now this hospital has more than 400 beds and plans to increase them to 700. All the students from the North China Medical College take their internship in this hospital.

II. Medical Colleges:

1. China Medical College: This college is in Mukden with 327 teachers and staff (17 of them are specialists) and 4,609 students. The number of graduates is 2,037.

2. Peking College: In the summer of 1948 this college combined with the Bethune Memorial College in Shihchiachuang and its name was changed to North China Bethune Memorial College.

3. East China Bethune Memorial College: This college headed by the head of East China IPH evacuated to East Shantung. In 1948 it enrolled new students in Itoh, Central Shantung region. It has a library with 5,000 medical books both in Chinese and in western languages.

III. Pharmaceutic Plants:

The New China Pharmaceutical Plant was a small-scale plant established in East Shantung during the Sino-Japanese War. It produced medicines from herbs. Later it obtained a great amount of equipment from the Northwest Liberated Areas and began to produce manufactured medicines and surgical instruments. In October 1948, due to the lack of fuel, it had to move to Chantien, along the Tsingtao-Tsinan Railway. Now it has these departments: Drug manufacturing; Alcohol; Instrument Department; Serological Department; Central Supply Department, Glass Department and Research Department.

All the personnel of the Research Department have much experience in medical chemistry. The whole plant, with a personnel of 600 has better equipment now, but it lacks materials for research.

IV. Nurseries:

Nurseries in the older Liberated Areas number 32 in North China, 12 in East China, 50 in the Northeast (Manchuria) and 10 in the Northwest. The total number is 104 of which six are operated by relief organizations, nine by private groups and nine by factories.

Nurseries helped by Mme. Sun Yat-sen and the China Welfare Fund are:

1. Los Angeles Nursery: This nursery, originally in Yenan, moved to Peiping in April 1949. It first admitted 127 children, then increased to 350. The children are divided into four classes: age 5 to 6; age 4 to 5; age 3 to 4; and under age 3. The Nursery also has a primary school class for children over six years old. It is planned to increase the number of children to 500.

Personnel:	Nursery helpers	58
	Medical workers	4
	Other staff	48

The personnel is large since we have to prepare for expansion work.

2. Experimental Nursery: This nursery is a combination of the Yenan Second Nursery with the Welfare Nursery. The Yenan Second Nursery was forced to evacuate with the Los Angeles Nursery from Yenan. After 1,600 miles of travel, mainly on foot, it reached Hsiang-Yuan Shan in the Taihong Region, (March 1947). There it combined with the Welfare Nursery of the Shansi-Hopeh-Shantung-Honan Border Region. On its hard travels it carried the equipment donated by foreign friends.

The number of children is 250 and the nursery helpers number 62.

3. Northwest First Nursery: This nursery was organized in 1938. It has a history of ten years and has brought up more than 1,700 children. Many of the children now are ready to participate in work for the people. The 111 children now in the nursery are leading a happy and orderly life.

4. Shantung Provincial Nursery: From September 1946 to Autumn 1948 this nursery moved seven times, a total of more than 500 miles. During this long journey it took care of more than 100 children and returned them all safely. Even the soldiers, who have had wide experience in long marches, take this as

a miracle.

This nursery with 33 helpers, enrolled 67 children near Tsinan and divided them into three classes.

Status of Personnel Introduced by the China Welfare Fund:

1. Erwin Engst: A specialist in artificial insemination of cattle, arrived at Kwan-wan Farm in Yenan in October 1946. He travelled to Chin-cha-chi and Chin-cha-lu-yu (Shansi-Chahar-Shantung-Honan) in 1947, then returned to North Shansi where he worked in a factory for manufacturing farm implements.

2. Joan Hinton: A physicist who after the liberation of Peiping went to Shichiachuang, then to North Shansi, where she and Erwin Engst were married. They work together.

3. Bertha Hinton: A nurse who came to the Liberated Areas last winter and worked with her husband in a training class. In April, this year, she went to Peking and is teaching English in the Foreign Language School.

4. Isobel Easton and Sigrid Brynildsen: Nurses who accompanied Friends Service Unit personnel to Shihchiachuang last year, and left for Changchih where they worked in the IPH.

# # # # # # #

CHINA WELFARE APPEAL INC.

Friendship Cargo For China

439 Fourth Avenue • New York 16, N. Y. • Tel. MUrray Hill 6-8525

November, 1940.

[redacted] Friend:

This year the Chinese people will for the first time in more than twenty years celebrate the Christmas season in an atmosphere of approaching peace. In more than two-thirds of the country peace has already been established and the tremendous but rewarding work of reconstruction has begun.

The China Welfare Appeal which supports hospitals, schools, nurseries, and numerous cultural and educational projects in China is going to send a special token of friendship to the Chinese people at this time in the form of hospital supplies. The gift will be sent through the China Welfare Fund, of which Madame Sun Yat-sen is the Chairman, in Shanghai.

The China Welfare Appeal will hold an ORIENTAL BAZAAR in New York City at the end of the first week in December to help raise the necessary funds. For the Bazaar to be a success we first need MERCHANDISE --the greater the variety the better. Won't you see if you don't have some things you could spare for this purpose? Just send them to our office--or let us know and we will arrange to pick them up.

We shall be selling oriental jewelry, chinaware, woodcuts, paintings, books, materials and other gift items. But ANYTHING and EVERYTHING will be welcomed--oriental or western.

[redacted]

known. And we look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Mollie Kalman

Mollie Kalman
Secretary

仁 Humanity

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"The humane man is one who desiring to sustain himself, sustains others, and desiring to develop himself, develops others."

Confucius
Analects, vi, 28

Mrs. Evans F. Carlson, Hon. Chairman Talitha Gerlach, Hon. Secretary-Treasurer

Sponsors: Dr. Thomas Addis Dr. Vaughn S. Albertson Walter Allmendinger Clark Andrews Edith Atwater William R. Babcock Rev. Lee H. Ball Rev. Merrill Otis Bates Dr. Bernard Baum T. S. Behre T. A. Bisson Millen Brand Edwin Berry Burgum David Burliuk Dr. Allan M. Butler Dr. Chang Hsueh-yen Dr. Paul Su-hua Chi

over

230-49

230-49

CHINA WELFARE APPEAL INC. -- BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING

November 10, 1949 -- 7:30 p. m.

Place: Home of Mrs. O. John Rogge, 400 East 52nd St., New York City

BOARD OF DIRECTORS:

Andrews, Clark
Berenberg, Dr. S. R.
Chung, Dr. Arthur (in China)
DuBois, Dr. W. E. B.
Fisher, Mrs. Frederick
Fritchman, Rev. S. H.
* Gerlach, Talitha
*Lewis, Dr. Roger A.
Luzzatti, Dr. Luigi
*Shapiro, Dr. Gerald I.
*Willard, Mrs. Howard

FROM CHARTER MEMBERSHIP:

* Epstein, Israel

COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN:

* Cholmeley, Elsie -- Planning Com.

STAFF:

* Kalman, Mollie

* Those Present

I MINUTES: Minutes of the September 7th meeting were circulated.

MOTION 49/11/1 It was moved, seconded and unanimously agreed that the Minutes of the Sept. 7th meeting be accepted as written.

MOTION 49/11/2 II BY-LAWS: It was moved, seconded and unanimously agreed that the newest draft of the By-Laws be adopted.

III FINANCE REPORT -- Dr. Shapiro, Secy-Treas.

Dr. Shapiro reported that the present bank balance is $82.59, and that bills outstanding amount to $411.96. He also reported on receipts and disbursements for October and thus far into November as follows: Total Receipts (Oct. & Nov. 1-10)...$499.05; Total Disbursements (Oct. & Nov. 1-10)...$538.30, showing a deficit for this period of $39.25. The treasurer stressed the need of immediate payment of old bills from first printing, as well as rent and other overdue items. It was also stressed that immediate ways and means be taken to raise funds for operating expenses of the office. In the discussion on fund-raising for this purpose, suggestions were made to follow up on the letters mailed to Sponsors by B card members in an attempt to increase the number of "Friends of China Welfare Appeal" Administrative Fund. It was also suggested that an attempt be made for a loan of $500. within a week or two to pay off bills.

It was pointed out that the largest expense item is that of office secretary, and the proposal was made that the next month be a trial period in which members of the Board make every effort to get sufficient new "Friends of CWA" to cover monthly expenses. The question was raised about trying to run the office without a paid staff member if sufficient money cannot be raised. The implications of the discussion regarding the necessity of raising more funds for office maintenance were given serious consideration.

MOTION 49/11/3 It was moved, seconded and unanimously agreed to accept the Treasurer's report.

(more)

NOMINATING COMMITTEE REPORT -- Charlotte Willard, Chairman

Mrs. Willard reported the following recommendations for Board membership: Mr. John O. Crane, Dr. Donald Tewksbury and Dr. Sao-Chien Sun.

MOTION 49/11/4 It was moved, seconded and unanimously agreed that these recommendations by the Nominating Committee be accepted, and that Mr. Crane, Dr. Tewksbury and Dr. Sun be invited to Board membership.

NEXT MEETING: The next meeting is to be held on Tuesday, November 29th at the office - 8:00 p. m.

Adjournment

MEDICAL GROUP: Immedicately upon adjournment, the Board members joined with members of the Medical Committee and friends to hear a report from Dr. Leo Eloesser, WHO and UNICEF officer recently arrived from China, concerning medical and health work, medical training schools, and general health needs in China. Dr. Eloesser has worked closely with many of the medical projects included in the China Welfare Fund program. Dr. Eloesser was welcomed as Honorary Co-Chairman of the China Welfare Appeal, serving in this capacity with Mrs. Evans Carlson. Dr. Roger A. Lewis, chairman of the Medical Committee, chaired the meeting with Dr.Eloesser. He also thanked our hostess, Mrs. O. John Rogge, who had kindly opened her home for this meeting.

230-49

CHINA WELFARE APPEAL INC.

Friendship Cargo For China

439 Fourth Avenue • New York 16, N. Y. • Tel. MUrray Hill 6-8525

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Humanity

23C-49

November 21, 1949

OFFICE MEMO TO: Members of the Board of Directors

FROM: Talitha Gerlach, Chairman

The next meeting of the C W A Board of Directors will be held:

Date: Tuesday, November 29th, 1949
Time: 8:00 P. M.
Place: C W A office - 439 Fourth Avenue, NYC

Several very important questions held over from our last meeting concerning finances, CWA program in the United States and recent C W F reports from China, will be considered.

We know you will make every effort to be present.

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Love

"The humane man is one who desiring to sustain himself, sustains others, and desiring to develop himself, develops others."
Confucius
Analects, vi, 28

Mrs. Evans F. Carlson, Hon. Chairman *Talitha Gerlach, Hon. Secretary-Treasurer*

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over

Rec'd in New York City
November 23, 1949

FMA115/KG SHANGHAI VIA GLOBE 51/50 22 1550

DLT CHIWELAP NEWYORK

PEDIATRIC EQUIPMENT ALLOCATED ET ARRIVED TSINAN IPH ACCOMPANIED BY DR CHANG WEISEN PD MANY THANKS FOR THIS EXTREMELY VALUABLE GIFT FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE PD SINCERELY HOPE SUCCEEDING SHIPMENTS OF FRIENDSHIP CARGO WILL CONTINUE TO AID CHINESE PEOPLE IN THEIR ~~XXXX~~ STRUGGLE TO LIFT THEIR MEDICAL STANDARDS PD

SOONG CHING LING

(Madame Sun Yat-Sen)

23C-49

CHINA WELFARE APPEAL INC.

A G E N D A

Board Mf Directors Meeting, Tuesday, Nov. 29, 1949.

1. Minutes of November 10, 1949 Meeting

2. Financial Statement

3. Reports -

   Medical Committee

   Planning Committee

   Bazaar Committee

   National Mailing

4. News from China

   Letters & cables from Mme. Sun Yat-sen, September 22, October 21, November 22.

   Digest of Latest Reports

5. Letter from Mrs. Evans F. Carlson

6. Plan for Next Shipment of Friendship Cargo

   X-Ray Projector
   Syringes, etc.
   Drug List
   Nursery Needs
   Medical Books - San Francisco
   American-ChineseExport Co. Pledge $500

7. Visit of FBI Representative

8. Dr. Leo Eloesser & Board Members - Dinner?

9. Pending Question re Staff

10. Next Board Meeting, etc.

ORIENTAL BAZAAR

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A LIFE SAVER FOR LAST MINUTE CHRISTMAS SHOPPING

WOODCUTS, PAINTINGS
CERAMICS, JEWELRY
EMBROIDERY, LINENS
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and many other useful gift items

WONDERFUL BARGAINS

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THURSDAY DECEMBER 15 8:30 PM
CHINESE REFRESHMENTS, ENTERTAINMENT
SUBSCRIPTION 1.00

FRIDAY AND SATURDAY, DEC 16, 17 11AM TO 12M
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APT. 4 SOUTH
BETWEEN 55 AND 56 ST.

BENEFIT OF CHINA WELFARE APPEAL INC. 439 FOURTH AVE. NYC. MU6-8525

友國誼際

CHINA WELFARE APPEAL INC.

Friendship Cargo For China

439 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y., Tel. MUrray Hill 6-8525

International Friendship

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Dr. Leo Eloesser

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Roger A. Lewis, M.D.
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Donald G. Tewksbury
Charlotte Ware

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Louis Kroll, D.D.S.
Abraham Levine, M.D.
S. A. Lewin, M.D.
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Benjamin Miller, M.D.
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Hector J. Ritey, M.D.
Theodor Rosebury, D.D.S.
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S. Schulsinger, M.D.
Jacques D. Soifer, M.D.
Kenneth Sterling, M.D.
Shao-chien Sun, M.D.
Paul Teng, M.D.
Wilson M. Wing, M.D.
Joseph Wortis, M.D.
over

83C-49

28th December, 1949.

OFFICE MEMO TO: Members of the Board of Directors

FROM: Talitha Gerlach

Dear Board Member:

The next Meeting of the Board of Directors will be held on Wednesday, January 11 at 6 p.m. This will be a dinner meeting at the WOH PING Restaurant, 716 Lexington Avenue (at 57th Street).

I hope very much you will make every effort to be present as we need your advice on the second instalment of Friendship Cargo and other matters.

Friendship Cargo Sponsors: *Dr. Vaughn S. Albertson • Walter Allmendinger • Edith Atwater • Rev. Lee H. Ball • Rev. Merrill Otis Bates Dr. Bernard Baum • T. S. Behre • T. A. Bisson • Millen Brand • Edwin Berry Burgum • David Burliuk • Dr. Paul Su-hua Chi Nicolai Cikovsky • Lee J. Cobb • Edmonia Davidson • Dr. Percy M. Dawson • Prof. John DeBoer • Freda Diamond • Mary A. Dingman • Martha Dodd Prof. I. J. Domas • Prof. Harl R. Douglas • Muriel Draper • Mamie Dunn • Frederick V. Field • Evelyn Beresford Fox • Martin Gabel Herman B. Gerringer • Elinor S. Gimbel • Anne Guthrie • Prof. David Haber • Uta Hagen • Prof. Georgia Harkness • E. Y. Harburg Prof. Walter M. Horton • B. W. Huebsch • Langston Hughes • Rev. Kenneth de P. Hughes • Robert Josephy • Dr. John A. Kingsbury Rev. John Howland Lathrop • Lau Shaw • Peggy Le Boutillier • Ray Lev • Dr. Robert Levinson • Paul T. K. Lin • Hon. Warren G. Magnuson Mrs. George Marshall • Prof. Kirtley F. Mather • Prof. F. O. Matthiessen • Rev. Jack R. McMichael • Arthur Miller • Dr. Philip Morrison • Stanley Nowak Clifford Odets • Mrs. John K. Ormond • Samuel Ornitz • Prof. Ernest G. Osborne • Dorothy Perera • Lionel C. Perera, Jr. • Martin Popper • Ida Pruitt Anton Refregier • Wallingford Riegger • Muriel Rukeyser • Prof. Vida D. Scudder • Elizabeth Selsbee • Dr. Maud Slye • Edgar Snow Dr. Samuel Standard • Johannes Steele • Harry C. Steinmetz • Alfred K. Stern • Dirk J. Struik • Ilona Ralf Sues • Frank Taylor • Margaret Stanley Tesdell Siu May Ting • Bishop P. L. Tsen • Olive Van Horn • Mary Van Kleeck • Nym Wales • Henry A. Wallace • Richard Watts, Jr. • Prof. C. Martin Wilbur Howard Willard • Ruth M. Williams • James Waterman Wise • Mary C. Wright.*

Name & Surname

Y. M. Leonard Chirwa

[CHIRWA]

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JOHANNESBURG

Carbon letter

9/1/49.

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois,
New York.

2350-10

Dear Sir,

Having been so poor financially while willing to come up there with my wife for further studies at Hampton I have therefore found it very expedient to send my manuscripts over through which I hope that you have to petronize me.

for further particular about the manuscripts. I would like to refer you to M. S. Robeson who will tell you about all what I have stated in his letter in connection with the work.

Hoping you are well.

Yours faithfully

Y. M. Leonard Chirwa

1868 — 80th ANNIVERSARY CAMPAIGN — 1948

Doyle

The Christian Index

Official Organ of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church
E. P. Murchison, Editor
Box 269 - Tel. 7-6801
Jackson, Tennessee

Office of
THE EDITOR

August 3, 1949

23-52-20

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
409 Edgecombe
New York 32, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois:

X

I do not know whether any biography has been written concerning the Rev. H. S. Doyle. I have been compiling data from the old files of the Christian Index for our 81st Anniversary Issue. I have noted several accounts concerning Dr. Doyle and believe that I can have someone find the data that you are interested in. However, I feel that Dr. Betram Doyle, his son will be in position to give you the chief facts. I have been using the services of a fairly capable student in doing research work, he has done sufficient work for fifty cents per hour. I shall be glad to contribute whatever time I can without charges in supervising the young man in the research. Many of the copies are very aged and must be handled with care.

Cordially yours,

E. P. Murchison

EPM:gt

[Christian Index]

Corr. M

23-1-37

September 27, 1949

Dr. E. P. Murchison, Editor
Christian Index
Box 269
Jackson, Tennessee

My dear Dr. Murchison:

I have been waiting rather anxiously for sometime concerning the material which you were going to collect on the late Dr. Sebastian Doyle. I hope that you have been able to find something or that the young man working for you has collected some matter for me.

Will you let me hear from you at your earliest convenience?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Lecture Corr

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 14, 1949

23-9-48

Mr. Marshall
Civil Rights Congress
205 East 42nd Street

My dear Mr. Marshall:

Pursuant to our conversation on the telephone, there is in my office no letter inviting me to a Civil Rights Congress in Washington, and no reply of mine accepting such an invitation. If there has been a mislaying of these documents I will be very glad to have a copy of the correspondance from your file.

I am very careful about making appointments and keeping them. I have received some of your circular matter and knew that you were going to hold a conference in Washington. But as I have said I have no recollection of being asked to speak and certainly I have never promised that I would be there. It ~~would~~ding to be impossible for me to be in Washington at that time because of commitments which I have already made.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

205 EAST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. · MURRAY HILL 4-6640

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MIRANDA SMITH

April 4, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 W. 26th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

After considerable discussion with Mr. Gerhart Eisler and the leadership of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, a decision was reached to carry the case of Mr. Eisler to the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations, invoking Article 4 of their charter on human rights. This, in essence, prohibits the Government from retaining by force a national of another country who desires to return to his fatherland.

It was felt that the appeal should be made at as early a date as possible; therefore Thursday, the 14th of April was set aside by us.

The delegation will comprise nine or ten individuals. We have asked Dr. Harry Ward, Dr. Mary Van Kleeck, Mr. Dashiell Hammett, Mr. Albert Fitzgerald to participate. Can you find it possible to set aside time on that day and be a member of the delegation?

There will be a press conference at the UN.

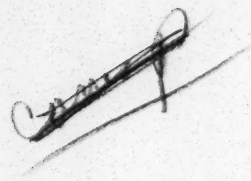
Sincerely,

William L. Patterson

William L. Patterson
National Executive Secretary

uopwa 16-47

20-51-34



23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
April 6, 1949

20-51-35

Mr. William L. Patterson
National Executive Secretary
Civil Rights Congress
205 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

My dear Mr. Patterson:

I have your letter of April 4, and of course am much interested in the case which you propose to carry to the United Nations.

I regret, however, that it will be impossible for me to join you April 14, as I have just returned from a trip West and my commitments will make it impossible for me to leave the office next week.

I am very sorry.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

first copy

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS, LONG ISLAND DIVISION

145-16 JAMAICA AVENUE • JAMAICA 2, N. Y.

Arthur Kaufman
Executive Secretary

OLympia 8-8290

23-42-63

February 16th, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The Long Island Division of the Civil Rights Congress in conjunction with the Nassau County American Labor Party, is sponsoring a Rally on Thursday, March 3rd, at the Garden City Hotel, Garden City, L. I.

We would appreciate it if you would honor us with your presence that night. We would like you to speak on the general topic of the Negro and Civil Rights. You would be sharing the platform with Senator Langer of North Dakota, who will talk on the biased jury system.

We plan to run busses from the large adjacent Negro centers to the meeting and we feel that your presence there will contribute much to its success. We expect to draw from at least 800 to 1,000 people.

I will take the liberty of contacting your office within the next few days for an answer to this request. I hope that it will be in the affirmative.

Very truly yours,

Arthur Kaufman

AK:LK

Arthur Kaufman

23-42-69

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 24, 1949

Mr. Arthur Kaufman
Civil Rights Congress
145-16 Jamaica Avenue
Jamaica 2, L. I. , New York

My dear Mr. Kaufman:

I appreciate your kind invitation for me to address the Civil Rights Congress March 3, at Garden City. I regret to say, however, that I have had so many speeches in February and a few still in March that I am quite unable to take any further engagements. I have to be careful to conserve my strength.

I would not like to have my name used on the program unless I was actually going to be there.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-41-20

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 18, 1949

Mrs. Ester Cooper Jackson
c/o Mr. Jack Raskin
CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS
424 Reid Building, 138 Cadillac Square
Detroit 26, Michigan

My dear Esther Cooper:

I was awfully disappointed at not seeing you while I was in Detroit, but I had to hurry back next morning after the lecture; and of course so far as the lecture was concerned, babies first! I had a short talk with your husband and met the little girl. The audience was very responsive and I enjoyed the occasion.

I am writing to get the facts concerning that young boy who was recently killed by the police. Will you send me as many of them as you can: the name of the boy, the date of his killing, his age, what the police department did, who the judge was, and what he said. I understand that the NAACP later sent roses on occasion of the birthday of the chief of police; is this true? Send me any facts you can.

I hope you are having a good time.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

OF MICHIGAN

FORMERLY CIVIL RIGHTS FEDERATION

424 REID BUILDING, 138 Cadillac Square CAdillac 6278 DETROIT 26, MICHIGAN

23-41-21

January 25, 1949

Dr. W.E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am very sorry that I had to be out of the city at the time you were here for the Music Hall meeting. Your speech made a tremendous impression on those who were present and particularly the reports from Negroes present were good.

Enclosed you will find some material on the Leon Mosely case. There was one interesting article in the Detroit News about December 21 in which the paper presents evidence that the Executive Secretary of the NAACP, Ed Swan, was the "finger man" for the Detroit Police Department at the Mosely trial, pointing out all the "reds" to them. I will try to get that editorial from the News and send it on to you.

After talking with several people, I find that the reports of the NAACP sending roses to Police Commissioner Toy is based on rumor. Toy, as you know, is the Police Chief who at one time suggested that Henry Wallace should be shot or jailed.

I was in New York for one day last week and attended the trial of the twelve Communist leaders. There I saw fascism in action. It would be a wonderful thing if you could attend some of the sessions and write your impressions.

I am now working with the Michigan Civil Rights Congress and can be reached at this address.

Very sincerely yours,

Esther V. Cooper

Esther V. Cooper (Jackson)

[Civil R.C.]

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

OF MICHIGAN

FORMERLY CIVIL RIGHTS FEDERATION

424 REID BUILDING, 138 Cadillac Square CAdillac 6278 DETROIT 26, MICHIGAN

April 8, 1949

23-44-39

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Enclosed are a group of poems which have been read by a number of people here in Detroit and which we feel have great merit.

I have known Oliver LaGrone for two years since coming to Michigan and have found him to be a person of real ability - as a sculptor and a poet. He is indeed one of the best of the relatively unknown younger Negro poets who certainly deserves recognition.

Mr. LaGrone would consider it a real honor to have you write a preface to his little volume.

Under separate cover, you will find a recording of some of the poems. The Civil Rights Congress and a number of other organizations plan to promote the poems both in Michigan and throughout the country.

My husband joins me in sending very warmest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Esther V. Cooper

Esther V. Cooper (Jackson)

June 8, 1949

20-51-41

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Under separate cover I have mailed a second copy of poems by Oliver LaGrone including several new poems.

Although we realize you are verybusy, it is our hope that you will have time to read them and write a short introduction.

We hope you will be returning to Michigan sometime in the near future to tell of your trip to the Paris Peace Conference.

Very sincerely yours,

Esther V. Cooper

Esther V. Cooper

138 Cadillac Sq.
Detroit, Michigan

Wayne - Jasper

Dist 11 -

[COOPER]

October 31, 1949

20-51-42

Mrs. Esther V. Cooper
Civil Rights Congress
138 Cadillac Square
Detroit, Michigan

My dear Esther Cooper:

At long last I am returning the book of poems which you kindly sent me.

They are worth publishing; but as I told you before I have no outlet for publishing now.

I have not written an introduction. I have had so little to do with poetry lately that I do not feel competent to do the right kind of job. I am sorry to have kept them so long.

I saw your husband a few weeks ago and was glad to greet him. My best regards to you and the babies.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

File → Civil Rights

NEW YORK STATE CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

23 WEST 26th STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

ORegon 9-1657

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HON. JERRY J. O'CONNELL
LEE PRESSMAN
PAUL ROBESON
MIRANDA SMITH

230 - 51

May 10, 1949

Dear Friend:

This letter is one of the most important ones we have ever signed. It urgently asks you to join us, along with dozens of trade union leaders, artists, writers and other professionals, in sponsoring a conference on Civil and Human Rights.

Time is perhaps tragically short. More words are unnecessary in this letter; the attached call eloquently expresses the gravity of the situation which makes this letter necessary.

If you are in agreement with the call, please sign it immediately and return it to the New York Civil Rights Congress, 23 West 26 Street, New York City.

With Sincerity,

Clifford Odets

Dashiell Hammett

Paul Robeson

O. John Rogge

uopwa 16-33

[1949]
[ENC]

DRAFT OF A CALL TO A CONFERENCE ON CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS

We Americans take just pride in the liberties we possess -- they are the fruit of the stubborn insistence of the American people through a century and a half to be free and to remain free.

We are not only proud of our liberties, we live by them.

The boast of every American is that, as a free man, his own con science determines his own conduct: no man, no group of men, shall dictate to him in what church to worship, for what political party to vote, what books to read, what beliefs to hold, what thoughts to think.

This right of every American to live by his own conscience is so taken for granted that many of us refuse to believe that it could ever be seriously challenged in this country.

Yet it <u>is</u> being challenged in this hour.

In a Federal Court in Foley Square in New York City, 12 men are being tried -- not for anything they have done, or plan to do, but solely for what they think.

They are charged with no overt act of any kind; they are on trial for advocating their beliefs.

If these 12 men are convicted, it will mean that <u>every</u> American will be deprived of the right to judge and choose, according to his own best interests, what political party to support, what books he may dare to read, what beliefs he may hold.

While the trials proceed in Foley Square, ostensibly against the Communists alone, "loyalty" probes are directed against all government employees; labor's rights to organize, to bargain collectively and to strike are being violently attached; text books are being censored; educators are being dismissed; in New York the Feinberg Bill will regiment teachers; in Maryland the Communist Party has been outlawed; in Denver and Los Angeles, men and women are jailed for refusing to turn informer; progressive writers are black-listed in Hollywood and threatened with jail. Even active support of peace becomes dangerous in today's atmosphere.

Violence against the Negro people increases and intensifies. In Trenton, New Jersey, six Negro men are condemned to die for a crime they did not commit; in the State of Georgia, Mrs. Rosa Ingram faces life imprisonment for defending herself and her children; in New York, Negroes are arrested daily without provocation. Sometimes they are killed like Charles Pfifer and Willie Milton.

We Americans who cherish our freedom have the responsibility of defending it. We must act before it is too late.

The undersigned, in conjunction with the Civil Rights Congress of New York, hereby call a Conference to which are invited representatives of all sections of the people and organizations to discuss ways and means of arousing the people of New York State to the dangers confronting us all. This is a Call for a counter-offensive, to preserve our democracy.

May 23, 1949

Mr. Dashiell Hammett, Chairman
New York State Civil Rights Congress
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Hammett:

Answering your letter of May 10, may I say that Dr. Du Bois is still abroad. He is expected to return the end of this month.

I will bring your letter with the attached call to his attention as soon as he arrives at his office.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

230-51

NEW YORK STATE CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

23 WEST 26th STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

ORegon 9-1657

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HON. JERRY J. O'CONNELL
LEE PRESSMAN
PAUL ROBESON
MIRANDA SMITH

20-51-37

June 17, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

On Tuesday, June 28, the New York State Civil Rights Congress is sponsoring a rally for Civil and Human Rights at Madison Square Garden.

We cordially invite you to be our guest at the rally and are enclosing a ticket for your use. We sincerely hope that you will find it possible to attend.

Cordially,

William Lawrence

William Lawrence,
Executive Secretary

uopwa#16 - 83

[CIVIL]

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

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DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
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1949 MAR 3 PM 7 16

See. comes

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PLLK201 NL PD=PHILADELPHIA PENN 3=

DR W E DUBOIS=

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS=23 WEST 26TH ST=NYK=

BQNQUET IN TRIBUTE TO DEFENDERS OF CIVIL LIBERTIES PHILADELPHIA MARCH 26TH INITIATED BY CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS WOULD LIKE TO PRESENT AWARD TO YOU FOR OUTSTANDING CIVIL LIBERTYS WORK THROUGHOUT YEARS TRUST YOU WILL ACCEPT AND BE PRESENT TO RECEIVE AWARD PLEASE WIRE COLLECT=

ROBERT COOK FARWELL 3RD=CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS 1831 CHESTNUT ST PHILA=

Sorry Previous engagement

26 3 1831=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[CIVIL]

23-42-28

SENDER IS AWAITING A SPEEDY
answer
PLEASE GIVE IT TO THE MESSENGER OR TELEPHONE

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

See cover

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PA182

P LLE727 NL PD=PHILADELPHIA PENN 16=

1949 MAR 16 PM 9 13

=DR DUBOIS COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS=
23 WEST 26TH ST NYK=

DATE OF BANQUET IN TRIBUTE TO OUTSTANDING WORKERS FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES CHANGED FROM MARCH 26 TO APRIL 11 COMMITTEE HOPED THAT CHANGE MIGHT ENABLE YOU TO BE PRESENT TO RECEIVE AWARD PLEASE WIRE COLLECT=

=ROBERT COOK FOWELL 3RD CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS
1831 CHESTNUT ST PHILA=

=26 11 3RD 1831=...

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 4, 1949

Mr. Robert Cook Farwell
Civil Rights Congress
1831 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Farwell:

In answer to your telegram of March 3, may I say that Dr. Du Bois has a previous engagement for March 26.

He deeply appreciates the honor you would do in presenting him such an award and sincerely regrets that he is unable to attend.

Very sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

LM/l

23-42-29

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 18, 1949

Mr. Robert Cook Fowell
Civil Rights Congress
1831 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

My dear Mr. Fowell:

In answer to your telegram, may I say I think I can be present April 11, if you will send me details. Something might keep me from coming at the last moment, but I know of nothing now.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-42-30

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
April 6, 1949

Mr. Robert Cook Fowell
Civil Rights Congress
1831 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

My dear Mr. Fowell:

I regret to say that I probably will be going to Paris to attend the Peace Congress this month, and preparations for my departure make it impossible for me to get to Philadelphia, April 11.

I am very sorry. Will you please express my regrets to your organization.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

19 WEST 10th ST.
NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE

~~160 FIFTH AVENUE~~ • NEW YORK CITY • CHELSEA 2-8735

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23C-51

~~JAMES T. FARRELL~~
~~Chairman~~

JOHN DOS PASSOS
Vice-Chairman

GEORGE NOVACK
Secretary

April 30, 1949

TO ALL NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Dear Friend:

In one of my last communications to you it was pointed out that "among the unfinished business which may require active intervention on our part at any time is the case of Karl Skoglund, former President of Local 544-CIO. The threat of deportation to Sweden still hangs over his head. At present Skoglund is free on bond paid for by the Committee."

Now Skoglund's case has suddenly been reopened by the government and the danger of his deportation is again acute. Here are the facts in his situation.

* * *

During the struggle in 1941 between Teamsters Local 544-CIO in Minneapolis and Daniel Tobin, head of the AFL Teamsters International, Skoglund was arrested for deportation and jailed for a month on a $5.000 bond. His was one of a series of arrests in connection with the persecutions which culminated in the imprisonment of 18 Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO leaders as the first victims of the Smith "Gag" Act.

Through an intermediary, the FBI had previously offered Skoglund immunity from deportation if he would testify at the trials against his union and political associates. He rejected this proposed deal, and was later convicted and served a 16-month sentence at the Federal prison in Sandstone, Minnesota.

Because of his imprisonment, the deportation proceedings were suspended, although Skoglund remained under bond. Last week the Federal Department of Immigration reopened his case by denying the application of Skoglund's attorney to set aside the deportation order pending against him since 1941. This sudden action is apparently being taken as part of the general drive against foreign-born leaders in the labor movement. The charge against Skoglund is that he had been a member of the Socialist Workers Party, which

has been arbitrarily designated as "subversive" and politically blacklisted by Attorney General Clark.

Skoglund is now 65 years old. He has been in the United States for 38 years. He twice applied for citizenship, but his applications were rejected because of his political and union activities. His record of service to the cause of labor is a lengthy and honorable one. In 1923 he was chairman of the Burlington, Great Western and North Western during the railway shopmen's strike. Later he was a delegate from the Railway Carmen and the AFL Teamsters to the Minneapolis Truckdrivers Union for several years prior to his prosecution.

The attempt to expel him from this country where he has lived his entire adult life is a clear case of political persecution and reprisal for his loyalty to unionism.

* * *

Skoglund has engaged Stanley H. Lowell, former Assistant U.S. Attorney in New York and member of the Alien Civil Rights Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union who is especially concerned with the civil rights issues in his case, to represent him in further administrative and judicial proceedings. His fight will most likely have to be carried through the Federal courts up to the U.S. Supreme Court.

230-51

Skoglund is not personally able to bear the expenses of these prolonged legal proceedings and by right should not have to do so. He has been penalized enough in the past eight years for his beliefs. Funds for legal and other expenses will total several thousand dollars if his case must be appealed to the highest courts. $500 is needed immediately.

I believe that Skoglund's fight against deportation is fully worthy of all-out aid and support from the Civil Rights Defense Committee, which has handled his case from its inception and has undertaken a responsibility in the matter. Skoglund has requested us to direct the national campaign in his defense and to help his friends raise the required funds.

However, in view of the fact that our Committee has not been active lately, I thought it advisable to first present the facts to the entire National Committee and poll your opinion on the matter. If you approve of the CRDC assuming responsibility for Skoglund's fight against deportation, would you please signify assent by filling out and mailing the attached ballot to me at 19 West 10 Street, New York City. If, for some reason, you do not approve of this step or would prefer to withdraw from the Committee, please notify me accordingly. You will be notified of the results of this poll and of the next steps contemplated on Skoglund's behalf.

Cordially yours,

George Novack

National Secretary

[ENC]

Date_____

George Novack, National Secretary
Civil Rights Defense Committee
19 West 10 Street
New York City

Dear George Novack:

_____I approve the CRDC undertaking Skoglund's defense

_____I do not approve the CRDC taking this step

Remarks:

Name_____

Address_____

City, State_____

23C-51

May 4, 1949

Mr. George Novack, Secretary
Civil Rights Defense Committee
19 West 10th Street
New York 11, New York

Dear Mr. Novack:

Answering your letter of April 30, May I say that Dr. Du Bois is still abroad in Paris and is not expected to return until the end of this month.

I will bring your letter with its enclosure to his attention, immediately upon his return.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

[Claremont]

THE CLAREMONT GRADUATE SCHOOL

INCORPORATED AS CLAREMONT COLLEGE

CLAREMONT, CALIFORNIA

May 23, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Dr. Dubois:

In connection with the Claremont Summer Session we are having a Leadership Conference in Inter-group Relations on July 14, 15, and 16.

Is there any chance that you might be in this area during that time?

Yours sincerely,

W. Henry Cooke

W. Henry Cooke
Professor History
The Claremont Graduate School

WHC:sh

Encl.

23-42-20

[CLAREMONT]

June 2, 1949

Mr. W. Henry Cooke
Department of History
The Claremont Graduate School
Claremont, California

Dear Mr. Cooke:

Answering your letter of May 23, may I say that Dr. Du Bois does not expect to be in California this summer. He is in sympathy with your conference and hopes for its success.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

LMM:m

cc

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 7, 1949

23-11-29

Dr. Belfield Clarke
Belfield House
New Barnet
London
ENGLAND

My dear Dr. Clarke:

My best regards to you and to Pat and the ladies who were stopping with you when I was there. I hope you will keep in good health; I have been quite well. I have been sending you EBONY each year and hope that you have received it; but I was not able to get at the matter of collars and other things that Pat suggested until the American Forces had been withdrawn. I was not sure then, just how far goods could be sent into England. I wish you would write me again and tell me what I could send you from the States which would reach you without difficulty and be of use.

I remember with great pleasure my stay at your hoppitable home.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Cor. C

L17

C. BELFIELD CLARKE.
F.R.C.S. (ED), M.B., B.CH., D.P.H. (CANTAB).

CONSULTATION HOURS:
9-9.30 A.M.
8-9 P.M.

TEL: BAR 2118.

BELFIELD HOUSE,
NEW BARNET.

23-11-31

January 26/49

My Dear Dr DuBois

Many thanks for your greetings Telegram at Xmas & for kindly paying our subscription to "Ebony" - As you know, England is now the latest American Colony & it is very difficult for the small fish Cubs to send anything to its new Eagle Mother - Fortunately most of the Natives here are not yet aware of

[2]

their New Britain so they still go about talking Big". But gradually the light will dawn on them. God grant that it may not be the Red light of Fire & Destruction:

I follow as many of your activities as possible. I enjoyed the first article in Dr Wellesley Coles new magazine "Africana". I was sorry you were not in Paris for the Palais de Chaillot meeting of the "United" Nations. You would have been an excellent Counter blast to my poor Countryman "Grantley Adams".

[3]

C. BELFIELD CLARKE.
F.R.C.S. (ED), M.B., B.CH., D.P.H. (CANTAB).

CONSULTATION HOURS:
9-9.30 A.M.
8-9 P.M.

TEL: BAR 2118.

BELFIELD HOUSE,
NEW BARNET.

23-11-32

For the Past 2 years I have served on the Colonial Secretary of States Advisory Medical & Welfare Committees - The Medical one advises on the Colonial Medical Service in all the British Colonies, & the Welfare one deals with the welfare of Colonials in England, especially the Students from the Colonies, & Colonials staying here after serving with the Armed Frees -

If only they were executive, instead of being only advisory, something might be done -

[4]

Still it is interesting to be 'in medias res'.
Paul Robeson has been having a
regular riot wherever he goes in the West
Indies.
Pat & I and all my friends are
often talking about you and about your
marvellous house & the manner which kept
us all one happy family. When we had the
honour of entertaining you here. You know
we shall always be ready to be your hosts
whenever you come to England.
Things in England are still tight but

[5]

C. BELFIELD CLARKE.
F.R.C.S. (ED), M.B., B.CH., D.P.H. (CANTAB).

CONSULTATION HOURS:
9-9.30 A.M.
8-9 P.M.

TEL: BAR 2118.

3

BELFIELD HOUSE,
NEW BARNET.

23-11-33

are improving every month - do I do not think there is anything we really want you to send us - If you write any new books, I should be pleased to receive a copy -

Pat & I are alone now except for our usual stream of friends who come & stay - usually from afar & the West Indies - the Ladies have got a new flat - they beg to be remembered to you - Pat & I send you

(6)

Sincere greetings & best wishes for
Continued health & happiness -

With Kindest Regards

Yrs sincerely
Chas. Scott Clarke

Dr W E B Du Bois

C. BELFIELD CLARKE.
F.R.C.S. (ED), M.B., B.CH., D.P.H. (CANTAB).

CONSULTATION HOURS:
9-9.30 A.M.
8-9 P.M.

TEL: BAR 2118.

BELFIELD HOUSE,
NEW BARNET.

23-11-34

Nov 23/29

Dear Dr Du Bois

At long last Cat & I are coming to New York en route to the West Indies. We leave here next Friday Dec 2nd - on the Queen Elizabeth & expect to be in New York Dec 7th - I & Friends are reserving a room for us at the Hotel Theresa - 125th street 7th ave. We shall leave New York midnight Dec 25 for Boston & on the 26th we take the Canadian Lady

Boat the Lady Rodney & go down the West Indian Islands to my home in Barbados. On the Return next April we call at Jamaica to see the New University College & so back to England.

We have such pleasant memories of your visit to England that we are looking forward to seeing you in New York during our short stay. With Greetings & Every good wish for the future

Yr Sincerely
C. B. Oldfield Clarke
& Pat Walter

December 6, 1949

Dr. C. Belfield Clarke
Hotel Theresa
125th Street and 7th Avenue
New York, New York

23-11-35

My dear Dr. Clarke:

May I welcome you and Pat to the United States. I certainly hope you will enjoy your visit.

Will you and Pat do me the honor of having breakfast with me Sunday, December 18, if you have the time.

Will you address me here.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

December 13, 1949

Dr. C. Belfield Clarke
Prince George Hotel
14 East 28th Street
New York, New York

23-11-24

Dear Dr. Clarke:

I would like to come down and fetch you and Pat, Sunday morning but if I am to have breakfast ready for you at ten o'clock I am afraid that is not feasible.

However it is quite easy to reach me. Go to 5th Avenue at 23th Street and take the 5th Avenue bus, No. 2, at nine o'clock. This will land you at 155th Street at ten o'clock, it is a long and pleasant ride. I am very near the bus stop at 155th street, just ask anyone to direct you to 409 Edgecombe, but be careful crossing the street.

I am looking forward with pleasure to seeing you and Pat.

Very sincerely,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Prince George Hotel
at 14 East 28th Street ~ New York 16, N.Y.
Charles F. Rogers, Jr. ~ *Manager*

Dec 20 / 49

23-11-30

Dear Dr DuBois

It was a great
pleasure to breakfast with you
at your charming apartment
on Sunday -

Pat & I are
going to Washington tomorrow &
return on Thursday -

We shall be
pleased to see you here at 7
pm on Friday -

With the season's
greetings

Sincerely
C. Belfield Clarke

file Corr. C

June 8, 1949

Mr. George E. Cohran
2588 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York

My dear Mr. Cohran:

23-11-21

I want to ask your advice. Since the first of the year, 1949 I have had no salary. I have an office and a secretary furnished by the Council on African Affairs and do some writing which however is not the kind that sells.

I am writing to ask if I have any rights with the Social security Administration of the state of New York? I do not want to surrender anything to which I am entitled. I have been paying social security for the last four and a half years that I was with the NAACP, on the salary of $5000 which they paid me. I am, as you know, 81 years of age and have one dependent, my wife who is 76.

I will be glad to have any advice which you could give me.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Cor. e

January 28, 1949

23-11-25

Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

May I commend your broadcast on Phyllis Wheatley last Tuesday night. It was an excellent beginning of the kind of work which I hope you will carryon on. There are numerous Americans of Negro descent who deserve to be made known by the radio to the people of this country. The Broadcast last Tuesday night was especially interesting.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY

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230-49

January 6, 1949

RE: The December 15th 1948 Quarterly Meeting of the Board of Directors
TO: Board Members and Sponsors

At our meeting, held at the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, we had excellent discussion following talks by Chu Tong, Martin Popper and James Durkin who gave us perspective on developments within China, on China policy, and on the current political atmosphere in the United States.

Political Action

The Committee now has two chief political tasks re China Policy. One: We must expose the new forms of intervention in China which American reactionaries will now attempt, their cruder forms having been decisively defeated by the Chinese people. Already they are maneuvering to influence the setting up of a phoney coalition in which Chiang Kai-shek elements will remain; and when this is rejected by the Chinese people (who want a genuine coalition with no anti-people, pro-Chiang roots left) our reactionaries will attempt to overcome American public opinion with a calculated "We have tried to work with the new forces in China but it is impossible, so we must aid the Chinese people to get rid of the Communists".

Two: We must demand that the Administration begin making definite plans to recognize the regime the people of China set up, and prepare to cooperate genuinely with that regime for mutually beneficial ends.

Finances

The Committee, by cutting one third of its staff in September, weathered its summer financial storm. The staff has assumed financial responsibility for the publication of FAR EAST SPOTLIGHT and for the Committee's activities. The Administrative Committee undertook to secure the Board's concurrence in being responsible for salaries and the overhead expenses of the Committee. At this December meeting it was voted to ask each Board member to assume responsibility for raising $100 for the 1949 budget. This, along with special fund raising affairs and the substantial more-or-less regular contributions that come in, would guarantee our 1949 budget of $25,000.

Importance of the Committee's Role

Do you realize that the Committee is well into its fourth year of steadily carrying on the fight against American intervention and for a democratic policy in the Far East? And is

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VIRGINIA WRIGHT

now undertaking the task of exposing and enlisting wide circles of the American public in fighting the new forms of intervention, and in the fight for recognition that will initiate constructive relations with China?

Authoritative publications that up to this time have carried excellent articles on China have now passed into the control of reaction, leaving FAR EAST SPOTLIGHT as the sole source of honest and encouraging information about China and the Far Eastern countries.

The Committee's job is more necessary than ever.

You ?

Can we count on you? I enclose a sheet of suggested ways in which you can more or less easily fulfill your assuming responsibility to help the Committee do its job. We are asking every Board member to try to raise at least a hundred dollars during the year; and suggesting that if each Sponsor were to secure twenty-five dollars we could double the circulation of FAR EAST SPOTLIGHT.

Please respond--and say that you will raise some definite amount for the Committee during 1949.

Sincerely,

Maud Russell

Maud Russell
Executive Director

Organizationally speaking:

Three new Board members were voted in: Mrs. Jeanette Orel and Ben Orel, of Los Angeles, and Mr. Richard Lindheim of New York. The Committee has appointed a full-time paid representative for work in California, Mr. William Kerner.

MR:RJ
uopwa-16-172

[ENC]

230-49

Dear Miss Russell;

As a Sponsor I will help put the Committee "in the black" for the important tasks it has ahead.

_____

Enclosed is $_____ collected as Memberships

Subscribers to FAR EAST SPOTLIGHT

Contributions

[ENC]

Miss Maud Russell
Executive Director
Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy
111 West 42nd Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Miss Russell -

As a Board Member
Sponsor

I assume responsibility for raising the sum of $_____ for the work of the Committee during 1949.

I plan to use one or more of the following methods:

1. Secure new members____

2. Secure subscribers to FAR EAST SPOTLIGHT____

3. Secure contributions____

   A. Gifts from individuals____
   B. Gifts from organizations____
   C. Monthly gifts from individuals____
   D. Monthly gifts from organizations____

4. Have a gathering or party in my home____

5. Arrange for a meeting on China____

6. Sell the Committee's publications____

7. Make a personal contribution____

8. Be available for paid speaking engagements____

Signed_____

Address_____

Telephone_____

Date_____

uopwa-16-172

23C-50

COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY

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230-49

January 12, 1949

Dear Friend;

China policy will surely come up for discussion in Congress. Great effort is being made by the Luce-Judd-Bullitt axis to force more support out of Congress for Chiang or for Kuomintang elements which they are hoping to have included in the new regime that will succeed Chiang's. In other words, they plan to continue intervention in China.

We must use the Congress as a national forum on China policy. We must press for an end of all forms of intervention and we must urge that the Administration begin to prepare for recognition of the new government which the people of China will establish for themselves as successors to Chiang's regime. As a part of this pressure we are asking you to sign the accompanying open letter to the President and the Congress.

Will you return the enclosed card indicating your willingness to join in this communication? And will you, on the other side of the card, suggest names of others who might be willing to sign?

Sincerely,

Maud Russell

Maud Russell
Executive Director

MR:RJ
Encl.

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[ENC]

OPEN LETTER RE CHINA POLICY

Mr. President and Members of Congress:

The six and more billion dollars worth of American resources made available to the Nanking regime of Chiang Kai-shek have obviously failed to bolster that corrupt and outworn regime. Chiang and the Kuomintang Government have been decisively rejected by the Chinese people, whose victories demonstrate the folly and futility of American intervention.

WE WISH TO POINT OUT TO YOU that even now continued intervention in China - in new forms at first - is not only being planned but is being openly urged by certain American political, financial and military leaders. They aim to influence the setting up of a coalition government in China in which pro-Chiang elements will be included and when this is rejected by the Chinese people (who want a genuine coalition but without any anti-people or pro-Chiang roots left) these interventionists will attempt to overwhelm American public opinion (including Congress) with a calculated approach - "We have tried to work with the new forces in China, but it is impossible, so we must aid the Chinese people to get rid of the Communists". They blatantly plan to "use the initial difficulties of the new government" as an "opportunity to help the Chinese people replace Communist rule with a desirable form of government".

WE URGE THE PRESIDENT AND THE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS to do everything you can to stop any and all forms of intervention. The Chinese people must no longer be blocked in their right to decide for themselves. They will certainly fight on, no matter how long it takes, to resist and defeat outside interference.

WE AMERICANS DO NOT WANT to continue paying the high costs of futile and friction-creating interference in China. We want an end to all forms of intervention, an end to the attempt to use China - her territory, her manpower, her economy for purposes that do not benefit the Chinese people, and an end to the shame of American efforts to hinder democracy in China.

WE AMERICANS WANT OUR GOVERNMENT to begin making definite plans to recognize the regime that the people of China set up, with American intent and preparation to cooperate genuinely with that regime for mutually beneficial ends. We see the current struggle as China's 1776 and the victories of the Chinese people as clearing the way for an era of prosperous and peaceful relationship between our two peoples.

WE THEREFORE URGE OUR GOVERNMENT to take advantage of the new developments in China and the new spirit all over Asia to affirm by constructive deeds - recognition and cooperation - our country's determination to seek and to establish friendly and mutually self-respecting relationships with China.

January 1949

uopwa-16-172

893c-49

China

CALL
to
AN ACTION CONFERENCE
ON
THE CHINA POLICY ISSUE

SATURDAY AFTERNOON

JANUARY 29th 1949

China Policy is still an urgent issue
for the American people

The reactionaries are planning
continued intervention
under new forms

Congress will be discussing
and deciding
About intervention
About recognition

What are the latest developments in China?

What is Washington up to?

WHAT CAN WE DO?

Every action group in the New York City
area is invited to send at least
one representative to this

ACTION CONFERENCE

Individuals are also invited to attend

TIME: January 29th 1949
1:30 to 5:30 PM

PLACE: Hotel Diplomat
43rd St. between 6th & 7th Aves.

PROMINENT SPEAKERS - Audience Discussion and Decision

Registration Fee: 50¢ per person - Register early on enclosed blanks

Auspices of COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY
111 West 42nd Street, New York 18, N. Y.
BRyant 9-6342

uopwa-16-172

ACTION CONFERENCE ON THE CHINA POLICY ISSUE

Saturday afternoon January 29, 1949 - 1:30 to 5:30 PM
Hotel Diplomat
Auspices:
COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY
111 West 42nd St., New York City, BR9-6342

Herewith $____ registration fee; 50¢ each for the following delegates:

Representing: _____

uopwa-16

[DEM.]

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37C-52

February 9, 1949

Dear Board Members and Sponsors;

This is a fighting time! The Committee must have the help of every Board Member and Sponsor in the fight.

The Board meeting in December went on record as asking every Board Member to assume responsibility for raising at least One Hundred Dollars during 1949 for the Committee, and each Sponsor be asked to secure Twenty-Five Dollars.

Every dollar you can get for the Committee will count on your quota. It is surprising how quickly memberships and subscriptions you get from friends count up; contributions help too! And sometimes you can throw a party for the Committee and jump up fast toward the $100. or the $25.

Enclosed are some helps in getting your dollars in to the Committee. (Your own membership and contribution would be a good start - if you are "delinquent in dues"!)

The staff assumed responsibility for publishing FAR EAST SPOTLIGHT (about $300. a month) and for the ACTIVITIES of the Committee - meetings, demonstrations, local conferences, etc; and they are fulfilling their quota regularly. The Board and Sponsors are asked to underwrite salaries, rent, and overhead. If every Board Member gets in a hundred a year and every Sponsor gets twenty-five dollars we can do it.

The reactionaries are losing no time in their plans and activities to thwart the will of the Chinese people; and they will bombard Congress for huge sums and American soldiers to go to China. They work along with the wealthy Chinese lobby in Washington - the largest foreign influence in our capital! Congress must hear from the American people - and this takes cash - for conferences, for meetings, for trips to Washington, for the information which is political ammunition. The Committee has an intense job to do these next weeks and months.

Will you begin to get some dollars coming in to us?

Sincerely,

Maud Russell

Maud Russell
Executive Director

Encl.
uopwa-16-172

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COMMITTEE FOR A
DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY
111 W. 42nd STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • BRyant 9-6342-3

MAUD RUSSELL
Executive Director

6th April, 1949.

23-49-8

Dear Dr. DuBois,

It was a great pleasure to meet and talk with you this afternoon and to have the benefit of your acute understanding.

With reference to the matter we discussed, Mr. Forman's address is:

1620 22nd Street N.W.
Washington D.C.

Sincerely yours,
Elsie Fairfax Cholmeley
Elsie Fairfax ~~Cholmeley~~

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York City.

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23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
April 11, 1949

23-49-9

Mrs. Elsie Fairfax Cholmeley
Committee for a Democratic
Far Eastern Policy
111 West 42nd Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mrs. Cholmeley:

Enclosed is a copy of the letter I wrote to Clark Forman and also the manuscript of my remarks to the dinner on the 19th. I plan to fly on the 17th.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY

111 WEST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • BRYANT 9-6342-3 • CABLE CODEMFEP

April 14, 1949

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West Coast Director

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To our Board Members and Sponsors:

Re Board of Directors Meeting, March 30th

The accompanying recommendation, made by the Administrative Committee, was passed by the Board of Directors at the quarterly meeting on March 30th. Retrenchment was approved as sound and practical from the financial point of view; but it was the decided opinion of the Board members that the Committee's political work is still vitally needed and that the Board and other members must assume more responsibility for the political aspects of the Committee's work. When the Committee was formed about four years ago it was the only organization bringing the issue of an undemocratic China policy to the American public. Today the American scene offers a bigger perspective for fighting on this issue--the new interest in resumption of normal trade with China (on the part of labor and business men) and the new relief emphasis on promoting the common bond of concern for the people's welfare. The Committee's contribution at this time is a major increase in the spread of its information; the facts and issues re China policy are live political ammunition which the American public must have.

The Board voted that the Committee communicate with the State Department protesting the unseemly refusal of our powerful and secure country to allow certain visitors to the recent Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace to travel in the United States. We view this refusal as a violation of the rights of free speech and travel and as being a serious threat to the right to invite to our country international visitors who may have valuable contributions to make to our understanding of the problems of peace.

The auditor's report for the year 1948 showed an operating deficit of $45.02. The assets of the Committee were reported as $2,273.91 with liabilities of $4,320.77, leaving an accumulated financial deficit of $2,046.78.

The Board suggested, and I would like to urge, that each Board member make a definite and earnest effort to put the Committee "in the black". This could be, if every Board member were to immediately raise by getting subscribers, members or contributions the sum of $35.

230-49

Now we know that every Board member will not "come through" (let's be realistic!) so we hope we can count on the Sponsors to help fill the chinks. This Committee is important; it has done a good and steady job for almost four years; it still has a major role in the field of our country's foreign policy (who else is doing the job on the Far East?). It would set our much reduced staff up immensely if there were an upsurge of support from the Board and Sponsors and a wiping out of the red figures in our books!

Sincerely,

Maud Russell

Maud Russell
Executive Director

MR:RJ
Encl.
uopwa-16

23C-49

COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY

111 WEST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • BRYANT 9-6342-3 • CABLE CODEMFEP

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FRED ZESERSON

24-9-3

May 25, 1949

Dear Friend;

The sweeping victories of the Chinese liberation army in the Yangtze Valley are America's guarantee that the efforts of 450,000,000 people of the Far East will be dedicated to peace.

The victories of the Chinese people are major victories over the aggressive policies of the Kuomintang and the U. S. State Department. They inspire peace-loving peoples everywhere to redouble their efforts for world peace.

American reactionaries, however, still plan to waste our billions in a desperate attempt to crush the Chinese peoples' liberation.

We Americans cannot afford to sit back. We must continue to do our share to stop the war-makers -- to strengthen the forces for peace.

"Hail New China - Ally For Peace", will be the theme of a celebration rally to be held by our Committee on June 15th. Agnes Smedley, noted author and authority on China, and other prominent speakers will address the meeting.

We know that all peace-loving Americans will wish to participate in this historic event as a tangible expression of America's friendship for the new China. It will serve notice to those who are driving toward war that a free America needs a free China.

The rally will take place on Wednesday evening, June 15th, 8 P.M., at City Center Casino, 135 West 55th Street, New York City. Tickets are available at $1.20 and 75¢.

We need your support to guarantee the success of this celebration. We are enclosing tickets for your use, and we strongly urge that you make every effort to bring many others with you.

Please write or telephone us for more tickets. We count on you to make this an overflow rally for peace!

Sincerely,

Maud Russell

Maud Russell
Executive Director

Encl.
uopwa-16-172

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[ENC]

Recommendation
From the Administrative Committee
For Board Meeting March 30th 1949

RECOGNIZING the important role of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy in the fight for a democratic America and the continuing necessity for supplying the political ammunition of facts which the China policy issue furnishes,

AND RECOGNIZING the current political climate which imposes a heavy burden of finance and energy upon the progressive forces,

THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE recommends to the Board of Directors that the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, in order to maintain itself in being, take immediate steps to reduce its budget by at least fifty percent;

THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE further recommends that for the time being the emphasis of its work be put almost solely upon the publishing and distributing of Far East Spotlight and on such service in furnishing information as can be achieved without additional financial outlay.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE proposes the following budget:

(see attached)

with the understanding that occasional and temporary employed services be secured for fund-raising affairs.

IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT this proposed retrenchment does not affect the character of the Committee as a political action committee and therefore the Administrative Committee recommends that the Committee maintain and, if possible, increase its membership.

uopwa-16

232-49

Proposed Budget
April 1949

ESTIMATED EXPENDITURES

Far East Spotlight		
Printing, distribution, promotion	$4800	
Salaries		
Editor, Office Secretary, Auditor	6200	
Executive Director (nominal)		
Rent	600	
Telephone	360	
Postage	400	
Electricity	100	
Office Supplies and Printing	400	
Miscellaneous	640	$13500

ESTIMATED INCOME

Far East Spotlight		$4000	
Speakers Bureau		300	
Affairs			
Mass Meeting	$1000		
Chinese Dinners 3	1800		
Small Affairs	400	3200	
Memberships		750	
Organizational gifts		500	
Small gifts		1000	
Large gifts		3750	13500

[ENC]

COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY

AIMS AND PROGRAM

1. To make available to the American public information about the current conditions and issues in the Far East.

2. To point out the disastrous results, both to Americans and to the peoples of the Far East, caused by American support of undemocratic regimes and groups in Asia.

3. To unite American citizens

   a. To halt the present undemocratic, costly and futile Far Eastern policy of our Government.

   b. To effect a policy that fulfills the hopes of all democratic peoples for peaceful, cooperative and prosperous relationships among the nations.

230-49

I WISH TO BECOME A MEMBER...RENEW MY MEMBERSHIP

Membership includes subscription to FAR EAST SPOTLIGHT, general releases and special meetings.

Membership Categories:

$100 ( ) $50 ( ) $25 ( ) $10 ( ) $5 ( ) $3 ( )

I WISH TO SUBSCRIBE...RENEW MY SUBSCRIPTION

1. To FAR EAST SPOTLIGHT, the monthly magazine - $2 ( )

2. To FAR EAST SPOTLIGHT and general releases of the Committee - $5 ( )

NAME.....ADDRESS.....

CITY.....STATE.....

We would appreciate your listing on the reverse side names and addresses of people you feel would like to become members or subscribers. We will be glad to send additional information and samples of our material.

COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY
111 West 42nd Street, New York 18, N. Y.
BRyant 9-6342

uopwa-16-172

April 20, 1949

Miss Maud Russell
Executive Director
Committee for a Democratic
Far Eastern Policy
111 West 42nd Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Miss Russell:

Your circular letter with accompanying recommendation to Dr. Du Bois has been received.

Dr. Du Bois is in Paris in attendance at the Peace Congress. He will return early in May. I shall bring your letter to his attention immediately upon his arrival.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

(Civil Rights

Committee for FREE POLITICAL ADVOCACY

SUITE 824 • 11 WEST 42nd STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
CHickering 4-4628

January 3, 1949.

20-51-43

Dr. W. E. DuBois
409 Edgecomb Ave.
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Free speech, free press, free assembly and free petition, as guaranteed by the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution, have no meaning if they apply only to political friends. The test of these guarantees is their application to political antagonists in times of controversy, and to the defense of persons who disagree.

This is the interpretation of free speech applied by Voltaire, Jefferson and Lincoln, and embodied in our Bill of Rights as the most sacred political guarantee of free democracy.

In this light, the present indictment in New York City, by the Federal Government, of twelve communist leaders for political advocacy of a domestically unpopular doctrine is a most shocking exercise of state power. The indictments in these cases allege no overt act whatever, except "teaching and advocating" the principles of "Marxism-Leninism". The indictments allege no "clear and present danger" to bring the action within the Schenck case (Schenck v U. S. 1919, 299 U. S. 47).

If such advocacy is declared a crime, political change in a democracy may become impossible.

Such a decision would, in fact, outlaw the Communist Party and other left wing groups in the United States, in a manner hardly to be distinguished from the outlawing of the Communist Party by Hitler, Mussolini and Franco. At a time when our country aspires to world democratic leadership, such action is hardly designed to incur the respect and admiration of the democratic world.

So far this attack on free speech has been obscured and presented as an attack on the Communist Party. Such is not the case. The Communist Party is on trial only so far as free speech itself is on trial, and the entire proceeding represents a total distortion of government function, as conceived and limited in the United States for 159 years.

20-61-44

As the American Civil Liberties Union stated in its brief filed in behalf of the accused: "...We take the position that the statute is unconstitutional on its face because it punishes mere advocacy" and "...We maintain, therefore, that since this statute ... does not make the distinction between advocacy and incitement, it violates the First Amendment ..."

The undersigned, therefore urge that you join us in an appeal to the Attorney General to suspend these political prosecutions. It is our view that the Attorney General should reserve his energies for cases where his activities may preserve, rather than destroy, the political liberty which comprises our most priceless political possession. Certainly, in view of its sweeping terms, a test case of the constitutionality of the Smith Act should be brought before it is used to outlaw a political party.

If you agree substantially with the above letter, kindly mail us the card enclosed, since we are anxious to make our appeal as promptly and as broadly as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Earl B. Dickerson Paul J. Kern Hon. James H. Wolfe

uopwa
#16-2

(THE ABOVE SIGN AS INDIVIDUALS ONLY)

Com Party

Suite 824 CHickering 4-4628

Committee for FREE POLITICAL ADVOCACY
11 West 42nd Street
New York 18, N.Y.

February 8, 1949

23-49-26

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your card indicating your substantial agreement with our position on the current efforts to outlaw the Communist Party. We are anxious to circulate as widely as possible our viewpoint that the trial is a serious threat to basic civil liberties.

To this end our committee proposes to publish as a paid advertisement in the New York Times the statement with which you are familiar and with which you have expressed agreement (copy enclosed). Though you have previously indicated your agreement with this statement, we should like your specific authorization before publishing same with about one hundred of the most widely known signatories, to include your name.

We are very eager to proceed promptly with this matter and will therefore appreciate your prompt acceptance of this request.

Will you please wire your confirmation collect to this office?

Very sincerely,

Paul J. Kern

PJK:bb

encl.

uopwa#16

Committee for FREE POLITICAL ADVOCACY

SUITE 824 • 11 WEST 42nd STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
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Justice, Supreme Court of Utah

C.P.C.

May 19, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 W. 26th St.
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

20-51-36

The recent widespread attacks on elementary civil and political liberties in the United States have led this committee to call a conference of men and women of various political beliefs to consider the possible results of these many apparent abrogations of our Bill of Rights.

We associate you with that section of American leadership which adheres firmly to the belief that this nation's future greatness is guaranteed only to the extent that we safeguard and deepen America's heritage of political freedoms. For this reason, the Committee for Free Political Advocacy invites you to join with us, as a sponsor, in issuing the enclosed (draft) Conference Call:

The Conference, as indicated, will be held in New York City on July 16 and 17, 1949.

We are, naturally, eager to proceed promptly with preparations for the Conference and will be grateful for your immediate attention.

Very truly yours,

Paul J. Kern

PAUL J. KERN,
Acting Chairman

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Committee in formation

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Stanford University Medical School

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A.M.E. Church, Philadelphia, Pa.

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New York University

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HOWARD DA SILVA
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ANTHONY DE NOVELLIS
Sec.-Treas., Dist. Council 13, United Shoe Workers, CIO

ALBERT DEUTSCH
New York Post-Home News

DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS
Director, Council on African Affairs

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(Emeritus) Harvard University

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Washington, D. C.

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Brooklyn, N. Y.

CROCKETT JOHNSON
South Norwalk, Conn.

MERVIN JULES
New York

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New York

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Sec.-Treas., American Communications Association, CIO

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Ausable Forks, N. Y.

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New York

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New York

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New York

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Pres., Local 1, Jewelry Workers, AFL

KENNETH LESLIE
Editor, "The Protestant"

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Antioch College

JAMES McLEISH
Pres., Dist. 4, United Electrical & Radio Workers, CIO

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Los Angeles, Calif.

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Teachers Union No. 555, UPW, CIO

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Coordinator, Local 54, United Shoe Workers, CIO

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Hollywood, Calif.

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New York Consumers Committee

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New York

ARMANDO VALDES
Sec.-Treas., Food, Tobacco, Agricultural & Allied Workers, CIO

MARY VAN KLEECK
New York

MAX WEBER
New York

PROF. FRANK W. WEYMOUTH
Stanford University

CHARLES ENOCH WHEELER
Chicago, Ill.

WILLIAM ZORACH
New York

(Organizations listed for identification purposes only)

May 23, 1949

Mr. Paul J. Kern, Acting Chairman
Committee for Free Political Advocacy
11 West 42nd Street, Suite 824
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Kern:

Answering your letter of May 19, may I say that Dr. Du Bois is still abroad in Paris. He is expected to return on or about the first of June.

I will bring your letter and the attached call to his attention immediately upon his arrival and let you know his decision.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

[FREE P.A]
[1949]

DRAFT CONFERENCE CALL

Basic American freedoms - free speech, free assembly, free press and free petition - are in grave danger.

From New York to Los Angeles elementary democratic rights are in jeopardy. By judicial act and legislative decree the hard-won Bill of Rights is under attack.

The attack is mounted in the historic fashion of many such assaults on democratic rights -- in the guise of fighting "Communism."

The enemies of traditional American civil freedoms no longer concern themselves even with "overt acts." They now prosecute "teaching and advocacy," that is, books and thoughts.

At Foley Square, New York, twelve Communist leaders are being tried for "teaching and advocating" the principles of "Marxism-Leninism." No overt act is alleged; no effort to overthrow the government; no incitement to violence - simply "teaching and advocating" certain doctrines and printing and publishing certain works, including the 101 year-old "Communist Manifesto."

If such advocacy is declared a crime, democratic political change may become impossible. A conviction in the current case might mean a ten year sentence for each of the twelve men who espoused these doctrines; but even more important <u>it would mean the outlawing of a political party in the United States</u>. It would mean that the political guarantees of the Bill of Rights would be destroyed not only for the Communists but for <u>all</u> Americans. It would mean that the doctrines of Jefferson and Lincoln, Holmes and Brandeis, would be junked for the philosophy of fascism.

Such an event will speed the repressive process already evident in our various states. In Maryland the Communist Party and other groups seem to be virtually outlawed by the Ober law. In Illinois the Broyles bills - so brilliantly denounced by President Robert Hutchins of the University of Chicago - are still on the legislative calendar. In New York the Feinberg law is already on the books and a witch hunt by the New York City Board of Education is in the offing.

(more)

In Los Angeles and Denver men and women are being jailed for refusing to stoolpigeon on left-wing groups.

The "Hollywood Ten" - writers and producers with brilliant records - are blacklisted and still have contempt sentences hanging over them. In Washington the Senate Judiciary Committee is again considering the Mundt-Nixon and Ferguson Bills for thought control. This is the same committee which last year refused to report out Federal anti-lynching legislation.

The Negro people are not given the civil rights promised to them in the last election campaign. Progressive educators are being dismissed. Government employees - whose crime may be nothing greater than reading the liberal New Republic - are hounded under the President's Executive Loyalty Order. In New York City the liberal Nation has been barred from the public school system. Organized labor which won the legal right to bargain collectively through the Wagner Act in the '30s, is now discovering pre-election pledges are worthless.

In short, the attack on civil liberties, despite the extravagant administration promises, is greater than at any time in our history, not excluding the notorious Palmer Raid days after World War I.

We, the undersigned, therefore, men and women of various political beliefs and creeds, urge all Americans to unite in defense of the Bill of Rights. In furtherance of this aim, we propose and call upon organizations, irrespective of affiliation, to send delegations to a two-day conference July 16 and 17, 1949, at the Hotel _____, New York City.

Committee for Free Political Advocacy

Paul J. Kern, Acting Chairman

Room 822, 11 West 42nd St
New York 18, New York

LAckawanna 4-6182

cio
uopwa
#16

[ENC]

SUITE 824

11 WEST 42ND STREET

NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

206

15-227

[ENC]

Committee for FREE POLITICAL ADVOCACY
Suite 824 - 11 W. 42nd St. - New York 18, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

~~I subscribe substantially to your Statement of Purpose.~~ You may add my name to your list of sponsors.

Name .....

Address .....

.....

15-98

COMMITTEE TO END THE

JIM CROW "SILVER-GOLD" SYSTEM

IN THE PANAMA CANAL ZONE

HONORARY CHAIRMAN
CHARLES P. HOWARD
DES MOINES, IOWA

CO-CHAIRMEN
MRS. CHARLOTTA BASS
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
W. E. DUBOIS
NEW YORK, N.Y.
PAUL ROBESON
ENFIELD, CONN.

TREASURER
ABRAM FLAXER
NEW YORK, N.Y.

2 LAFAYETTE STREET • ROOM 1015
NEW YORK 7, N.Y. • WORTH 4-7117

August 12, 1949

Dear Friend:

We are at a crucial stage in our campaign to eliminate Jim Crow discrimination in the Canal Zone. I am sending this report of latest events to keep you informed and to urge your continued active support.

LEGISLATION

The contrast in treatment given to white and Negro workers in the Panama Canal Zone is now exemplified by the manner in which Congress is handling legislation affecting the welfare of these employees. For the white workers, both houses of Congress acted quite speedily in enacting S. 1359 giving white Canal Zone employees the benefits of the Civil Service Retirement Act. Previously, these employees were covered by special Canal Zone retirement provisions. The new law gives them wider benefits.

Legislation to improve the wages and conditions of employment of local rate (Negro) workers, however, has been bottled up in committee. No hearings have been held, none of the bills have been reported out.

The following bills, sponsored by the United Public Workers are bottled up in the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries under the Chairmanship of Schuyler Otis Bland of Virginia:

H.R. 2277 - which provides 50¢ per hour minimum wage for "local rate" employees. The minimum wage now is 26¢ per hour.

H.R. 5651 - which provides payment of bonuses to survivors of those "local rate" employees who participated in the original construction of the Panama Canal.

H.R. 4121 - which provides a decent retirement system for "local rate" employees. They now get a maximum of $25 per month.

Congressman Donald L. O'Toole of Brooklyn is the Chairman of the Sub-Committee on the Panama Canal of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. We suggest you write Congressman O'Toole and Congressman Schuyler Bland and your own Congressmen urging that these bills be reported out favorably for action on the floor of the House.

We also have a bill in the Senate, (S. 1744) introduced by Senator Glen Taylor at our request, which is before the Senate Committee on Armed Services, Chairman, Senator Millard Tydings. We urge you to write Senator Tydings and to

your own Senators, urging action on this bill, which is the companion bill to H.R. 2277, providing 50¢ per hour minimum wage.

Not only is Congress failing to act on these proposed bills to improve the lot of the "local rate" workers, but at this very moment it is considering a measure which will deprive more than 2,000 West Indian Negroes of their jobs. Senator McCarran is responsible for this. He introduced the McCarran amendment to H.R. 3734, the Civil Functions bill which carries appropriations for the Panama Canal. The effect of the McCarran amendment will be to deprive 2,000 West Indian Negroes who now hold skilled, semi-skilled and supervisory jobs from employment in the Panama Canal Zone. The Governor of the Canal has estimated that the McCarran amendment, if adopted, will cost $35 Million to put into effect. The amendment has no purpose other than to discriminate against a group of Negro people who have helped make the Canal a going concern. The entire bill is now in conference. We urge you to write leaders of both parties in the Senate and House to eliminate the McCarran amendment.

JOE SACHS CASE

I would also like to bring you up to date on the Joe Sachs case. You may remember our International Representative was convicted on a charge of criminal libel against the local District Attorney and was sentenced to nine months in jail at hard labor. The United States Circuit Court of Appeals reviewed the case last month and upheld the conviction. Although Sachs had 21 days in which to file another appeal before the United States Supreme Court, he was immediately arrested, his bail was revoked and he was thrown into jail as soon as the Circuit Court's decision was made known by the press. When our attorneys informed the Circuit Court Judges of this high-handed action, the Court acted at once and ordered his immediate release on bail pending filing of another appeal. The Circuit Court's decision was based primarily on the fact that the appellant, Joe Sachs, did not come into court as a contrite, remorseful, and apologetic "wrong-doer". The court excoriated him for insisting on his rights and took note of his alleged failure to apologize. Constitutional questions relating to the trial by an all-white jury, refusal to accept testimony relating to the substance of the libel charge, etc. are still to be decided by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Parenthetically, we want to inform you that this case has cost considerable sums. Much more will be needed to follow through with a final appeal to the Supreme Court. Your help in this fight by a substantial contribution is most urgently requested.

TRADE UNION RIGHTS IN DANGER

One more important problem merits your attention and action. As you know, the persecution of union representatives has continued. Some months ago, Regional Director Max Brodsky's visa was terminated by the Republic of Panama and he was ordered out of the country. We have tried ever since to send other representatives of the Union to assist the local in carrying out its activities. We have been the victims of very strange double-dealings. In one case, the Panama

Republic has refused a visa. In another case, the State Department has issued a passport and subsequently taken it back. Authorities down there seem determined to prevent the "local rate" employees from having an effective Trade Union to fight for their interests.

We'll keep trying. But we need your support. We urge you to write to the State Department and to the Ambassador of the Republic of Panama urging the admission of representatives of the International Union (United Public Workers of America) to enable Local 713 to function effectively.

I regret that this report is so lengthy and presents so many requests for your support. Because of your interest in this situation, I know we can count on you.

I will continue to keep you informed.

Sincerely yours,

Abram Flaxer

Abram Flaxer
Treasurer

upw 30

Communist Party, U. S. A.

NATIONAL OFFICE
35 EAST 12th STREET • NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • Telephone: ALgonquin 4-2215

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General Secretary
EUGENE DENNIS

Executive Board
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EUGENE DENNIS
WILLIAM Z. FOSTER
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IRVING POTASH
JACK STACHEL
ROBERT THOMPSON
JOHN WILLIAMSON
CARL WINTER

Organization Secretary
HENRY WINSTON

Treasurer
JACK KLING

23-49-27

January 7, 1949

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I take the liberty of enclosing a piece of my own, in addition to the briefs in the Dennis case and the press release.

Many thanks again for yesterday's cooperation, and for the pleasure it gave me to make your acquaintenance.

Sincerely,
Marion Bachrach

[Communist Party - Los Angeles]

Los Angeles County Committee
COMMUNIST PARTY

SUITE 525 • 124 WEST SIXTH STREET • LOS ANGELES 14, CALIFORNIA • TELEPHONE TRinity 7913

Chairman
N. SPARKS

Organizational Sec'y
DOROTHY HEALEY

Labor Secretary
BEN DOBBS

July 11, 1949

W. A. Hunton
Council on African Affairs
23 W. 26th St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Hunton:

In reference to the comment in the recent homecoming by Mr. Paul Robeson, we are anxious to learn if you have material available or can recommend material to us dealing with the question of cultural, economic, social and political life in Africa prior to the 18th century.

We would appreciate any help you can be in this connection.

Sincerely,

Mort Newman
Educational Director

uopwa 9

100-38345-26

[Communist Party - Los Angeles County]

July 19, 1949

Mr. Mort Newman
Educational Director
Los Angeles County Committee
Communist Party
Suite 525
124 West Sixth Street
Los Angeles 14, California

My dear Sir:

In answer to your letter of July 11, to Mr. Hunton, may I recommend my book, THE WORLD AND AFRICA, published by the Viking Press in 1947: also you will find bibliographical references in the prefatory volume of the "Encyclopedia of the Negro," published by Wilson in 1946.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Rec'd Card Copy

The COMMUNITY CHURCH of BOSTON

REV. DONALD G. LOTHROP
MINISTER

REV. CLARENCE R. SKINNER, LITT. D.
MINISTER - EMERITUS

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH CENTER
565 BOYLSTON STREET
BOSTON 16, MASS.
COMMONWEALTH 6-6710

June 29, 1949

Dr. William E. B. DuBois
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

23-14-53

Dear Dr. DuBois:

It would be a great pleasure and honor for us to have you occupy the pulpit of the Community Church during the year of its thirtieth anniversary. If has been sometime now since you have occupied our pulpit, but we do hope that you will return.

Specifically, we would like to have you speak on Sunday morning, February 12th. Our services are held in the John Hancock Hall that seats about 1200 people and is the most beautiful one in the city. It has just been completed. It is a block and a half away from our Parish House in Copley Square.

We could provide an honorarium of $75.00, which at least would cover your expenses and provide a token of appreciation.

Sincerely,

Donald G. Lothrop

DONALD G. LOTHROP

DGL/DLS

1875
50
1925

July 6, 1949

23-44-54

Rev. Donald G. Lothrop
The Community Church of Boston
565 Boylston Street
Boston 16, Massachusetts

Dear Rev. Lothrop:

I shall be glad to speak for you on February 12.

What subject do you suggest and about what length?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Fall Peace Conference

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

May 17, 1949

Dear Friend,

A subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, of which Senator Eastland of Mississippi is chairman, is already holding hearings on new Mundt-Nixon legislation. The particular measures, virtual replicas of the one which died with the 80th Congress last year, are S1194 introduced by Senator Mundt and S1196 by Senator Ferguson.

Senator Mundt has himself stated that this year's bill is designed to be "tougher" than its predecessor; it "sharpens the teeth and expands the bite".

The former measure, as you will recall, was killed only after a mounting wave of public protest from all sections of American opinion. This year the need for an organized and alert opposition is even greater.

Accordingly, we are planning a conference of individuals and organizations to be held in early June in New York City to plan a concerted opposition.

We invite you to join with us as a sponsor of such a conference. We emphasize 1) that the conference will be wholly non-partisan and strictly confined to this legislation and 2) that sponsors are invited to participate in planning the conduct of the conference.

Please return the enclosed card as promptly as possible. You will appreciate the importance of speed in the circumstances.

Sincerely,

Paul O'Dwyer

Paul O'Dwyer

Stanley M. Isaacs

Stanley M. Isaacs

Osmond K. Fraenkel

Osmond K. Fraenkel

Marian Wynn Perry

Marian Wynn Perry

P.S. I Signed Card & returned it - After talking with Dr. Hunter

93C-43

[1949?]

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

1050 Avenue of the Americas
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Friend:

Please accept my thanks for joining in sponsoring the conference against the Mundt-Ferguson Bills. I am enclosing a copy of the call which is being mailed today.

In view of the importance of this conference to us all, I have undertaken its Chairmanship. I, together with the initiating sponsors, feel that the conference will be most successful if we all undertake its active support. It is of great importance that the financial cost of the conference be borne to a great extent by the sponsors. Although we are undertaking to keep expenses at a minimum, the cost of printing, mailing, the hall, stationery and so forth must be met immediately. The moderate admission fee will cover only part. I am, therefore, asking that you contribute $10.00, or such sum as you wish, to enable us to make a success of the venture. Will you please send your contribution to Marian Wynn Perry, who has undertaken to work actively on the conference, at office of the Conference Committee, 1050 Avenue of the Americas.

Most sincerely,

Stanley M. Isaacs,
Chairman.

enclosure.

N.B: You will note that the Conference will be at the Brevoort Hotel on June 16th.

WHO OPPOSED LAST YEAR'S MUNDT BILL AND WHY:-

"A threat to all organizations engaged in an effort to obtain full citizenship for all American citizens." — *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People*

"It is our considered judgment that the Mundt-Nixon bill is objectionable." — *Jewish War Veterans of the United States*

"When exposure takes the form of official stigmatization and is attended by the imposition of severe handicaps, it amounts to suppression. And once this sort of suppression is permitted, it is bound to be applied not alone to actual Communists but to dissenters and nonconformists of every kind. The end is a suppression of liberty in the name of security." — *Washington Post*

"HR 5852 is potentially destructive of the moral and civil rights of all Americans. As one who believes in the widest measure of individual freedom consistent with the public interest, I beg to register my emphatic opposition to this bill." — *Most Rev. Francis J. Haas, Catholic Bishop of Grand Rapids, Mich.*

"Un-American and unconstitutional. An unprecedented violation of freedom of speech. Authorizes imprisonment for mere expression of opinion. Denies to American citizens, merely because of their beliefs and associations, rights guaranteed to all by the Constitution." — *American Civil Liberties Union*

". . . the proposed bill violates most of the fundamental principles on which our democracy rests. It disregards the basic principle that guilt is personal. It deprives American citizens of equal rights solely because of their opinions. The vagueness of the bill's provisions would make it impossible for any citizen to know whether or not he is violating the law. Penalties are imposed without any showing that those punished have knowingly engaged in illegal conduct." *Executive Committee, American Jewish Congress*

"We are strongly opposed to this bill because it seriously threatens the existence of bona fide labor unions and because it substantially curtails civil rights guaranteed to every American by the Constitution." — *CIO*

"We are afraid sections of the bill might be used against labor organizations." — *William Green, President, AFL*

264

HOW THE MUNDT-NIXON AND FERGUSON BILLS AFFECT YOU:-

What club or organization do you belong to? Do you discuss or act on any issues of the day?

If so, you are profoundly affected by these bills. It doesn't matter that you believe your group to be non-political or that it carefully avoids controversial issues.

A three man board could decide that *any* organization was "communist" or "communist-front" if (1) "its views and policies" or "the position taken by it from time to time on matters of policy" did not deviate often enough from those of the Soviet Union, the "World Communist movement" or the American Communist Party or (2) because of such things as the "identity" of its personnel or the "sources of its support" or the use made of its funds.

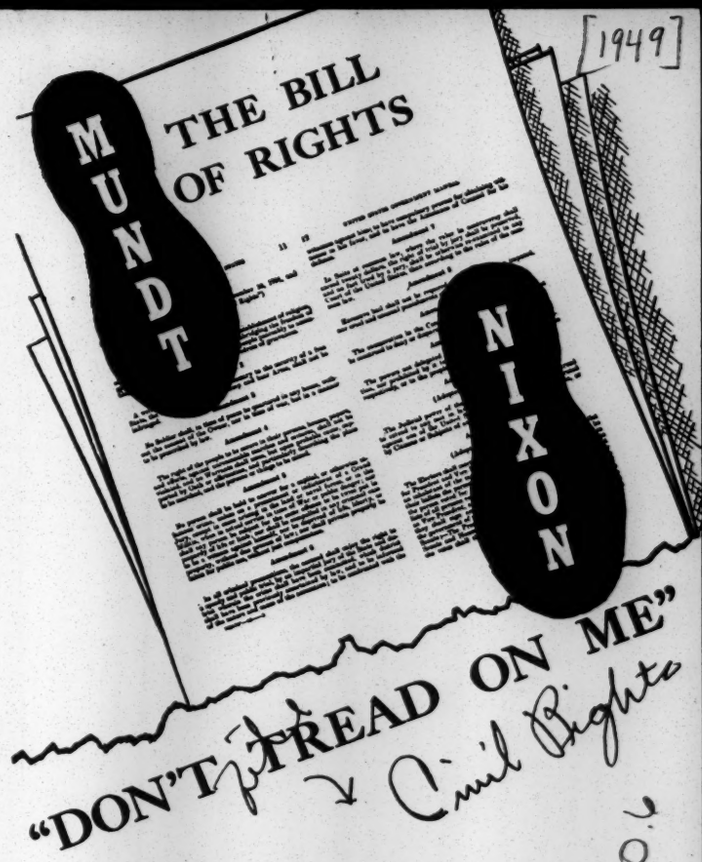
In other words, let an organization come out for racial equality, or rent control, or government ownership, or national health insurance, or public housing, or *against* the North Atlantic Pact, or the re-cartelization and re-militarization of Germany or Japan, or recognition of Franco Spain etc. etc. and the penal machinery of these measures can then be set in motion.

Or, let any group have a few active members with the proscribed associations; or receive contributions from a person who has contributed to proscribed organizations; or let it use some of its money the proscribed way — and it would come under the surveillance of the three man board with all the consequences.

The penalties are severe. Any such organization would be compelled to register its membership list and other data with the Attorney-General. It and all its members would then be publicly stigmatized as "subversive"; its mail would actually be stamped "communist"; its every radio broadcast would be prefaced by the announcement that it was "communist"; its members would be denied government jobs and all passport protection.

Failure to register would be punishable by as much as 5 years imprisonment for its officers and members and $5000 fine.

But this is not all. Under a special provision, the very act of registration would itself lay the organization and its membership open to criminal prosecution for subversive "conspiracy." In other words, compliance with the law would itself become evidence of a crime!



Algernon D. Black
W. E. B. DuBois
Hon. Stanley M. Isaacs
Paul O'Dwyer

INVITE YOU
TO ATTEND A.....

...CONFERENCE

AGAINST THE MUNDT AND FERGUSON BILLS (S. 1194 and S. 1196) and the companion measure of Rep. Nixon (current editions of the infamous Mundt-Nixon bill of last year).

Enactment of either of these two measures would mean the end of free speech, free press, free assembly and association, as we have known them. It would mean unconditional conformity to a prescribed pattern of thought control upon pain of imprisonment, fine, registration of opinion, bar to government employment, passports and tax deductions, restricted use of the mails and radio and relentless persecution.

No individual or group, no school of thought or opinion, would escape these consequences.

Only an overwhelming popular protest defeated the Mundt-Nixon bill last year.

This year the need for quick and decisive action is even greater.

JOIN WITH US TO SAVE YOUR LIBERTY!

THURSDAY, JUNE 16, 1949

8:30 P. M.

HOTEL BREVOORT

FIFTH AVENUE and 8th STREET

Chairman: HON. STANLEY M. ISAACS

SPONSORS

James E. Allen
William T. Andrews
Dr. Algernon D. Black
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Rev. J. Henry Carpenter
Rabbi J. X. Cohen
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W. E. B. DuBois
Henry Pratt Fairchild
Osmond K. Fraenkel
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Fred G. Moritt
Michael M. Nisselson
Paul O'Dwyer
Marian Wynn Perry
Nathaniel Phillips
Rev. James H. Robinson
O. John Rogge
Paul L. Ross
Randolph B. Smith
Mark Van Doren
J. Raymond Walsh
David L. Weissman
James Waterman Wise

(Please detach and return the form below in the self-addressed envelope enclosed (no postage required). Registration fees will be used for expenses. Make checks to: Conference Committee, 1050 Avenue of the Americas, NY 18).

Date.....

Conference Committee
1050 Avenue of the Americas
New York 18, N. Y.

I will attend the Conference against the Mundt and Ferguson Bills.
(Check one)

I am a delegate, representing.....

I am an observer for.....

I will attend as an individual.

($1.50 delegate or observer fee) ($1.00 individual fee) is enclosed.

Name.....

Address.....

Phone..... Organization.....

File Lecture

Congregation Ohab Zedek

118-124 WEST 95th STREET
New York 25, N. Y.

Tel. RIverside 9-5150

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DR. JACOB HOFFMAN
Rabbi
RABBI ZEV ZAHAVY
Assistant

23-14-36

9 November 49

409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, N.Y.

Dear Dr.DuBois:

The SENIOR LEAGUE of our Congregation has been providing monthly cultural meetings to its membership and the public for three years.

We are now arranging with the British Information Services to have Mr.William Hale, Deputy Legal Adviser of the British Colonial Office, speak to our group on "The Case For The British Colonies".

Because of your outstanding interest in this subject, as Chairman of the Council on African Affairs, we should appreciate it if you would appear as co-speaker the same evening to give "The Case Against The British Colonies".

The meeting will be held under our sponsorship at the above address on February 27th or March 6th, both Monday evenings, at 8:30pm. Good press coverage should guarantee an audience of over 250.

Because our group's main activity is the upkeep of the Congregation's kindergarten, to which many underprivileged children attend, we cannot pay our speakers more than a nominal amount. This would mean $10.00 to cover immediate expenses.

We believe this would be a fine opportunity to have an unpublicized topic discussed with a group which has not been toofamiliar with the problems involved.

We look forward to an early favorable reply.

Yours Sincerely,

Stanley J. Beyer

Stanley J. Beyer
Vice-President
SENIOR LEAGUE

23-44-37

November 14, 1949

Mr. Stanley J. Beyer
Vice-President, Senior League
Congregation Ohab Zedek
118-124 West 95th Street
New York 25, New York

My dear Mr. Beyer:

Answering your letter of November 9, may I say that I would be glad to address your Senior League, February 27, or March 6, providing no foreseen obstacles prevent me.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Lichtman

118 West 95 Street
New York 25, N.Y.
22 November 49

23 West 26 Str.
New York 26, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

23-44-35

We are pleased that you would be prepared to speak to our SENIOR LEAGUE of Congregation Chab Zedek on "The Case Against The British Colonies".

As my earlier letter pointed out, we are attempting to arrange a debate on such a subject and are in contact with the British Information Offices. They have advised us that Mr. William Dale, Deputy Advisor to the British Colonial Office, will tour this country for several weeks during the first two months of next year and would be available to speak on such a subject and debate with you.

However, the exact date cannot yet be set. When they advise us of the available Monday evening we shall quickly advise you and will look forward to a favorable reply at that time.

Fraternally,

S J Beyer

Stanley J. Beyer
Vice-President-SENIOR LEAGUE

I N F O R M A T I O N B U L L E T I N

O F T H E

C O N G R E S S O F P E O P L E S

A G A I N S T I M P E R I A L I S M.

JANURARY, 1949 41 BLD. MAGENTA, PARIS NUMBER 2.

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ENGLISH
EDITION

6D

C O C O A I N D E P E N D E N C E.

Mr. Arthur Creech Jones, Secretary of State for the Colonies, has sent a team of international scientists to study the cacao situation in the Gold Coast, but the farmers remain unmoved and their loss of faith in the British Government grows much deeper. To-day the cacao industry is threatened with complete extermination in ten to twenty years.

Not many people know, nor will the Colonial Office admit, that the root cause of the trouble is political; the result of a century of oppression, social injustice and economic strangulation.

There was no legal a thority for the British to enjoy any judicial power in the Gold Coast until the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1843 which was passed without consulting us. Prior to this, the the sole authority for the exercise of judicial power had been its unchallenged acceptance by the people.

On March 6th., 1844, the famous Bond of Friendship was signed; it neither made the chiefs subjects of the British Crown nor did it transfer their sovereign rights from the Gold Coas to the United Kingdom.

21-10

Parliament itself in 1842, just before the Settlement Act of 1843, said, " Their (the na ives') relation to the English Crown should be, not the allegiance of subjects, t which we have no right to pretend, and which it would entail an inconvenience to possess, but the deference of weaker powers to a stronger and more e lightened neighbour, whose protection a d counsel they seek and to whom they are bound by certain definite obligations, e.g. treaties for abolition of the slave trade, or t apply English Law, side by side with Gold Coast Law."

Whatever the Crown did after the signing of the Bond of 1844, including the annexation of 1901, was considered a friendly act of protection and to secure a friendly and harmless neighbour from the depredations of hostile foreigners on Gold Coast frontiers, but certainly not to change the status of the people from that of subjects of their chiefs and kings to those of the British Crown, except "as if" they were the subjects of it.

The Act of 1901 was, in other words, of merely administrative and in no way dynastic intent. If the doctrine of "as if" were allowed to apply to constitutional acts governing the Gold Coast then the Crown could legislate for the Gold Coas chiefs and people, not by reliance on any prerogative or statute, but as if it did so rely. Our constitutional position is ineffable. We are not part of the Empire; we are only so "as if", neither by any positive law nor by any prerogative right, but only by the adverb "as if".

During the recent revolt the people made it abundantly clear to the Government and the Commission that they had lost fa th in the former and felt that the time had c me for handing over the administration to the chiefs and people.

The most important point is that as a progressive people we have lost faith in the Right Honourable Arthur Creech-Jones and realise that the Labour Government has failed us and carries on with the old policy of the previous governments. We have reached the limit of endurance and can no longer tolerate imposition from Whitehall.

While in opposition, Mr. Cre ch-Jones talked like a pious angel of justice, the Messiah of the colonial a d subject peoples, but at £5,000 a year he is the pilot of the machine of oppression and suppres ion. What happens when civilians and ex-servicemen ask for bread, f r the amelioration of their living conditions, in places like Malaya, British Guiana, Nigeria and the Gold Coast? - The answer they get is bullets and the burning d wn of their homes.

The educational syste of the country has been deliberately designed to create a bourgeois class in the interests of Britain. If after being with us for over a hundred years only 10 per cent of the population is literate, then either Britain, our teacher, is a very poor teacher or else we are the biggest dunces in the whole world; the latter proposition won't hold.

During the war years the Government of the day set up a Cocoa Marketing Board for the bulk disposal of cocoa. Although world prices rose to as high as £280 per ton, the farmer never got more than £67. It was claimed that about £100 was being saved for him. Nobody knows what happened to the remaining £100 or so. Before this money is given to the farmer, Parliament has to pass a bill.

This creates irritation and bad feeling and when the farmer thinks he is at last getting a little more than he has ever received from the United Africa Company monopoly, he is being asked to forego his due to the Marketing Board on the assumption that it will be used to fight the Swollen Shoot disease. In this embittered mood he is asked to cut down his trees and is forced to resort to a scorched earth policy against t e Brit sh Government and not against the disease threatening the trees.

Some of our leaders have taken advantage of the political implications to advise the farmers to stick to this decision. They feel that only complete independence will solve the situation.

The list of the members of the Committee set up to consider constitutional changes in the light of the Watson report and the White Paper has bee published. It must be stated at once that the White Paper is useless, most undemocratic in conception and insistence on it would perpetuate frustration and discontentment. Mr. Attlee and his cabinet still seem t think that the Gold Coast was pawned to the British Crown. On the other hand, as a basis, Watson's recommendations are reasonable. Under the circumstances, with one or two exceptions, the Committee is almost the best the country could produce and the Government, the chiefs and the people ought to be congratulated on that. But, this will not solve the question. What we want is transfer of power to a democratically elected Constituent Assembly. - Meanwhile, we should call on the Government to set up a Development Committee in consultation with the representatives of the farmers in order to safeguard our economic basis, the cacao industry.

For the pas five years I have dreamed politics and the achievement of independence for our dear motherland, I appeal to that certain section of the press which is calling for resistance in cutting down the trees to consider the issue with the utmost seriousness, keeping in the forefront the ultimate desire of our people, the political and economic independence of our country.

I throw this challenge to the British Labour Government and its people. If the ritish sincerely say they are in the Gold Coast for our good and not for our goods (even a cup of tea which the Colonial Office offers to any Gold Coast person in this countr is c arged to the Gold Coast), then instead of spending

Continued at foot of Page 3.

M A L A Y A .

On Nov. 4th,, 1948, the International Committee of the Congress passed a resolution dealing with Malaya. Although some time has passed since then the position has altered only in that it has become graver and more acute. To the bombing and burning of villages referred to in the resolution, which has continued, has been added an order authorising the deportation at 24 hours notice of anybody who cannot be proved to be a British subject. The demandsset out in the resolution are even more vital now than when they were passed and we, therefore, repeat them here.

))

The International Committee deplores the military measures put into practice by the British in Malaya arising from the assassination of Europeans in that country.

The Congress condemns in particular the use of aerial bombing and the burning of villages, which inevitably cause the destruction and death of innocent people. The Committee declares that the solution of the present difficulties of Malaya can be found only in putting an end to all the vestiges of imperialism. It recognises the rights of the people of Malaya to independence and strongly backs the precise points of the Malayan Nationalist Party and the Federation of Pan-Malayan Trade Unions:-

1. Malayan citizenship to be given to all permanent residents of the country.

2. Unification of Singapore and Malaya.

3. Introduction of democratic institutions by universal suffrage.

8/-/10

Continued from page 2/ Cocoa Independence.

millions of pounds on armaments etc., it should compensate the farmers out of Imperial funds and not with £9 million out of the savings the farmers have made. After all this would not be an act of generosity but reparation for years of imperialist exploitation.

Finally, let us forget the past and go forward with courage and determination. The task of reconciliation, of bringing order where there is now confusion and of bringing about a settlement at once just and merciful demands all our wisdom, all our loyalty to each other. It must be the proudest hope of us all that we may be of some service to our motherland and " with malice towards none, charity for all le u resolve that the Gold Coast under God shall have a new birth of freedom and that Government of the people, by the people, for the people" - for the African people of the Gold Coast - shall be the reward of our struggles.

J. Kwesi Lamptey, Chairman,

London Centre of the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism.

PROBLEMS OF FRENCH INDIA.

November, 1948.

In August, 1947 Governor Baron promised that he would be the last Governor of French India. This promise has been belied leaving the people exasperated with hopes once more deferred. It has become fashionable to compare the conduct of the French unfavourably with that of the British and this attitude was expressed by Mr. Ramaswami Reddiar, Prime Minister of Madras, in a public address delivered in October of last year.

While the Indian Union affirms its position as a great nation, the people of French India are humiliated, denied political maturity and treated instead to mystification and intimidation. This intimidation, the desperate measure of a government always behind the times, has driven the majority of the population into total intransigeance.

In the prevailing special economic conditions "Politics" pays better than productive work and the French Government has taken advantage of this to sponsor and destroy political parties which are best describes as "networks of personal ambitions".

An election is always marked by violence and sometimes by deaths. With the tacit consent, and sometimes the active co-operation of the police, bandits of one party or another create a reign of terror, especially in the pre-electoral period. As a result self-respecting people do not go out on election day. Not more than a tenth of those registered can vote freely and electoral fraud is a government institution.

Thus at the last municipal elections of the 24th. October a so-called socialist party created by the Government was able to win by trickery, and by the control which its serving members had secured over the rice supplies. Seeing some signs of rebellion in its protege, the government created a new party: "Democratic Progressive Party" but the "Socialist Party" got in under the momentum it had already acquired. A few weeks after the elections the Government is inciting its proteges to a trial of strength by violence which has led to injuries and deaths. French India anxiously awaits the end of this nightmare.

Economic Conditions.

The Indian Union treats French India rather as an honoured guest than a foreign nation. and provides it with food and other supplies at cost price and runs its railways and postal system. In April, 1949 the customs convention between India and French India under which the latter receives 620,000 rupees a year will expire. From it and other conventions French India receives one and a half million rupees a year, constituting a third of its budget.

These convnetions were signed by the British Government and the Government of India has decided to renounce them as this becomes possible. The customs convention, which is the most important has already been renounced. French India cannot live for more than a month without the economic help of the Indian Union.

[Connolly, testimonial]

Testimonial dinner to the honorable Eugene P. Connolly

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY MEMBER NEW YORK CITY COUNCIL

File A.L.P.

Sponsors
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Congressman Vito Marcantonio
Elinor S. Gimbel

•

Johannes Steel, Treasurer

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 4-0520

May 17, 1949

Dear Friend:

You are cordially invited to attend a Testimonial Dinner to the Honorable Eugene P. Connolly, American Labor Party member of the New York City Council, to be held at the Hotel Astor on Wednesday, June 8, 1949, at 7 P.M. The Sponsoring Committee in process of formation is headed by Honorable Henry A. Wallace, Congressman Vito Marcantonio and Elinor S. Gimbel, and represents the widest cross-section of labor, civic and community groups in New York City.

We earnestly hope that you will join our committee in this well-deserved expression of appreciation to this outstanding fighter for the needs of the people. Probably never before in the history of New York City has one individual rendered greater services to our citizens for not only the preservation of our democracy but for its expansion to all; especially in the fight against discrimination, for the rights of labor, for the full guarantee of our precious concepts of civil liberties and constitutional rights, for the protection of tenants, for peace and that host of issues which must be met and solved if our democracy is to survive as the political expression of the American people.

We sincerely believe that you share our deep admiration for Mr. Connolly and his services to the whole people, and will wish to join with us in paying tribute to him.

You are invited to use the enclosed reservation blank for your reservations and that of your friends who will wish to attend with you. Will you please make your check payable to me as Treasurer of the Committee.

Most cordially yours,

Johannes Steel

Treasurer,

Testimonial Dinner Committee to
Eugene P. Connolly

uopwa 16-39

Hotel Astor, Wednesday, June 8, 1949 at 7 P.M.

Lectures

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916 Seventeenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

September 4, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Greetings from the officers and members of the Washington Cooperative Bookshop! We remember you as one of our friends and guests and you no doubt remember our lively, thoughtful and progressive-minded audiences. We are now in our tenth year of existence as an interracial cooperative, selling books at savings to members, sponsoring lectures and forums on the important issues of the day, and conducting a lively interracial social life.

23-1-22

As you probably know we are not an "ivory tower" cultural organization of sterile "impartiality" but one that is keenly anti-fascist and passionately democratic. We have always championed the freedom of writers to write as they believe, the freedom of lecturers to speak forthrightly, honestly and critically, the freedom of our audiences to assemble to hear what they please. In fact, we are "the" organization in Washington which truly represents the progressive and liberal American tradition in the cultural field.

Thus it is that we have been most unjustly and arbitrarily placed upon the Attorney General's infamous "list" and more recently summoned before the ill-famed House Un-American Committee, where the usual intimidating questions were asked and our membership lists requested. Needless to say, we have not given our membership names and we have vigorously protested this bald attempt to stifle and censor liberal and progressive cultural life in Washington, D. C.

On Friday, October 28th, we are holding a CULTURAL FREEDOM RALLY in Washington to give organized expression by cultural leaders and audiences in this city, to their determination that our citizens will fight for their right to read, speak, write and listen to what they wish WITHOUT ANY GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE. We would indeed be happy if you could be with us as one of our guest speakers. We are able to provide lodging and meals at the home of one of our members but we aremot able to pay transportation. Please let us know as soon as possible if you can be with us.

If, unfortunately, you cannot be with us in person, would you in your answer to this letter include a statement in support of our Bookshop and our CULTURAL FREEDOM RALLY? Needless to say, your expression of solidarity will be most heartening to all of us. We shall look forward to an early reply and with warm good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,
Lillian Clott
FOR THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

[COOPERATIVE B.]

September 7, 1949

Miss Lillian Clott
The Cooperative Bookshop
916 Seventeenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Clott:

Your letter of September 4, to Dr. Du Bois has been received.

Dr. Du Bois is at present abroad in Russia. I am not certain as to when he will return. However, you letter will be brought to his attention immediately upon his arrival to his office.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

[COOP.]

September 21, 1949

Miss Lillian Clott
The Cooperative Bookshop
916 Seventeenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

23-1-23

My dear Miss Clott:

I remember your cooperative bookshop with a great deal of pleasure and I would like to cooperate with you October 28; but I regret to say that I have been out of the country so long and have so much accumulated work that I do not see how it will be possible for me to come to Washington at that time.

You have my best wishes.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

Lectures Arrs

the cooperative Bookshop

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75

916 Seventeenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

September 30, 1949

Via Air Mail

23-44-33

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 W. 46th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We were so happy to have your kind letter so promptly replying to ours in connection with the October Cultural Freedom Rally. And we are sorry you are so busy with work that you cannot come.

But here we are right back after you again for our members and friends, remembering you from a few years ago when you spoke for us, keep asking us to bring you here.

We are planning to make February Negro History MONTH at the Bookshop, building all our activities around this subject - we are beginning our plans already. We shall feature books, children's books, records, Negro art, music, pamphlets on Negro History, will decorate our shop and street window accordingly, will issue a special publication, compile a special bibliography, and much more.

But for our key speaker of the month we want you. Anyone of the three Fridays, in order of preference, would be possible: February 3rd, February 10th, February 17th. If you can come would you please advise your fee, and whether fee does or does not include transportation?

May we have your early reply and we hope, a favorable one? With warm regards from your Washington friends, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Lillian Clott

Lillian Clott
Co-Manager

23-44-34

October 7, 1949

Miss Lillian Clott
The Cooperative Bookshop
916 Seventeenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

My dear Miss Clott:

I am afraid to make an engagement so far ahead as February. If you have not secured anyone else and will get in touch with me early in January, I will let you know if I can come.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23C-40

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As per your request we have today issued the below described Foreign Dollar Check which is handed to you herewith:

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CORNELL UNIVERSITY
ITHACA, NEW YORK

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

Cornell Field Research
Office
Federation Building
Elmira, New York

February 17, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Research Specialist
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

23-51-26

Dr. Hugh H. Smythe has applied to us for the position for a trained field worker in Elmira, New York, for a six months' assignment. We are undertaking in this community a three-year study of intergroup relations on a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. Our tentative plans include experimental studies, situational diagnoses, and action research that will require the participation of one or more Negro field workers.

Your name appeared on the list of references he submitted to us. Wewould appreciate anything you can tell us about him. Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

John P. Dean

Dr. John P. Dean
Field Director of Research
Department of Sociology

mm

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 24, 1949

20-5/-27

Dr. John P. Dean
Department of Sociology
Cornell University

My dear Sir:

Answering your letter of February 17, I would recommend Dr. Hugh H. Smythe very highly for the position of trained field worker in Elmira. He has been associated with me as student and assistant for several years and I have a very high regard for his ability and his conscientious work.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

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[Council on African Affairs]

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PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

January 3, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

As the new year, 1949, begins, the officers and Executive Board of the Council on African Affairs are striving to expand and improve the work of the organization.

There are several important Council objectives which were approved at the last meeting of the Executive Board (see the enclosed copy of the minutes of the meeting), on which we should like to have your thinking, advice and assistance. We sincerely hope that you will make use of the attached sheet for the purpose of recording your opinions and suggestions on the various points there indicated, returning the sheet to us at your earliest convenience.

It is obvious that the problems of Africa are now becoming more acute than ever and that the Council's responsibility has increased correspondingly. We need and desire your utmost cooperation, for without this the Council can hardly expect to do the job which needs doing, attaining a new and higher level of positive accomplishment in the interest of African and other oppressed colonial peoples.

We take pleasure in announcing at this time that Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, who was elected to the post of Vice-Chairman of the Council at its membership meeting held last March, has now established his office with us at 23 West 26th Street, New York, and will identify himself closely with the work of the Council.

With every good wish to you for the New Year,

Very sincerely yours,

Paul Robeson
PAUL ROBESON, Chairman

W. A. Hunton
W. A. HUNTON, Secretary

PR:WAH:mpm
Enc: Reply Sheet
Minutes of Exec. Bd. Meeting, Dec. 7
Financial Statement

New AFRICA

Council on African Affairs

Monthly Bulletin

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For the united struggle of all democratic forces against imperialism; for the achievement of freedom, democracy, abundance, and peace by the peoples of Africa and the whole world.

Volume 8, No. 1 January, 1949

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PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

Pertinent Facts About The Durban Riot

Not mentioned in U.S. press accounts of the tragic Zulu-Indian riots of January 13-17, which took a toll of 137 killed and nearly 2,000 injured, are the following significant facts:

• The consistent anti-Indian campaign carried on by the Smuts government was pushed to the limit during the recent South African elections by Malan's Nationalist Party, which spread propaganda among the Africans that the Indians were responsible for their misery and that the Africans should join with the whites in driving the Indians out of South Africa.

• During the December election of Native Representatives to Parliament, the Nationalist Party demagogically raised the slogan of "Zululand for the Zulus." To the Zulus, who constitute the overwhelming majority of Africans in Durban, this slogan was obviously an incitement against the Indians. Cyprian, the Zulu chief, was promised a paramount chieftainship if he could get his people to support the Nationalist candidate. He tried but failed.

• The Municipal Council in Durban, in which neither Africans nor Indians have representation, has ignored the civic needs of both non-white groups. More than a year ago a government commission pointed out that at least 25,000 African families in the city were without decent housing. Nothing has been done about it yet.

• Fully 90 percent of the Indians in South Africa are poorly-paid workers. The exploitation which Africans suffer at the hands of the minority of unscrupulous Indian traders, black-marketeers and rent gougers is borne by Indian workers as well.

• Because of the indifference of municipal authorities, the people themselves have on numerous occasions conducted raids on Indian black-marketeers and brought them to court for violating price control regulations.

Questions Mr. Truman Failed to Answer

In business and government circles there has been increasing emphasis on the subject of exporting American "know-how" and capital to undeveloped countries. The objective in view, so it is claimed, is to promote the rapid economic advancement of such countries and thus stimulate increased "two-way trade" with them.

President Truman in his inaugural address included this American-export thesis as one of the four primary objectives of current U.S. foreign policy. But his own statement on this matter and those of other officials have failed to provide any answer to a number of important questions, among them the following:

In what respects, if any, has American business enterprise helped the advancement of the peoples of China, the Middle East, Liberia, Puerto Rico, South America or other economically backward lands?

How can the U.S. government propose to assist in raising the living standards of colonial and semi-colonial peoples when it is concentrating upon a program which necessarily entails supporting Britain, France, Netherlands, Belgium and Portugal in holding their hundreds of millions of colonial subjects in continued serfdom, in order to prevent the crumbling imperialist economy of Western Europe from smashing up completely?

How can the United Nations be utilized for cooperative measures in furthering the welfare of peoples in undeveloped countries, if that is our government's desire, as long as basic points of conflict between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. remain unsettled?

How can there be serious talk of constructive measures for world peace and prosperity when this country is spending, producing, stockpiling strategic materials, and negotiating military agreements in preparation for war?

Reinforced police charge on a group of Africans during the recent Durban riot. ***(See next page for more news of the riot and Dr. DuBois' observations.)***

"Europeans Fanned Anti-Asiatic Feeling," Says Sen. Brooks

Addressing a meeting of the South African Institute of Race Relations in Cape Town on January 19, just after the Durban explosion, Senator Edgar Brookes, white representative for Africans in the South African Senate, declared:

"Much of the responsibility for what has happened rests on those Europeans who have fanned anti-Asiatic feeling in Durban and made of it in recent years a city of hate.

"This feeling has communicated itself to the Zulus, and in some instances has been deliberately spread among them. This is not the fault of one political party only.

"If there is one lesson to be learned out of the Durban riots it is the immense sense of responsibility which every public man in South Afrca ought to have when he speaks on matters of race and colour. He is playing with fire in a shed stocked with high explosives. . . .

"The rioters were frustrated men, many of them living for years under slum conditions. Their grievances were many. Some were against South African society as a whole, some against Europeans, some against Indians.

"The greatest tension existed between the poorer and more ignorant Zulus and the middleclass Indians. As always happens in riots, the innocent suffered with the guilty. Many of the Indian refugees were of the poorest and most wretched strata of society, whom no one could call exploiters.

"My conviction is that South Africa as a whole and the causes which many of us have at heart are in the deadliest peril they have ever faced."

South African Govt. Strikes Again at African Rights

The Native Representative Council in South Africa has been disbanded by the government. The Council was convened early in January to hear what the Malan administration's "apartheid" policy of complete racial segregation meant. Instead, the members were told that the Council would be abolished.

The government, an official told them, "is of the same opinion as you are, that the Council can serve no useful purpose." Moreover, he said, the government was "not prepared to accede to the Council's demands for the abolition of discriminatory legislation."

The N.R.C., established in 1936, has been described as a device "by which a European Parliament shunted Native representation on to a short side-track with a 'stop sign' at the end of it." It was supposed to be a sort of advisory body on African matters. But the government ignored the Council and took action without even letting it know what was to be done.

When the Smuts regime followed this procedure in smashing the African mine workers strike in 1946, the Council members decided that they had had enough of this sham. They quit in disgust. The Malan government was satisfied to let the Council die, lest it become a center of militant struggle for African rights.

The Bunga, another so-called political institution granted the Bantu, also voiced its revolt last fall by demanding that the Union government amend the existing law on electing members of Parliament so as to allow Africans to represent Africans in that body. Prime Minister Malan, however, has asked Parliament to bar even the white representatives for Africans now permitted.

THE RIOT IN SOUTH AFRICA

By W. E. B. DuBois

THE bitter race riot which has just taken place in South Africa was to be expected. It was necessary that sooner or later a fierce outbreak should flare, typifying the deep-seated resentment of millions of people, aimed in reality not at anybody in particular but at everybody in a world of oppression, and foreshadowing bloodier efforts to come.

The history of South Africa is a history of turmoil, frustration, and injustice. The Union is twice the size of France, Belgium and Holland together, and has a population of 11,000,000 people. Of these, 7,700,000 are black native peoples; 900,000 are colored people of mixed Negro, Asiatic, and white descent; 280,000 are Indians and other Asiatics; and 2,300,000 are Europeans. The whites have segregated and disfranchised all of the Africans and most of the colored peoples and Asiatics, and are ruling these people for their own advantage and that of European and American investors.

Background of Revolt

The Africans, forming seventy per cent of the population, possess only eight per cent of the land. Yet of the land owned by the whites, only five per cent is in actual use. Early settlers took enormous farms and capitalist land speculators took more. In the Transvaal alone, thirteen land companies hold nearly five million acres of land, most of which is unused. The right of Africans to buy land is limited and while some gestures have been made toward restoring small bits to them, nothing really important has been done.

The Negroes have practically no right to vote and cannot sit in Parliament. They can only be represented there by a few white men, supposed to be "acquainted with their wants and needs." Their wages are low, their housing is shameful, their treatment is that of serfs and slaves. Their education lags far behind their need. Their industrial exploitation in mines and on plantation is notorious.

What now, under such circumstances, is an African to do? He is deprived of arms and the right to carry them, and is surrounded not only by the well-armed whites but by the threats of European warships and munitions. Rebellion under such a situation is almost impossible; certainly, there is at present no chance for legal agitation and expression of grievances, or planning of appeal to the world. The appeal of black South Africans to the United Nations last year was not even received. There was no "legal" basis for its reception. The protest of the Indians could be received and was debated because they have an Indian government to represent them. The Africans have nothing.

African-Indian Relations

The unrest therefore had to break out in sporadic and undirected violence. The strikes in the mines two years ago were put down by government force and declared illegal. But here in the case of their fellow sufferers, the Indians, the Negroes could find grievance, petty undoubtedly, but nevertheless festering like a sore. Whenever two groups of underprivileged and oppressed peoples come together, one group and sometimes both try to imitate the oppression of the upper classes.

Without doubt, the Indians took advantage in many cases of the greater ignorance and poverty of the Africans and sought to escape being classified with them and suffering the indignities that they suffer. On the other hand, the Africans could see in the Indians a class of people whom they resented and suspected of being willing to join with their white oppressors. Similar development one saw in the fierce enmity between the mulattoes and black slaves of Haiti, and in other West Indian Islands, during the days of emancipation.

It happened, however, that in South Africa one great man stopped the possible clash between Indians and Africans and brought them together as one protesting force; and that was Mohandas Gandhi, who began his great career in this part of the world. Consequently, we have had few outbreaks between Africans and Indians, no matter how much the white oppressors wished and undoubtedly encouraged this. In these later days, however, when Gandhi transferred his activity to India itself and there eventually died for his great cause, there was no great man to succeed him in South Africa. And without doubt the relations between Indians and Africans have deteriorated, and with the differences of languages, religion, custom, and economic situation growing, a break was bound to occur sooner or later.

A Warning To The World

But this break went much further than the whites had anticipated. They were

(*Continued on next page*)

R.D.A. Champions Rights of France's African Subjects

There is a new voice heard in France's African Empire today. It is the Rassemblement Democratique Africain (R. D.A.), the African Democratic Rally.

This is a movement of widespread influence and mass following in the French territories of black Africa, organized in September 1946 by deputies and counsellors, all Africans except for two or three, who have been elected as representatives to the French Union Government from their respective colonial territories.

Leaders of the R.D.A. are President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, Ivory Coast Deputy; and Vice-Presidents Gabriel D'Arboussier, Vice President of the Assembly of the French Union; Jean Felix-Tchicaya, Middle Congo Deputy; and Mamadou Konate, Sudan Deputy.

The Council on African Affairs has received a copy of an 80-page pamphlet published in Paris last fall, setting forth the origins of the organization, statements and resolutions adopted at its conferences, and a report made by Vice President Gabriel D'Arboussier to the R.D.A. Conference held last October at Dakar, French West Africa, on the immediate problems and program of action the organization has adopted.

Representative of the spirit which motivates this movement which speaks for the 25 million African colonial subjects of France (not counting the 16 million in French North Africa) are the following expressions from the organization's manifesto:

"The R.D.A. reaffirms once more these fundamental principles: the struggle for political, economic, and social emancipation of the African within the framework of a French Union founded on equality of rights and working conditions; a union of all Africans, whatever may be their ideological and religious conceptions, their origins, or their social conditions, in their struggle against colonialism; an alliance of democratic African forces with democratic and progressive forces of the whole world, and especially with those of the French people, in their common struggle against imperialism.

"Our organization is not a party but a democratic movement which is the expression of the masses and of the masses alone. Its orientation is clearly anti-colonial, anti-imperialist.

"Certain of the power that comes from the overwhelming support of millions upon millions of Africans of all stations of life, as well as in the development of the democratic forces in France and in the world, the R.D.A. again welcomes to its ranks all organizations and all persons aware of the urgency of the present hour and convinced of the inevitable advancement of humanity toward liberty and progress, to which Black Africa makes its zealous contribution.

—Vive le R.D.A.! Vive l'Afrique Noir!
—Vive l'Union Francaise fraternelle et democratique!
—Vive la solidarite agissante des forces de progres du monde entier!"

A U. S. OF AFRICA — FOR AFRICANS?

"How encouraging it is to learn that our brothers of the French West African territories have united into one! Thus like us in British West Africa, the restoration of freedom to the blacks is their only aim.

We believe therefore that the stage is well set for the formation of a United States of West Africa. The desire for this grand move is expressed in both regions. And we must wait no longer. . . .

West Africa is one. The talk of French this and British that is resented. With unity alone will we break the backbone of our oppressors, since the atom bomb we have none."—West African *Pilot*, Lagos, Nigeria.

—OR FOR EUROPE'S RULING CLASS?

"I believe that such a union [of Western European powers] must be based for its raw material and food supplies on the broad plinth of Africa and our other Dominions.

"My vision is of a United States of Africa, criss-crossed with railway lines, with road developments in keeping with modern needs, and with British air-lines feeding down both her Eastern and Western corridors. . . .

"It is to the ingenuity of our engineers, to the initiative of our financiers, and the diplomacy of our statesmen properly co-ordinated now that we look for the best out of such lands of promise as Africa. "——Sir Miles Thomas, speaking in London on the subject, "Engineering Imperially in Africa."

Riot in South Africa (Cont'd)

not unwilling that there should be enmity between these two oppressed peoples, but the fierceness of the outbreak meant to them that when the bitterness of Africans and Indians was turned upon the whites, as it must be some day, — then there was going to be a conflagration in South Africa which even two million armed white people, backed by the falling empire of Great Britain, could not put out.

There is only one thing for the world to do: turn attention to South Africa, as Madam Pandit so earnestly urged the United Nations; investigate the race situation and insist that this country, miscalling itself a democracy, shall cease to be a land which cannot with any degree of decency be called a civilized nation.

This riot is a warning. It is a fierce and terrible warning. It must be heeded!

French Colonial Workers Demand End of Oppression

Very little information reaches the outside world concerning the condition of workers in the French African Empire. A glaring spotlight is turned on this subject in the "Memorandum on the Persecutions of Colonial Workers" recently presented to the President of the French Union by African delegates to the 27th Congress of the French General Confederation of Workers.

The Memorandum is a lengthy and detailed factual presentation of the violations of trade union rights, racial discrimination, forced labor practices, corporal punishment, and exploitation of local producers in Dahomey, Cameroons, Madagascar, and the various regions of French West and Equatorial Africa.

Citing the provisions of the French Constitution bearing on each of the above mentioned grievances, the Memorandum presents evidence in case after case, with names, places, and dates, showing how these provisions have been flouted in the African colonies.

Among the specific charges are:

- Special conditions required of trade unions in the colonies but not in France, with the object of systematically impeding labor organization in the colonies.
- Dozens of trade union leaders in the colonies jailed and fined by colonial officials in their strike-breaking and intimidation campaigns.
- "Racial discrimination continues to be practiced in all areas: in North Africa, as well as in black Africa (South of the Sahara)."
- Discrimination of the big banks against local African producers and in favor of the big export monopolies controlled by foreign capital.
- Unequal pay: African workers receiving from one-fifth to less than one-eighth of the pay given whites in the same grade of employment.

Some of the most shocking revelations in the document have to do with conditions of forced labor. It is stated that the practice of calling up Africans for army service and then putting them to work on roads and other public construction "is only a disguised form of forced labor . . . the condition of these draftees is especially deplorable. In Senagal they must sleep on the ground without mats or blankets and in many of the work camps sickness and death rates have risen scandalously."

Liberty, Fraternity, Equality — but not for France's colonial subjects, or for the starving workers of France either!

ITEMS WORTH NOTING

KENYA — "I had been warned that the rising tide of nationalism in Kenya had made the African suspicious of the Church in general and the European in particular, but I was not ready for some of the thinly veiled antagonism which greeted my proposals for scenes dealing with primitive Africa . . . The nominal Christians were against anything which suggested that they had ever been anything but educated, and keen Christians were rightly afraid that they would be compromising themselves and their faith if they acted the part of pagans."— Mr. D. W. Lomax, director of the Church Missionary Society's film unit.

* * *

SIERRA LEONE — As reported by the New York *National Guardian*, the members of the Episcopal Mission Church, Kailahun, Sierra Leone, West Africa, took up a collection of $22.25 and forwarded it to the head of the Episcopal Diocese of Chicago after listening to a sermon by the Rev. Ralph T. Milligan on "the evils of civilization and the bad habits of some Americans in their neglect of Christianity."

* * *

ETHIOPIA — Emperor Haile Selassie last month requested the Inter-Allied War Crimes Commission in London to turn over Marshalls Pietro Badoglio and Rudolpho Graziani of Italy to be tried by an Ethiopian court for their crimes during the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, 1935-36.

* * *

NEW DELHI — Egypt and Ethiopia were among the nineteen countries which participated in the recent Asian Conference on Indonesia, called together and presided over by Pandit Nehru. Loy Henderson, U. S. Ambassador to India, according to a press dispatch in the New York *Times*, played "a significant role"in the conference, "tactfully advising the Indian Prime Minister of American and British hopes" that the final outcome of the talks would be "moderate." It was.

* * *

UGANDA — A government commission appointed to investigate the Uganda cotton industry has disclosed that illicit profits of about £600,000 ($2,400,000) are made annually by cotton buyers in Uganda, most of them Indians, through the widespread deliberate cheating of the African grower. "The root of the evil of these malpractices," says the Commission report, "lies in the illiteracy of the thousands of growers . . . and in the dishonest rapacity of many buyers, and we regret to add, in some cases, of the persons who employ them." The last phrase, which apparently implicates the big British cotton exporters, is not amplified in the report.

* * *

LONDON — A survey recently made by the British Colonial Office Information Department covering a representative cross-section of 1,921 men, women and children in the United Kingdom revealed these findings: Three per cent of those questioned still thought the U. S. A. was a British colony; 51 per cent could not name a single British colony; 75 per cent did not know the difference between a dominion and a colony; and 77 per cent believed that British colonies paid taxes to the mother country (they do, of course, indirectly, so the people who gave this last answer are perhaps smarter than the British Colonial Office). We wonder how much the average American knows about U.S. colonies.

Kenya Africans Petition United Nations For Land, Education and Political Rights

One of the numerous noteworthy petitions addressed to the United Nations exposing the grievances of peoples against their rulers in various sections of Africa is that of the Kenya African Union. This organization, which is the major spokesman for the nationalist aspirations of Kenya's Africans, sets forth in its petition the conditions of political disfranchisement, land hunger and forced ignorance under which the people suffer.

Denial of Political Rights

"The United Kingdom government through its officials," the petition states, "has combined with a small group of British settlers in Kenya (the white population numbers 17,000) to exercise a dictatorship over the 4,000,000 Africans." This statement is documented by factual evidence showing—

- the manner in which the recently organized administrative Union of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika is contrary to the interest of Africans and excludes proper representation of Africans in the joint Central Legislative Assembly;
- that in the Kenya Legislative Council there is not a single democratically elected African representative. Three of the four *nominated* African members of that body are salaried civil servants, and all are selected in the last analysis by the colonial officials themselves;
- that "even in African local government the same total lack of democracy is apparent": the District Commissioners who preside over the 26 African District Councils are all white, and "Africans enjoy no executive responsibility whatsoever for the raising and spending of local funds."

Land Hunger

The petition points out that about half the land in Kenya that is worth cultivating is permanently reserved for Europeans only, and that "many tens of thousands of Africans have been displaced from lands which belonged to them . . . Through growing population and land erosion, famine and land hunger oppress the African people."

A specific case cited illustrating the land policy of the white settlers tells how "Over thirty thousand men, women and children of the Ol-Engruone settlement were served in 1948 with removal orders from their homes. Their cattle and goats were confiscated *on the ground that the Natives had disobeyed the order to request their children to go and pick pyrethrum at a European Keringet Estate* . . . On the 5th April 1948, representatives of these people were brought before the Magistrate at Nakuru, and African members of the Kiambu Local Native Council gave evidence supporting the fact that the land at Ol-Engruone was allotted to them in exchange for the land they had in Kiambu which was alienated to European settlement.

"Each man was awarded a fine of 12s. ($24.00) or two months imprisonment in default. A good many of these thirty-thousand homeless and landless people have not gained steady employment since 1940 when the conflict of their land was started. Forty-seven people were sent to prison. While serving in prison, twenty-six women, who were left at home to take care of the children, were also arrested and imprisoned."

The Demand for Education

Schooling is available for only some 207,000 African children, the petition points out. Education is compulsory for European children but not for Africans. It is charged that schools established by the African people themselves "met strong opposition from the Government," which resorted to "intimidation, prohibition, closing (the schools) and imprisoning the teachers." "The fundamental policy in education is to retain ignorance of the masses of Africans . . . by encouraging and supporting illiteracy."

The petition of the Keny African Union concludes: "We submit this Memorandum to the United Nations because (1) we consider the situation in Kenya to be so serious that the United Nations should be aware of and assist in a solution; (2) we believe that the transmission of political information to the United Nations will help to speed our advance to Self-Government which is our greatest need and legitimate right."

A delegation of Kenya Africans pictured with then British Secretary of State for Colonies, Mr. George M. Hall, during visit to England in 1946. Mr. Eliud W. Mathu, a member of the Kenya Legislative Council, is presenting a memorandum to Mr. Hall.

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26TH STREET • NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK • MURRAY HILL 3-6209

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

February 3, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

Dear Council Member:

The regular bi-annual meeting of the membership of the Council on African Affairs will be held Wednesday, February 9, 1949, at 4:00 P.M. at the offices of the Council, 23 West 26th Street, New York.

At this meeting we hope to take action on several important proposals of the Executive Board, including: (1) the launching of a national campaign to draw several thousand members into the Council; and (2) the establishment of a broad African Aid Committee to direct and promote the sending of financial and other assistance to worthy causes in Africa.

We urgently need your counsel and cooperation on these and other matters which have as their objective the raising of the Council's work to a high level commensurate with the importance of Africa today in the world picture. We, therefore, are most anxious that you be present at the meeting on the 9th. In the event it is absolutely impossible for you to attend, please be good enough to send your proxy to the Chairman.

You will be happy to know that two very successful informal gatherings of community leaders were held this week in Harlem at the home of Dr. Cecil Marquez and in Brooklyn at the home of Dr. Phillips Brooks, at which the officers of the Council discussed the nature and importance of the organization's work at the present time. Substantial contributions were made by the guests present toward aiding our program.

Very truly yours,

Paul Robeson

PAUL ROBESON, Chairman

W. A. Hunton

W. A. HUNTON, Secretary

P.S. I am particularly anxious for you to be with us on the 9th as I shall be leaving a few days thereafter for a European concert tour—Paul Robeson.

PR:WAH:mpm

84-23-36

Council

MEMORANDUM

TO: DR. HUNTON

FROM: DR. DU BOIS

DATE: FEBRUARY 25, 1949

SUBJECT: KEYS

Can you make some arrangement so that we can get into our offices, when the offices below are closed. Sometimes Mrs. Murphy comes early and now and then I should like to stay late after five o'clock and be sure that I would be able to get out. We ought to have keys to get through the locked doors. I think you could take this up with the Fields' office, or with the tenants below better than I could.

W. E. B. Du Bois

24-23-28

WEBD:LM

Mr. Green has explained where key is to be found at all times, but he will have Mrs Murphy make duplicate key to keep!

Alphaeus Hunton

New AFRICA

Council on African Affairs

Monthly Bulletin

For the united struggle of all democratic forces against imperialism; for the achievement of freedom, democracy, abundance, and peace by the peoples of Africa and the whole world.

Volume 8, No. 2 February, 1949

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PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

Widespread Evidence of Tyrannical Suppression of African Demands for Freedom and Justice

Recent direct reports received by this organization from Africa show that government authorities in all sections of the continent are resorting to an intensive campaign of intimidation, coercion, and arrests in their efforts to clamp the lid down on the boiling cauldron of the African peoples' discontent and their increasingly militant demands for the speedy abolition of foreign exploitation and oppression. *New Africa* has called attention repeatedly to recent dangerous developments in the Union of South Africa. Examples of what is happening in other areas follow:

GOLD COAST — A communication dated January 14, 1949, received from this British West African colony, where an incipient popular revolt was crushed just a year ago, states: "There is much anxiety among the people of the Gold Coast on account of the large number of British troops being drafted into this country. It has also been noticed that British Civil Servants and Europeans here are being supplied with revolvers and rifles. There is no war on, nor has this country been declared a base for British military manoeuvres."

Commenting on this apparent use of British armed force for intimidation purposes, the Accra *Evening News*, edited by Kwame Nkrumah, remarks that it is an "amazing" thing that with England at present in such desperate economic straits, "instead of keeping her youth at home . . . to produce more food and wealth for her needs, Imperialist Britain is rather sending out the flower of her youth . . . just to keep a watch on Africans whose only sin consists in their demand to govern themselves in their own land!"

NIGERIA — A wave of criminal proceedings for sedition and similar offenses has engulfed Britain's largest and most populous African colony. During the month of November, 1948, no less than 10 cases of arrests on charges of sedition were reported. One of the ten was Mr. Tony Enahoro, editor of the *Daily Comet*, one of Azikiwe's chain of newspapers. At the trial of a group of four men charged with sedition, held on November 8, popular support and sympathy for the arrested men were shown by cheers from the assembled crowd as each man entered the court.

UGANDA — It was in 1945 that a revolt arising from labor and political grievances in this British East African colony was suppressed by the governor with the harshest severity, including the forced deportation without trial of 14 African leaders. The foremost critic of colonial rule in Uganda is Semakula Mulumba, head of the Bataka (Elders of the People) Organization.

In his petition dated December 7, 1948, to the UN General Assembly, Mr. Mulumba states that "Most of the African news editors (in Uganda) are flung into jail for publishing anything that protests against or criticizes the British Uganda Government." He names five such editors who were sentenced to imprisonment for periods of from 3 months to 18 months.

Mr. Mulumba's petition also cites the case of Mr. Kibuka-Musoke, a man who spent 24 of his 53 years as a civil servant in the British Uganda Government. After this long period of service during which his efficiency and integrity of character were repeatedly praised, he was dismissed "because his recommendations showed that he knew too much of the leakage in the Public Finances, through the Revenue Department (in which he was employed) in the British Uganda Government." His appeal to the Colonial Secretary and the Prime Minister in London fell on deaf ears.

Returning from London to Uganda last year, he was searched upon alighting from a plane, arrested, and thrown in jail. His crime was that he had with him one hundred copies of a letter written by Mr. Mulumba to Bishop Stuart, head of the Anglican Church in Uganda, accusing him of having conspired to sell church lands belonging to African members of the church without their consent. The same letter, it should be noted, was circulated by Mr. Mulumba among members of the British Parliament who, in raising questions about this case, asked whether they too would be considered guilty of sedition for being in possession of this "seditious literature."

KENYA — The muzzling of free expression in Indian and African edited newspapers here has been a common phenomenon in recent months. One of several such cases was the imposition of a fine of £45 (about $180) on the editor and publisher of the Indian-owned *Daily Chronicle* in Nairobi for publication of "seditious" material.

Questions have recently been raised in Parliament about the suppression of the Kikuyu Central Association, which has been outlawed since 1940. The secretary of the Association was sentenced last September to a year's imprisonment. To the questions Colonial Secretary Creech Jones could only make the lame reply that he was "awaiting information from the Governor" of Kenya.

LIBERIA — The President of Liberia, it is reported, has asked the Legislature for power to deport Mr. C. Frederick Taylor, a naturalized Liberian citizen and owner and editor of *The African Nationalist*, published in Monrovia. This newspaper in several issues has carried criticisms of U.S. plans for establishment of a military base at the port of Monrovia and also of the terms under which the Liberia Company, organized by Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., has acquired authority over virtually the whole economy of Liberia (see *New Africa*, Nov. 1948).

The New Pan-Africanism— As the Imperialists Plan It

The European powers with colonies in Africa have been holding numerous conferences since the end of the war, seeking methods of inter-colonial collaboration toward their common goal of maximum production of African raw materials for Europe's and America's benefit. Mapping a common military program for Africa, linked with the North Atlantic Military Alliance headed by the U.S.A., has also engaged the attention of these inter-imperialist conferences.

What Pan-Africanism means in these European ruling class circles today is stated with unusual candor and cynicism in an article in the *Continental Daily Mail, Portuguese Colonial Empire Supplement,* November 26, 1948:

". . . The idea of inter-African co-operation has gained a powerful recruit in the person of Dr. Malan (Prime Minister of South Africa) . . . who went so far as to suggest that the time might not be distant when all countries interested in Africa should meet together to create a Pan-African Charter . . .

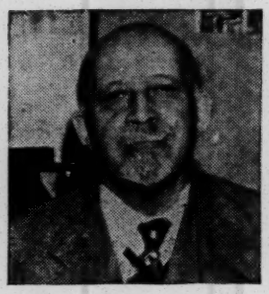
"The Prime Minister clearly wants to see the creation of a European cadre throughout the continent pledged to maintain Western civilization and to develop the backward peoples along approved lines [approved, that is, by Malan and his like—Editor]. There would also, presumably, be a kind of Monroe Doctrine for Africa as there is for the Americas.

"*In both instances, the maintenance of that doctrine would depend on the armed force of the United States, which would therefore gain a far greater influence in African affairs than the present foothold as patron of Liberia.* [our emphasis — Editor].

". . . But Britain, with the largest colonial interests in the continent, may not be so willing to accept United States participation . . . While Dr. Malan's conception of pan-Africanism is based on European control and will have the general support of Southern Rhodesia and the settlers of East Africa, Britain is planning to bring Africans themselves into political partnership. How fast this policy will be carried out is anybody's guess, but it is perhaps worth noticing that the Colonial Office has officially put an end to the theory of African paramountcy. In other words, numerical superiority will not mean complete eventual political power. This is common sense and an acknowledgment that the European has a permanent place on the African continent."

AFRICA TODAY

By W. E. B. DuBois



The United States Army is taking note of Africa. In *Armed Forces, Talk number* 260, there is a summary that says: "Africa, second largest of the continents, seems destined to play an even greater part in the world's economic and political affairs. Western Europe especially is looking toward its African possessions with renewed interest. Great projects already are under way to develop Africa's agricultural and mineral resources. The purpose is to provide Western Europe with a new source of food, and new sources of raw materials for its industries. At the same time, it is expected that these developments will create in Africa many new markets for Europe's industrial products."

This is an argument that was popular in the 19th century. One finds David Livingston, that great and unselfish explorer, using it with regard to the future of South Africa; Stanley emphasized it; it was current in the United States for many years during the abolition controversy.

The assumption here is that if a country has something to sell or can provide something by its materials and work, then the development of the country is a simple matter; capital is invested, land is developed, the laborers are paid, the materials transported and manufactured into goods which the world needs. Thus everybody — the country, the investors, the laborers — are happier and richer.

No Equal Exchange Between Strong and Weak Nations

Naturally this can happen. But just what *actually* happens and to whom depends on who determines how the wealth created by this work and commerce is divided.

If the country which has the land and labor is an independent country, it can bargain with the country which has the capital and ships, and divide the results of cooperation equitably. But on the other hand, if the country which has the materials and the workers is dominated and owned by the country which is investing, or if the investors come from a country which, while not owning the colony, nevertheless has power over transportation and over the market price, then the people in the country to be developed may be reduced practically to slavery. Their land may be taken away, their social organization uprooted and changed; and the results may prove disastrous for the colony while yielding wealth for the dominating imperialistic country.

This is exactly what has happened in Africa and what is going to happen in larger degree unless the world awakens to the impending catastrophe.

All over Africa either the land has been taken or the market monopolized so that the people are forced to work for the planters and miners at the lowest wage which will keep them alive and reproducing. The raw material thus cheaply produced has been transported to Europe and America and the resulting profit, based on starvation wages in the colonies, has been immense, ample to allow the manufacturer and trader to pay their European and American labor comparatively high wages.

Africa a "Natural" for Colonial Exploiters

Tomorrow this situation in Africa is going to be even worse, because Europeans have been put in a terrible plight by two disastrous wars. They need food and clothing and raw materials for manufacture. They are being driven out of Asia by the uprising of the people, and in the future it is going to be increasingly difficult to make high profit out of the use of Asiatic labor and materials. But Africa is a "natural." It is a place where the people have not yet fully awakened to the possibilities of income from their work. It has a mass of raw material particularly valuable for the future. And the Africans, for the most part, are in colonial status. That is the reason why today there is impending an increase of colonial imperialism in Africa which is going to be worse, if possible, than anything that we have had in Asia or South America.

It is significant that the people who are aware of this are people connected with the largest army in the world, the largest navy, and the largest airforce. They envisage, more or less consciously, the use of force to put Africa to work for the benefit of the white peoples of the world; for the benefit not only of the investors, but of the trade unions of the workers, unless these trade unions realize where their higher wages are coming from.

It is to be hoped that the workers of America, and the philanthropists, and those devotees of big business who foresee the disaster which they can cause, will awake to the impending struggle in Africa before it is too late.

British Colonies at the Service of the U. S. A.

In the British four-year plan outlined in the recent memorandum submitted to the Organization for European Economic Cooperation relating to Economic Affairs during 1949 to 1953, the role which the British dependent territories are to play is summed up in the heading of Article 191 of the memorandum — "Assistance towards United States Stockpiling."

What is the U.S. stock-piling order that the colonies are expected to supply? The U.S. government has placed special emphasis on the demand for chrome and manganese, both of which are used in the manufacture of steel. Other requirements, which involve large increases in production, include tin, copper, cobalt, bauxite, and lead.

Nigeria's production of tin is expected to decline gradually in a few years' time unless new discoveries are made. Present output is about 8,000 tons of ore per annum. The troubles in Malaya, the chief source of supply of tin, indicate that the British will have to redouble their efforts in Nigeria if they are to carry out their obligations to the U.S.A.

About the only source of copper in the British Colonial Empire is Northern Rhodesia. Production in 1952-53 is expected to reach 340,000 tons, as compared with 195,000 tons in 1947 and 144,000 tons in 1936. Cobalt is also produced in Northern Rhodesia. The present output of about 400 tons a year is scheduled to reach 1,200 tons by 1953.

The Gold Coast is expected to supply most of the 2 million tons of bauxite which is the target for the Colonial Empire by 1952-53. Northern Rhodesia is the only colonial territory now producing lead, although lead deposits have been discovered in Tanganyika.

Where is the money to be found for the development of these resources? Under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts of 1940 and 1945, $480 million has been made available from United Kingdom funds over the period 1946-56; there are large surplus balances held by colonial governments; and further loans can be raised on the British loan market. But the most important source of funds, the American market, is not mentioned in the previously mentioned memorandum. Perhaps this omission is due to British reluctance to acknowledge the fact of the increasing dominance of American capital in Africa's economy.

In this whole process a further worsening of the lot of the inhabitants of the African territories is to be expected.

—DESMOND BUCKLE, *London*

White Settler Vs. African

KENYA — "'Kenya is marching inevitably towards the creation of a new Dominion of the Commonwealth, in which the British will for a very long time ahead be the controlling and directing force,' said Sir Philip Mitchell, the Governor. . . . The idea of an entirely African self-governing State in British Eastern Africa was fantastic (and) about as practicable as the establishment in the United States of an entirely autonomous, self-governing Red Indian republic." — Quoted from *East Africa and Rhodesia*, December 9, 1948.

NYASALAND — "The country cannot develop without the European, and it is most important that the European capitalist should not be antagonized by undue restriction upon the ownership of land."—Archdeacon Winspear, to the Legislative Council of Nyasaland.

NORTHERN RHODESIA — "Africans must learn that an improved standard of living can be achieved and maintained only by greater effort of their own part, and that if they are to receive 20s. (a shilling is worth 20c) in wages, they must produce 25s. worth of work."—Mr. Angier, President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Northern Rhodesia.

SOUTH AFRICA — "Africans must be retribalized: — Zulus must remain Zulus; Swazis must remain Swazis; and Xosas, Xosas. We cannot allow development of a mass black proletariat which would be able to muster against the whites."—Mr. Theo. Wassenaar, leader of the Nationalist Party, speaking in the Parliament of the Union of South Africa.

African Resources and U. S. A. Stock Piles

The U.S. Munitions Board reported in January that 39 per cent of its $3,693,000,000 order of strategic materials to be stock-piled in this country was already in hand. It was not indicated what portion of these supplies had been or would be secured from colonial countries.

The British are also evasive on this point. A Parliament member not long ago asked the British Under-Secretary of State for Colonies the particulars as to the amount and kind of strategic raw materials each British colony and dependency was supplying to the USA.

The reply was that "It is impossible to distinguish the origin of the various raw materials supplied to the U.S.A. for stockpiling purposes, since these are not supplied by Colonial exporters direct but are supplied to the U.S. Government from U.K. Government stocks or through commercial channels. I cannot say what proportion of the many Colonial products bought in the open market by American buyers ultimately find their way into United States stockpiles."

In addition to the resources which Africa is to supply, as indicated in the column to the left, it is known that Kenya plans to double its production of pyrethrum in 1949 to 3500 tons since the United States has already placed its order for a large proportion of the expected crop—incidentally, paying 25 percent above the 1948 price. The United States is also buying 12,000 tons of sisal in British East Africa for stockpiling.

From South Africa the United States has been getting monthly shipments of 16,000 tons of chrome ore and 24,000 tons of manganese ore. In order to double these shipments the U.S. Munitions Board arranged for a Canadian firm to receive a special allotment of American steel plate, sheet, and structural units amounting to several thousand tons so that it could speed delivery of an order placed with the Canadian firm by South Africa for 2,000 freight cars needed to transport the mineral consignments for America from South African mines to ports. Under this arrangement, the Union of South Africa is to provide the U.S.A. with a total of 250,000 tons of manganese in 1949 and 1950.

Africans Demand Mass Education; Govt. Failure Spurs Self-Help

Educational opportunity — not merely for a small elite class but for *all* the people — has been one of the most urgent and continuous demands of Africans during the past two decades in all sections of the continent.

Since the war there has been a good deal of talk about mass education schemes in British government and UNESCO circles. But, except for a few limited and scattered experiments, nothing has been done or appears likely to be done by the rulers of Africa to bring education to the millions of their subjects. The rulers of Africa are preoccupied with the development of the *material* resources of Africa, although even for this a certain minimum development of the human resources is necessary.

"It has been pointed out time and again that mass education must be dealt with wholesale, and that British partiality for gradualism will not do it," a Nigerian newspaper remarks.

In many sections of Africa the people have taken the problem of general education into their own hands. They are tired of waiting for the government to supplement the inadequate mission schools which everywhere in Africa have been permitted to carry the main responsibility for African education. The African's attempts at self-help in gaining literacy and general knowledge are fraught with great difficulties for he is poor and he has no control over the expenditure of the taxes collected from him. Furthermore, African initiative in education is usually discouraged or openly sabotaged by the white overlords.

What Africans Have Done in Kenya

One example among many of what has been accomplished in the face of such obstacles is the work of the African Independent Schools Association in Kenya. Organized about twenty years ago by Africans on their own initiative and with their resources, this Association today directs nearly 200 schools with about 3500 pupils. Teachers? The man who has contributed most toward training them is Peter Mbiyu Koinange, the son of the Senior Chief of the Kikuyu.

Of this man, Negley Farson, in *Behind God's Back*, wrote: "He had been to Columbia University in the United States; then he had had a year at Cambridge; then he had gone to the London School of Economics. When

(*Continued on next page*)

Trusteeship Council Must Act on Shameful Labor Conditions in African Trust Territories

The United Nations Trusteeship Council opened its 4th session on January 24 at Lake Success. Its agenda includes consideration of the report of last year's UN Visiting Mission to the trust territories of Tanganyika (British) and Ruanda-Urundi (Belgium) in East Africa, of the reports of the British and French Administration of the four territories into which Togoland and the Cameroons are divided, and of a record number of petitions received from residents of the trust territories.

The Trusteeship Council will be concerned with political, economic, educational, medical, and other matters in the territories under its supervision, but *we wish to center attention here on certain labor conditions and practices in Tanganyika and the French Cameroons which should be condemned in the sharpest terms and corrected with the utmost speed.*

Labor Conditions in Tanganyika

The report of the T.C. Visiting Mission to East Africa discloses that a recruiting system "very much like" slave trading is practiced today in Tanganyika; that wages as low as $1 a month are given black workers in unskilled farm labor there; that British laws in the territory allow exaction of forced labor from "able-bodied males between the ages of 18 and 45" for a 60-day period in any one year (approximately 8,000 persons were thus compulsorily employed in the year ending September 30, 1947).

It is further disclosed that Tanganyika laws permit the flogging of any worker over 16 years of age who uses abusive or insulting language to his employer "calculated to provoke a breach of peace," with the additional penalty of a fine "not exceeding the amount of half a month's wages" or a month's imprisonment. Workers over 16 who quit their jobs "with intent not to return thereto" may be fined up to $10 or jailed three months.

Recruiting of black workers in the territory is carried on by professional recruiters who receive between $12 and $16 "per laborer delivered to the place of employment." The African Association of Arusha, in its statement to the Visiting Mission said, "We do not like the labour recruiting system. In the old days, the Government stopped the Arabs from slave-trading. But now the Government seems to be doing a similar thing by licencing recruiters who are very much like slave traders. They cheat our people, give them false promises and send them to work under very poor conditions to strange masters."

Profits in Sisal Figre

Of the 324,533 African wage earners in Tanganyika in 1947 (the total population consists of 5,250,000 Africans, 34,000 Asians, 10,000 Europeans), 104,277 were employed on the large European-owned sisal plantations. The average wage paid unskilled labor on these plantations is 15 shillings for 30 working days, which amounts to 10c a day, plus a small bonus if the 30 work days are completed in 42 days. For semi-skilled workers the wage is 21 shillings for 30 work days or 14c a day.

In the light of such wages and the recruiting system described above, we can well understand why the Chairman of the Arusha Plantations Co., Ltd. (operator of sisal plantations in Tanganyika) could report to the annual meeting of the company's share holders in London on December 20, 1948, that the Company's trading profit for the year ending June 30, 1948 was over 50 per cent higher than for the previous year. While stating that the profit increase was due, in part, to the increase in the market price of sisal, the Company's chairman added that "We can, in fact, congratulate ourselves (and the Labour Bureau of whom I have previously spoken hard words) on having at last attained a labour force adequate at least in numbers if not yet in skill, and the result has begun to be reflected in our production."

Let it be added that the profits sweated out of black labor on Tanganyika's sisal plantations also go into the pockets of Americans. The United States is currently importing $4,000,000 worth of sisal from Tanganyika.

Forced Labor in the French Cameroons

On January 26, M. Charles Marie Watier, Special Representative of the Governor of French Cameroons, addressing the Trusteeship Council at Lake Success, stated that compulsory labor had been abolished in that colony.

The Council on African Affairs would like to ask whether M. Watier and his government are ignorant of the following forced labor conditions in French Cameroons as reported in the memorandum submitted to the President of the French Union by African delegates to the 27th Congress of the French General Confederation of Workers (C.G.T.). We quote:

"At Ngaoundere, Administrator Granier, with police assistance, had gangs of laborers recruited for road, construction, or forest work for a minimum period of three months. The workers in fact are released only upon the arrival of another gang. They are listed under the title of sworn ones ("prestataires") in the register.

"At Esseka in September 1947 Administrator Feral, with the aid of armed police, had villagers recruited who were chained by the neck, made to sleep on the bare ground, and then taken to the place of work. Questioned by a trade union delegation, M. Feral said that he was following the instructions of High Commissioner Hoffherr.

"At Ambam-Sangmeline forced labor continues to be practiced, under the successive administration of M. Sanmarco and M. Lembezat. The secretary of the agricultural workers union at Abanok, who protested against this state of affairs, has been threatened with being called into court. At Ambam all villagers desiring to cross into Portuguese Guinea to buy things or to sell their palmettos can only obtain frontier passes after working for a certain period in the workshops of the chief of the subdivision."

Britain Looks to Africa For Big Meat Supply

Britain has discovered a drug, antrycide, which is said to provide the cure of trypanosomiasis among cattle. This disease is spread by the dreaded tsetse fly and affects human beings in the form of sleeping sickness. Large areas of tropical Africa have long been scourged by this disease.

Halting the ravages of the tsetse fly, the British government says, will open up 4,500,000 square miles in Africa, an area four times the size of Argentina, for the production of meat.

Will the discovery of antrycide benefit the African who for centuries past has tended his herds in East, Central, and Southern Africa? For raising cattle, grazing land is necessary. The African in the areas mentioned, with few exceptions, has been stripped of such grazing lands. His cattle, symbol of wealth and social eminence, are wasting away and dying. The European ruler now exhorts the black man to get rid of his cattle, on the ground that they are ruining the African "reserve" areas.

The great scientific victory over the tsetse fly is welcome. But something more than the tsetse fly must be driven out of Africa!

Mass Education (Cont'd)

he returned to Kenya they offered him a teacher's post—at half the white teacher's salary. Peter refused to take it. He said: 'My tuition charges were not cut in half because of my colour'."

Planned and established by Africans, the school which is now known as Kenya Teachers' College at Gethunguri, Kenya, was opened by Mr. Koinange in January 1939 with 200 students. Today there are 1,250 students and 39 teachers. The mud-walled and wooden classrooms and dormitories are being replaced by stone buildings.

The Teachers College is supported by over thirty tribes whose elected representatives constitute the Board of Trustees. Funds for the School are raised by voluntary gifts ranging from two pence to forty shillings. There is keen competition among organized age-groups within each tribe to give material support. Gifts often come in the form of agricultural produce, poultry, cattle, sheep, goats, or firewood. For a people whose average wage is from four to fifteen shillings (eighty cents to three dollars) a month this represents real sacrifice.

The President of Kenya Teachers College, Mr. Koinange, has asked friends abroad to help the school by sending periodicals and books of all types—agriculture, geography and history textbooks, technical manuals, children's books, either new or used. The address is Kenya Teachers College, Gethunguri, P.O. Box 25, Kiambu, Kenya, East Africa.

The Council would also like to urge that teachers and students in America enter into correspondence with the faculty and students of Kenya Teachers College.

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

W. E. B. DU BOIS

BILL OF MARCH 3, 1949		$682.45
Check on April 15,	$200.00	450.00
Check on April 29,	250.00	
Balance Due		$232.45

MEMORANDUM

TO: DR. HUNTON

FROM: W. E. B. DU BOIS

DATE: MARCH 3, 1949

SUBJECT: COST OF MOVING

Attached is an itemized account of the cost of moving my books, files and other furniture from 20 West 40th Street to 23 West 26th Street. I am handing this to you in accordance with your request and that of Paul Robeson.

The cost of the moving was increased by the necessity of putting the stuff in storage until there was shelving and other things done, so as to properly install it in the new offices. This involved three months storage which is the minimum period charged by the trucking company. I have not included in this statement such personal matters as cleaning and putting locks on my desk, and bringing down the picture of Douglass from my home together with an imitation fire-place. These I regard as purely personal.

24-23-25

COST OF MOVING FROM 20 West 40th Street to 23 West 26th Street

Advance payment to Auto Trucking Company--------Voucher	1.	$25.00
Advance payment to Metro Auto Trucking Company--Voucher	2.	25.00
Metro Auto Trucking Company balance dur for removal of books, files etc. and one months' storage------Voucher	3.	113.45
Metro Auto Trucking Company 2nd month storage-Voucher	4.	36.50
Metro Auto Trucking Company 3rd. month storage-Voucher	5.	36.50
Shelving by Lorenz Graham----------Voucher	6.	245.00
Removing books & files from storage by L. Graham, Voucher	7.	187.00
Labor of Hugh Smythe-------- ----------Voucher	8.	15.00
Total		$682 .45

24-22-26

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MEMORANDUM

TO: MR. HUNTON of Council on African Affairs

FROM: W. E. B. DU BOIS

DATE: MARCH 18, 1949

SUBJECT: MR. SMITH

24-23-4

Please ask Mr. Smith not to use my name or Mrs. Murphys' mane in transacting business and not to represent himself as my assistant. Anything that is necessary to be done in following up letters which I write, I would prefer to do myself.

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS
Executive Committee, March 29, 1949

AGENDA

Report of the Secretary:
- Introduction of Director of Organization
- Communication from the Chairman
- U.N. General Assembly meeting - proposed action
- Membership Campaign
  - Constitutional Revision
  - Membership dues schedule
  - Plans for campaign nationally
  - Plans for campaign locally
    - Proposed N.Y. Conference - April 29
    - Proposed N.Y. meeting - May 15
  - Functioning of Policy Committee

Report of Director of Organization:
- Plans for Outdoor Summer Meeting
- African Aid Committee
  - Sponsors
  - Officers and Executive Committee
  - Plans for campaign
- Functioning of Organization Committee

Education
Health
Children
Food
~~Shelter~~ &
Cultural Needs
Scope
Contributions
Missions

New AFRICA

Council on African Affairs
Monthly Bulletin

For the united struggle of all democratic forces against imperialism; for the achievement of freedom, democracy, abundance, and peace by the peoples of Africa and the whole world.

Volume 8, No. 3 March, 1949

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PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

USSR Asks Investigation of Colonial, World Labor Conditions

In one of the most important proposals made to date in the United Nations, the USSR on February 28 offered a resolution calling for "a comprehensive and objective investigation of the real working conditions of workers and employees" throughout the world, the investigation to be made by "a comprehensive international commission consisting of representatives of the manual and intellectual workers united in all existing trade unions, without distinction to the political trend and religious convictions of their members."

This resolution came after two weeks of "Cold War" debate in the UN Social and Economic Council at Lake Success.

The United States delegation had opened the attack with a resolution urging investigation of "slave labor" practices in the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries. Aided by Britain, the U.S. next succeeded in barring the World Federation of Trade Unions from making a reply which would have exposed forced labor practices in the colonies of Britain, France, Netherlands, the U.S., and in South Africa and other countries. Then came the Soviet Union's counter-attack with its resolution.

The Soviet proposal called for the participation of colonial workers' organizations in the investigating commission and specifically directed it to examine "the actual working conditions of male and female workers and their children in the colonies and dependent territories, in order to determine how far the states responsible for the administration of such territories are fulfilling the obligations in this regard imposed on them by the Charter."

Although the Soviet proposal was voted down and the U.S. resolution was approved, the question will very likely be reopened in the General Assembly.

Empire Building While Africans Starve

At Victoria Falls, Northern Rhodesia, on February 16, the white leaders of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland unanimously agreed to federate their three territories under one Constitution. By this decision the creation of Britain's Eighth Dominion is now said to be in sight.

While these negotiations aiming at imperial consolidation were taking place, reports from Nyasaland were telling of the grim fate facing its 2,500,000 African inhabitants — death by starvation. The severe drought which Nyasaland has been undergoing has resulted in a failure of the root and maize crop. The Africans in some districts are said to have been making a meal of grass-seed and the bulbs of water lilies.

For a long time the Government ignored pleas to hold a year's supply of grain in reserve. Now when it is almost too late it has ordered the planting of quick-growing mandioc root and sweet potatoes. The Government has also instituted rationing of maize meal and grain at a pound a day per person. In the Blantyre and Limbe areas, where conditions are particularly grave, employers have been asked to reduce their African staffs to a minimum; only those required to operate essential services are to be retained, while the rest of the population will be removed from these areas.

Key Figures in Federation Move

There is no record of the moving spirits of the Victoria Falls Conference, Mr. Roy Welensky, leader of the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia, and Sir Godfrey Huggins, Southern Rhodesia's Prime Minister of fifteen year standing, having been concerned in finding means to bring instant relief to the people of Nyasaland.

The fact that Sir Miles Thomas, high-powered British industrialist chairman of the Development Committee of Southern Rhodesia and also of the British Overseas Airways Corporation, was elected chairman of the federation conference is an indication of the purpose federation is intended to serve.

Sir Miles, who firmly believes in the creation of a United States of Africa as a raw material and food supply base for the Western Europe Union (as quoted in *New Africa,* Jan. 1949), declared that the conference had not only laid the foundation for federation in Central Africa, but that the house had in fact been built and all that remained was to move in the furniture and fittings.

The first moves towards amalgamation of the three territories came in the years just before the second World War, and in 1939 a Royal Commission under the chairmanship of Viscount Bledisloe was sent out to investigate the desirability of amalgamation, the advocacy for which came mainly from Southern Rhodesia.

Africans Oppose Federation

The Bledisloe Commission found strong opposition to amalgamation not only from the Africans of all these territories, but also from the white settlers of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland who feared and resented domination by the Southern Rhodesian whites.

(*Continued on next page*)

Aftermath of the Durban Riots

Despite a brief renewed flare-up of Zulu attacks on Indians on February 20, African and Indian organizations have been working together in Johannesburg and Durban for the relief of victims and their dependents in the Durban riots. The two Congresses of Africans and Indians in the Transvaal launched a joint relief fund.

During the riot itself many individual Africans risked their lives in protecting Indian families from assault, helping them to hide and escape, and furnishing first-aid medical assistance.

It is reported that in the makeshift refugee camps housing homeless Indians and Africans, governmental authorities have hampered relief assistance by "red-tape and slowness tantamount to unconcern."

The Government's Commission of Inquiry into the riots heard Africans assert that they were ready to die for their rights. "The time has come when Africans want things for themselves," said one chief.

The Government consented to demands for representation of Africans and Indians on the Inquiry Commission. But when the right to cross-examine witnesses was denied them, the Africans and Indians withdrew in protest, stating that the true causes of the riots—the horrible slum conditions and the fomenting of racial hatred by both the past and present government—could not be brought to light if cross-examination were denied.

Empire-Building (cont'd)

Southern Rhodesia has always closely followed the Union of South Africa in its "native policy." Sir Godfrey Huggins is too shrewd and experienced a politician to adopt, at least at this juncture, the crude methods of the ineffable Dr. Malan. Indeed, he will doubtless find it profitable to continue the methods of his mentor, Field Marshal Smuts — liberal cant enshrouding the ugly features of reactionary practice. This is what Sir Godfrey told the federation conference:

"In this part of Africa, with our racial differences, we can have only pseudo-democracy for a very long time to come and meanwhile we shall require an aristocracy, in the best sense of the word, to see that justice and advancement may be the lot of all."

And meanwhile that "pseudo-democracy" spells starvation for the Africans. —DESMOND BUCKLE, *London*

ETHIOPIA and ERITREA

By W. E. B. DuBois

[The question of the disposition of the former Italian colonies, Libya, Somaliland, and Eritrea, is on the agenda of the U.N. General Assembly's meeting next month. The Council on African Affairs reaffirms its petition of last October to the U.S. delegation to the world organization, urging a solution based on the interests and aspirations of the inhabitants of Ethiopia and of the territories in question.—Ed.]

ERITREA stretches for 670 miles along the African coast of the Red Sea. To the west it is Bordered by the Sudan, on the south by Ethiopia. It has an area of 15,754 square miles and in 1931 a population of 600,573 of whom 4,188 were Italians. Since then the number of Italians has increased. The lowlands along the coast are hot and malarial. The uplands are cool and sometimes cold. Irrigation is necessary to supplement the rainfall, and the soil is poor.

Here is a land about the size of Denmark with some 38 persons to the square mile, a country poor in natural resources and by no means self-supporting. The sole reason for acquiring it is that it is the gateway to Ethiopia and the natural path for the export of Ethiopian products and the import of European goods. And, also, it is the best stepping-stone for the conquest of Ethiopia.

Those people who wish to return Eritrea to Italy must remember that three times since 1882 the Italians have used Eritrea in an attempt to conquer Ethiopia.

The 19th Century Background

The story is this: From 1855 to 1868 the Emperor Theodore, in many respects a notable and courageous man, ruled Ethiopia. He got into controversy with England mainly through the fault of the English. As a result the English sent an army into Ethiopia in 1867 and overcame Theodore, who committed suicide. Finally the English withdrew.

From about 1868 to 1889 the Emperor John ruled most of Ethiopia. The Egyptians tried to conquer the Ethiopians and were soundly thrashed in 1875-76. Then in 1882, the Italians, encouraged by the British, began aggression upon Ethiopia. They took the port of Assab in Eritrea in 1882 and the more important port of Massawa in 1885. The Ethiopians were at the time engaged in repelling the dervishes from the Sudan, whom they finally conqured in 1885, although in their attack Emperor John was killed. Then they turned upon the Italians.

From 1889 to 1913 Menelik ruled as Emperor of Abyssinia. He had been rebelling against John for some time and had been aided by the Italians. Consequently, when he came to the throne the Italians assumed that he was going to be their tool. A treaty was made and in the Italian text Ethiopia became a province of Italy and the country's foreign affairs were put in Italian hands. Menelik declared that he had been deceived, went to war, and in the battle of Adowa in 1896 overthrew the Italians. For a second time Italy was unsuccessful in annexing Ethiopia.

20th Century Imperialist Rivalries

Italy had long wanted to be a colonial power and rival France and England. Bismark cheated her out of Algeria and gave it to France, and later France seized Tunis, the ancient seat of Carthage. Italy conquered the empty sands of Libya, but still longed for Ethiopia. By refusing to enter World War 1, she gained from the Allies the right to seize Ethiopia; but the Allies later revoked this assent.

Then after the war Mussolini started to restore the "Roman Empire." He threatened to take Tunis, but France was too strong. He finally determined to seize Ethiopia, in spite of her membership in the League of Nations and notwithstanding a treaty of friendship and arbitration which Italy had signed with Ethiopia in 1928. Italy invaded the country in 1935 without declaring war, and conquered it with callous cruelty and wanton bloodshed. The League of Nations refused to interfere, and the Emperor fled to England.

However, this time Italy, by joining Germany in World War II, got on the

(*Continued on next page*)

Some of the Ethiopian Youth receiving training as medical "dressers" through assistance of the U.N. World Health Organization (WHO).

Ethiopia has only one doctor for every 120,000 of its inhabitants. And there are only a few dozen graduate nurses, all but two of them non-Ethiopians, to serve the country's 12,000,000 peoples.

To provide Ethiopia with qualified personnel for improving the health of its people, experts from WHO's Field Operations Service are giving training courses for "dressers" or surgeon's assistants in several major population center of Ethiopia.

These "dressers" assist doctors during treatment and operations, attend to the general comfort of patients, give the prescribed medicines, and observe and report conditions and changes to the doctors. Thirteen dresser's courses have been completed or are underway in seven institutions, and a nursing school is scheduled to open soon in the Ethiopian capital. Volunteer health workers are being trained by the Ethiopian Red Cross, and other medical training is being developed. — *U.N. New Features release.*

Ethiopia and Eritrea (cont'd)

losing side. The country was re-occupied by Ethiopian and British forces in 1941, and the Emperor Haile Selassie was again proclaimed ruler of the country.

Why Ethiopia Demands Eritrea

The claim of Ethiopia to Eritrea is first, historical: it is an integral part of her land and her only effective way of access to the sea. The people all speak Ethiopian languages and are of the same stock as the Ethiopians, although, of course, there are varied stocks in that country. But more especially, Eritrea is a land which Ethiopia must control if she is to have reasonable protection from her enemies; it is a country which she should own if she is to have economic expansion and free access to the markets of the world.

France's African Empire Under the Marshall Plan and Atlantic Pact

By a decree of December 31, 1948, High Commissioner Paul Bechard was invested with virtually unlimited military powers in the French territories of Togoland and the Cameroons. The New York *Herald Tribune* correspondent, William J. Humphreys, noted (Jan. 8) that this decision "would facilitate the entry into force of the Atlantic Pact," observing further that "the United States has already received the tacit agreement of France for the use by American planes of the air bases of North Africa."

The *Tribune* writer also stated that the decree of December 31 was due at least in part to "the progress made in West Africa by the Rassemblement Democratique African (African Democratic Rally)". Thus the threat of military repression hangs over this million-members-strong organization.

We may expect M. Bechard to follow the pattern of the scourge of Morocco, General Juin, the Resident-General, who rails against what he calls "wicked propaganda," "passwords sent from abroad," and "orders for which we have no use in this country;" and who claimed that his expulsion from Morocco of the Communist Deputy, Pierre Herve, who had gone there in his capacity of journalist to report on the miners' strike at Khourigba, was necessary in the interests of "peace."

No doubt it was very disturbing to the General's peace of mind that the world should know that he had had miners publicly flogged for the crime of striking; that slave labour conditions obtain in the mines where the workers are known not by name but by number; that children of 14 and under are employed in the coal mines replacing draught animals in hauling trucks of coal; and that the infant mortality rate in the native quarters of the big towns often reaches 90 percent.

What the U.S. Gets from French Africa

Under the Marshall Plan France, like Britain, is driving her colonial subjects to speed up the extraction and export of raw materials in the colonies. A New York *Times* correspondent reported from Paris, February 2, that officials there "declared that France was planning to make a huge effort to develop the resources of her colonial and protected territories, both to cut down France's need of foreign imports and to acquire dollars by the export of raw materials."

The *Times* correspondent indicated what France—and U.S. Big Business — expected to get from the French colonies:

- from Western and Equatorial Africa: valuable woods, which are "expected to earn $53,000,000 annually by the end of the Marshall Plan."
- from French Indo-China [assuming that it remains French —Editor]: vast quantities of rubber.
- from French West Africa, again: cocoa, "expected to earn $30,000,000 a year"; iron ore, "which United States steel companies are expected to take. . . . It is hoped to bring ore production up to 1,700,000 tons by 1952"; and large quantities of natural phosphates.
- from Madagascar: graphite, "of which the United States Government recently acquired 18,000 tons"; and mica in the amount of 1,000 tons a year.
- from French North Africa: 174,000 tons of lead and 400,000 tons of manganese annually "by the end of the Marshall Plan in 1951."

Nowhere in this long *Times* dispatch is there any reference to the effect of all these production schedules upon the workers and general population of the colonies. For good and obvious reasons.

ITEMS WORTH NOTING

• GOLD COAST — West African attention is focused on this colony where a committee of African leaders has been officially designated to consider what form a new constitution for the Gold Coast should take in order to satisfy public demand for self-government. Questions at issue include what authority the tribal chiefs should retain, the broadening of the franchise, and the extent of the executive power which the governer should yield to Gold Coast Africans. Some sections of the African community have set a deadline of April 1, 1949, for the British Government to make "a declaration of self-government for the Gold Coast."

* * * *

• LAKE SUCCESS — During the current session of the U.N. Trusteeship Council, the representatives of China, Mexico, the Philippines, and the Soviet Union all submitted amendments to the Committee's Rules of Procedure which would have made it possible for the inhabitants of the trust territories to have their representatives participate in one form or another in the Council's deliberation upon matters affecting their countries. All these proposals met with unanimous condemnation from delegates of the six colony-holding members of the Trusteeship Council: the U.S., Great Britain, France, Belgium, Australia, and New Zealand. The Soviet proposal was defeated by a vote of 6 to 4 with 2 abstentions, and the Philippines resolution by 6 to 5 with 1 abstention.

* * * *

• PRAGUE — Jaroslav Jachym, an official of the Ministry of Foreign Trade in Czechoslovakia, upon returning from Ethiopia where he studied economic conditions, announced last month that his country was seeking to develop commercial relations with Ethiopia, "gateway to all East Africa." In 1948 Czechoslovakia had trade relations with Egypt and the Union of South Africa.

* * * *

• LONDON — A loss of nearly $24,000,000 in the market capitalization of the British South Africa (chartered) Company took place on the London Stock Exchange in January within the space of five days as a result of cabled reports that the government of Northern Rhodesia would consider introducing a tax on the company's royalties. Here is a case of white settlers in the colony demanding a bigger share of the profits gained by absentee investors. But without the black workers in Rhodesia's copper mines, there would be no profits for anybody.

* * * *

• CAPETOWN — In quick succession the South African Government has taken a slap at the United Nations and at the International Monetary Fund. It announced that it would have no further dealings with the Trusteeship Council and would submit no further reports on the administration of South West Africa to that body. It also ran afoul of international agreements fixing gold sales at $35 an ounce by selling 100,000 ounces of semi-manufactured gold to a London brokerage firm at $38.30 an ounce. Meantime the South African Government has entered into negotiations with the U.S. Export-Import Bank for a line-of-credit loan (this move was anticipated and strongly opposed by *New Africa*, December, 1948).

A Close-up of Black Labor In Southern Rhodesia

. . . We visited a British tobacco factory in Salisbury. Of 600 employees, 500 were Negroes, mainly children: tiny ragged figures, twisting cigar leaves from morning to night in dark sheds where the air is caustic with tobacco dust. If the daily task is fulfilled, the child labourer receives the munificent monthly wage of 7s.6d. ($1.50).

Some thirty miles from Salisbury lie the Mazoe citrus plantations — 50,000 acres — owned by a British firm. The plantations employ almost 30,000 natives and only a few Europeans. The Negroes are compelled to work from dawn to dark for 10s. ($2.00) a month. The entire yield of oranges and orange juice is shipped to England, except for that portion which is deliberately spoiled and discarded yearly to keep prices up. The natives are starving; but they have not the means to buy even such ruined fruit.

The plantation workers, too, live in concentration-camp compounds, crowded and filthy to the last degree. Only in rare cases is a family allowed to settle on company land. In return for such benefaction, all able-bodied members of the family, down to the smallest children, are obliged to work on the plantations without pay.

Workers in the Mines

At the gold mines near Umtali, we saw barefoot Negro workers, dressed in sacks with holes cut through for the head and arms, picking and loading the hard rock with bare hands. Nor were matters any better at the asbestos mines at Shabanie, employing almost 7,000 Negroes, or at the coal mines near Wankie, or the chromium mines in Selukwe.

A typical detail: when their shift is over, the workers have to remain underground until the ore they have mined is taken to the surface. Only when all the ore is out can the workers use the lifts.

At Shabanie we were told that an average of a hundred workers daily fled from the mines.

All the asbestos workings in Southern Rhodesia, as also in the British protectorate of Swaziland and in the Union of South Africa, are the property of the firm of Turner & Newall, Ltd. The management is not in the least ashamed of the disgraceful conditions at the mines. Yet they attempt to put up a show of solicitude for the native workers. Thus, at Shabanie we were shown a "stadium" and a club. The first was a little field, covered with asbestos dust, where the Negroes are allowed to play football; the second, a ramshackle shed equipped with a movie projector. With particular pride, we were informed that there is a school at the mines, where children can study for two or three years — for a shilling a month.

Big Profits from Low Wages

"In other places the Negroes are far worse off," our English guides declared.

That was unquestionably true. An elementary school in these regions is a luxury.

We also saw a splendid clubhouse at Shabanie, and a swimming pool, and athletic fields. Not for the Negroes, though, but for a handful of European employees.

In the Wankie district, coal lies very close to the surface. The Wankie Collieries, Ltd., have it dug by hand, at very low cost: sixpence (10c) per ton. They sell it at 10s.9d. ($2.15) per ton. The profits are enormous. Yet no attempt is made to mechanize the workings.

"That wouldn't pay,' we were told. "If we put in machinery, we'd have to hire skilled European labour at £40 ($160.) a month, whereas the natives only get ten shillings."

Chromium (mined at Selukwe), asbestos, coal, tobacco, fruits — everything is shipped out of the country. The excellent tea grown here is exclusively for whites. The natives get only waste products.

Dried vegetables, frozen meat, and other food products are shipped to England. The workers in the compounds are fed day after day on "mealy-mealy" — cornmeal gruel. Once in a while a little beans or dried fish is added. Every meal issued to a worker is ticked off in a special book, to prevent anyone from receiving double rations.

Hunger, sickness, poverty — that is all that sixty years of British rule have brought the people of Southern Rhodesia. — P. Chebyshev in *New Times*, No. 6, 1949.

Council on African Affairs, Inc.
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.
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$1 a year

Another Famine in South Africa?

A critical food shortage, falling most severely as usual upon the African people, again threatens South Africa as a result of a severe drought.

A South African Government information source reported ominously last month that "light rain which fell recently in the Kingwilliamstown district of the Ciskei (Cape Province) was too little and too late to save most of the maize (corn) crop in the Native areas after the heat and drought of January."

"The present maize season is likely to be the worst in sixteen years," says the *Cape Times* of Cape Town, Jan. 22. South Africa exported 240,000 tons of maize to Germany, Egypt, Portugal and other countries during the last five months of 1948. Now it is said that it will be necessary to import maize in order to feed the African population.

African Students in England

In a recent letter to the edior of *East Africa and Rhodesia*, Miss Marjorie Perham, widely known for her writings on Africa, points out that out of the 3,481 colonial students in Britain, 1,712 are from African colonies. Of these 1,282 come from West Africa and 430 from East and Central Africa. Of the latter figure, only 70 are Africans. Of the 1,712 students from Africa, a little over a third, 611, hold scholarships.

Replying to fears expressed by enemies of African freedom concerning the "danger of educating Africans in England," Miss Perham says, "It appears to be true that a large number, perhaps a majority, of Colonial students in England develop very critical views of the Imperial connexion, and a number embrace Communism or incline towards it. This tendency could not be controlled, but would rather be exacerbated, by any deliberate attempts to insulate students while they are here from 'subversive' influence — which would be difficult to identify or define — or by putting obstacles in the way of their coming to Britain. . . ."

MEMORANDUM

TO: DR. HUNTON

FROM: W. E. B. DU BOIS

DATE: APRIL 6, 1949

SUBJECT: CHICAGO TRIP

I have been to Chicago and have seen the person interested in my work. My salary for a year beginning April 1, 1949 has been assured.

Will you please let Mr. Robeson know about this, because I know he has been so interested.

24-23-6

WEBD:LM

April 12, 1949

Chargeable to The Council on African Affairs

Installation of wiring arrangement	$4.70
Additional Calls	5.24
	$ 9.94

W. E. B. Du Bois

New AFRICA

Council on African Affairs

Monthly Bulletin

For the united struggle of all democratic forces against imperialism; for the achievement of freedom, democracy, abundance, and peace by the peoples of Africa and the whole world.

Volume 8, No. 5 May, 1949

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PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

Atlantic Pact Would Sacrifice Africans To Imperialist War, Senate Comm. Told

On May 13 the Secretary of the Council on African Affairs, Dr. W. A. Hunton, testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in opposition to Senate approval of the North Atlantic Pact. The main sections of the statement made by Dr. Hunton follow:

On behalf of the Executive Board of the Council on African Affairs, an independent, private, non-profit organization, concerned with protecting and promoting the interests of the people of Africa and with providing Americans with the truth concerning the status and struggles of Africans and other colonial peoples for economic and political freedom, I wish to express strong condemnation of the North Atlantic Treaty and urge its repudiation and defeat.

In the first place, the North Atlantic Treaty would create in place of the one-world system, for which the United Nations was established, a two-world system, based upon the false and suicidal assumption that these two worlds cannot possibly live together in peace. Thus will be provided the psychological basis for what has been called a "preventive war," — actually a war to create a new one-world pattern according to the wishes of the signatories of the North Atlantic Treaty.

It should be carefully noted that the North Atlantic Treaty is a compact of all those powers — with the sole present exception of Spain — which today hold hundreds of millions of colonial peoples in subjection throughout the world . . .

Today Africa is the last continental stronghold of colonialism, and for that very reason its people face new and intensified forms of exploitation and oppression. But Africans, no less than Asians, are determined that their continent and its resources shall be developed for the benefit of the people who inhabit it, instead of being utilized for the economic and military designs of European and American imperialists . . .

The North Atlantic Pact, Article Four, commits the signatories to "consult together whenever, in the opinion of any of them, the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the parties is threatened." And U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson, interpreting the Pact for the press, has stated that "consultation does not preclude action."

Referring to this same Article 4, Belgium's foreign minister,

(*Continued on page four*)

Malan Support Atlantic Pact —and White Supremacy

"It is the duty of the West and more especially of those European nations which have an interest in Africa, to see to it that the dependent territories of that vast continent, with their rich resources and immense potentialities, are made secure for our western civilization. . . . Consequently South Africa, an outpost of our Western European civilization, has welcomed the formation of the Atlantic Pact."

Such was the statement made by the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, Dr. D. F. Malan, in a radio broadcast from London, April 28.

This is the same man who in 1943 urged a separate peace for South Africa with the Axis and declared that "only a German victory will guarantee white supremacy in South Africa."

24 Million Africans Say NO to New War, Says Spokesman of French Colonials

One of the outstanding African leaders, whose name today is fast achieving international fame, is Gabriel d'Arboussier, Secretary General of the African Democratic Union (Rassemblement Démocratique Africain), and Vice-President of the Assembly of the French Union. Referring last month to the statement of a French official that the reasons for France's present concentration on military planning in Africa "are to be found in the new and important place which the whole of Africa has come to occupy in geopolitics and world strategy," M. d'Arboussier said:

"The meaning of this declaration became fully apparent after the signing of the Atlantic Pact and the "atomic" declarations of President Truman, for although black Africa may not be formally included in the Pact, it is certain that it represents an essential base for America. To prove that, it is only necessary to recall the military installations which have been built in black and central Africa, the network of strategic routes under construction, and the bases established all along the African coast.

"But in order to guarantee Africa's participation in this plan of aggression, it will be necessary first of all to destroy the movement for the emancipation of the African masses, who are opposed to the preparation for a new war.

"For they are conscious of the importance of their struggle for freedom and against war, as their struggle is linked with that of colonial peoples throughout the world to free themselves and serve no longer as the tools of greedy overlords.

"One will therefore easily understand that the African Democratic Congress has enthusiastically endorsed the great World Congress of Partisans of Peace.

"This endorsement can only be interpreted as the unshakable determination of 24 millions of men and women of black Africa to refuse to be soldiers for the war-makers and exploiters of mankind."

In a manifesto issued by its National Bureau on March 19th, the Union of Algerian Democratic Youth "firmly opposes any attempts of the French Colonial rulers to include Algeria in the Atlantic Pact (and) calls on Algerian Youth to act for Freedom, Peace, and the rights of youth."

UN Assembly Ducks Issue of South African Discrimination

"Should we wait until all of Hitler's methods are applied in South Africa? It is five minutes before midnight. It may be too late, as the Nuremburg trials were too late."

Thus spoke Jan Drohojowski, Polish delegate to the U. N. General Assembly, just before the final vote on the question of the South African government's discrimination against Indian and non-white peoples in that country.

His warning was not heeded. This issue, on the agenda of the General Assembly for the third time since 1946, was diplomatically sidetracked by means of a weak and futile resolution "inviting" the governments of India, Pakistan and the Union of South Africa "to enter into discussion at a round table conference." The vote was 47 to 1 (South Africa), with 10 abstentions. The Soviet and other Eastern European delegates registered disgust at this empty action by their abstentions.

Previously in the Political Committee of the Assembly, an Indian resolution calling for appointment of a UN commission to study the whole question of racial discrimination in South Africa and to "submit recommendations for the solution of the problem" was passed by 21 to 17 with 12 abstentions. But on the ground that the necessary two-thirds majority of Assembly could not be won over, the Indian delegation did not even attempt to bring this resolution to a vote at the final plenary session.

The failure of the U. N. to register any outright censure of the South African regime or to secure an investigation of conditions in that country becomes all the more reprehensible in view of the fact that the Malan government, in open defiance of the United Nations, had just a short time earlier, April 22, completed the formal "closer integration" — actually annexation — of the former mandate territory of South West Africa, instead of bringing it under the United Nations Trusteeship as the General Assembly repeatedly requested.

It is the conciliatory, compromising stand of the U.S. delegation, coupled with the support of the British delegation, which has encouraged South Africa to proceed with its annexation scheme and which now protects the neo-fascist regime there from UN censure.

As long as the UN continues to dilly-dally, the South African government will continue to thumb its nose at the world body, as it has for the past three years. Shall we wait until all of Hitler's methods are applied there?

Mr. Dulles was Disconcerted *(See Below)*

Deal on Italian Colonies Stalled, Postponed; UN Assembly Rejects New Imperialist Sellout

American Negro representatives on April 27 added their objections to those voiced by spokesmen for Libyan, Eritrean and Somali peoples against the U.S.-Bevin-Sforza plans for taking control of the former Italian colonies, when a delegation led by the Secretary of the Council on African Affairs journeyed out to Lake Success and voiced their protests directly to John Foster Dulles (U.S.) and Hector McNeil (U.K.).

Surrounded by the members of the delegation who one after another plied him with questions, Mr. Dulles, on his way to a meeting with the Political Committee, was compelled to stop and listen. He was apparently disconcerted. His words were few and non-committal.

The delegation to Lake Success (some of whom are not present in the above photograph) included representatives of the Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World, Ethiopian World Federation, Harlem Trade Union Council, Progressive Party, National Council for the Arts, Sciences and Professions, and labor and religious groups, in addition to the Council on African Affairs.

This action stemmed from an emergency conference in Harlem called by the Council a week earlier, at which the issue of the former Italian colonies was fully discussed and a statement of policy on the question agreed upon. The statement was forwarded to all of the UN delegates, the State Department and President Truman, and was circulated nationally. (Copies are available to *New Africa* readers upon request.)

U. S. Charged with Aiding European Imperialism

"No one can shut their eyes," the Syrian delegate, Mr. Rafek Asha, said, "to the fact that on these (Italian colonies) proposals the delegations of Asia have ranged themselves into one camp; the delegations of Western Europe and of the American continents on the other. We did not choose or ask for this division. It was forced upon us and we consider it regrettable that one more should have been added to the already long list of problems which are dividing the world." He directly accused the U.S. delegation of allying itself as an "accomplice and partner" of "European imperialism."

The primary aim of Britain and the United States was to safeguard the retention of the strategically placed colonies, particularly Libya, under their own control, at the same time excluding the Soviet Union from having any voice whatsoever in the affairs of these areas. For joining in the Atlantic Pact (geography notwithstanding) Italy was permitted to share in the spoils — partially and with reservations. With hypocritical pomposity, Sir Alexander Cadogan, British delegate, declared that Britain would remain in charge of Tripolitania until 1951 in the hope that in the interval "Italy will have time to prove by her actions in former Italian Somaliland that she is, indeed, worthy to be entrusted with the duty of leading backward peoples toward independence."

(Continued on last page)

"To Save the World—Save Africa!"

One of the major addresses heard at the Conference for World Peace, held in Paris in April and attended by 2,000 delegates from 60 countries, was that delivered by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, one of the American delegates, on "Colonies as Cause of War." After giving a masterly historical review of slavery and colonialism as breeders of past wars, Dr. DuBois placed special emphasis upon the significance of Africa today in relation to the drive toward World War III. This section of his address follows:

WAR may be threatening in Europe and America, but its seeds are being sown in Africa where British, American, French and Belgian wealth is trying to rebuild an old world economy on slave labor. On slave labor which will continue to compete with the best paid labor and accumulate more wealth in private control which can be used in the future as in the past to kill democracy in Europe and America and to stop the inevitable spread of planned industry and the just distribution of wealth.

Before this rebirth of colonialism, the United Nations stand dumb and helpless, mumbling formulas on human rights and denying the wretched even the right to complain. Even organized labor is too blind to see the cloud rising to destroy it. British and American labor leaders tried to smash the World Federation of Trade Unions not for fear of Russia but for fear of the black delegates from Africa and the Indies demanding the end of colonialism and equal wage for equal work.

Foremost in this fight to re-enslave human labor are two "democracies": the Union of South Africa and the United States of America — both with the fatal initials, USA. Nowhere on earth since the birth of Christ has a nation expressed a more repulsive plan to degrade human beings than the Union of South Africa today: complete disenfranchisement of eight million black workers by two million white parasites, no trade unions for blacks, limited education, poverty and disease unequalled in any civilized land.

Into such a continent, with its nine million black slaves of Belgium, its twenty-four million serfs of France, its seven million slaves in dispute between Egypt and Britain, and Britain's own fifty millions of West Africa, comes the wealth of the world today seeking investment at percentages they would not dare demand at home and led by the most experienced exploiter of helpless people, Unilevers, to plant and reap, to build and dam, to whip and drive and reap such riches out of a re-enslaved Africa as to build a monopoly of world industry able to control modern culture even more effectively than before the first world war.

What of America?

Leading this new colonial imperialism comes my own native land, built by my fathers' toil and blood, the United States. The United States is a great nation, rich by grace of God and prosperous by the hard work of its humblest citizens. And these citizens were not made up of the elect of the earth, of nobles and aristocrats, of the learned and gifted. No. America was peopled by the lowest of men, the humblest of human strains: by slaves and paupers, even in part by jailbirds and prostitutes, beggars and outcasts, as well as by honest, hard-working peasants. Out of this material she has built a powerful nation, which is in itself the highest proof of the possibilities of human kind.

How is it that upon soil such as this arose modern slavery with unparalleled exploitation of natural resources and today a frightful militarism on the vastest scale ever known to man and threatening to bribe and coerce and rule mankind? Why is it that today Americans are the greatest employers of colonial labor in the world, and are stretching every sinew to control all the labor and profit of Europe, Asia and Africa?

It is because we are too new to be wise, too impatient to be intelligent, too rich to be humble, and too boastful to have good manners. We crucified the prophets who warned us of Negro slavery until that slavery plunged us into bloody, costly and unnecessary civil war. Today when the grandchildren of these slaves, struggling and crawling to the light, demand the rights of free men, Congress laughs at our just demands and the President of the United States goes fishing.

Yet the nation knows we are right. It knows we are ruled by corporate wealth. But it does not know how or what is the possible alternate. It is deliberately misled by a prostituted press, a controlled educational system, a body of frightened scientists and artists, and by such a waste of funds on war that little is left for schools, hospitals, flood control and rationally planned economy. Drunk with power, we are leading the world to hell in a new colonialism with the same old human slavery which once ruined us and to a third World War which will ruin the world.

How can we stop this descent into hell? By halting in its tracks this new world-wide raid on Africa! By stopping World War in abolishing the colonial seeds of war and the slavery of human toil. To save the world — save Africa!

Robeson Answers South African Curb on his Recordings

Commenting in London on the reported decision of South African broadcasting authorities to limit broadcasting of Robeson's recordings, Robeson said:

"I can only give you one parallel to the South African radio's recent restriction on my recordings. That was during the war when the Nazi gauleiter of Norway banned my records there. But the Norwegian underground still played them right through the occupation.

"I would expect one who belongs to the Hitler tradition to do that," he said, "but I know it won't keep my voice from reaching my people in Africa. This banning of my voice is a slight matter. What is far more serious is what is happening to the eight million Africans under a regime of terror and backwardness and economic oppression."

African Opposition Mounting Against Federation Scheme

The British Colonial Secretary, Arthur Creech-Jones, made a tour of British Central Africa last month as a follow-up of the February conference of white leaders of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland who reached agreement on federating the three territories under one constitution.

As a result of the Colonial Secretary's tour, the *New York Times* reports, "it is now expected by the bulk of the white population that in the not too distant future there will arise a Central African Federation, all British."

Characteristically enough, nothing is said in the *Times* dispatch as to the attitude of the 99 per cent *African* population in the area. But the facts are that despite efforts of white officials to rally some semblance of "Native" support, Africans in all of the three territories have been speaking out vigorously against the federation scheme.

In Nyasaland the African Congress held a special meeting on this question last month. The Kenya African Union at a mass meeting on April 3rd declared its opposition.

At a mass meeting at Mufilira, Northern Rhodesia, Africans flatly rejected the federation proposals. And in Southern Rhodesia, they issued a leaflet warning their fellows up north that "It is the colour of your skin that bars you from any civil rights in S. Rhodesia irrespective of your social standing."

An African trade union also declared: "For the same reason that the Union of South Africa cannot be allowed to annex Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland, the Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland Africans must be protected."

Atlantic Pact Would Sacrifice Africans (cont'd)

Paul Henry-Spaak on March 18 said that "consultation between the signatories could also take place in case of an incident occurring OUTSIDE the geographical areas of the Pact, if one of the parties considered its security involved."

Thus we may assume that if the people of Nigeria or the Gold Coast, for example, should attempt to revolt against British rule and set up a government of their own choosing, this could be interpreted by the government of Britain, the United States, or any other of the signatories to the Treaty as a threat to Britain's "territorial integrity" and "security," and all of the parties to the Treaty would consequently be called upon to take joint action in crushing the revolt of these peoples by force of arms.

Without their assent and in contradiction to the principles of the United Nations Charter, the Africans' homeland is rapidly being converted into a military arsenal, a base for war. One of several reports to this effect is contained in the *U.S. News-World Report* on February 27, 1948: "Africa now is bustling with the biggest boom in its history . . . Feeding the boom, right now, is the military planning of Europe and the United States. Africa is to become a huge base for armed operations into Europe if trouble comes with Russia."

Girding Africa for War

It is this same preoccupation which apparently dictated the United States delegation's position on the disposition of the former Italian colonies, a position which the Council on African Affairs and many other organizations among the American people have condemned as a reactionary and dangerous solution . . .

The United States has secured the right to establish at Monrovia, Liberia, — with no time limits whatever specified — "such naval, air and military facilities and installations as may be desired by the Government of the United States."

It has secured access to bases in Libya and other colonies, and is giving technical and other assitance, by means of Marshall Plan fund allocations, in the building of communication lines linking the network of African bases together . . .

In view of all these facts it is clear that the North Atlantic Treaty will not only bring nearer the danger of war with the Soviet Union, but will also be an immediate and serious threat to African and other colonial and subject peoples ruled by the Treaty signatories.

Were the North Atlantic Pact in fact what its preamble purports to affirm, namely, a treaty committing its signatories to safeguard the freedom and promote the well-being of their peoples and to preserve the peace, then Negro Americans could give it their full and unconditional support. But, speaking as a Negro, I can say that we have had no small share of experience with language which affirms what actions deny . . .

Democracy begins at home. Let the colonial powers, parties to the Treaty, grant freedom to the peoples whom they hold in bondage. Let the United States government answer the demands of Negro Americans for the right to vote, for the right to work according to their abilities, for the right to live where they choose, for the right to live without fear of lynchings — for the right to live as Americans.

There can be no peace by force of arms. The only enduring peace is that founded upon the freedom and equality and fellowship of all peoples.

Because it is an instrument for war, not for peace; because it means additional hindrance and not assistance to the freedom struggles of oppressed peoples everywhere, I respectfully and most earnestly urge the Senate's rejection of the North Atlantic Treaty.

Mr. Louw Talks to Wall St.

Mr. Eric H. Louw, one of Malan's right-hand men in South Africa, took the opportunity of his stay in New York in April to give a radio broadcast.

He said, "American manufacturers and financiers have not as yet sufficiently realized the opportunity for capital investment in the Union. There have, of course, been exceptions, and those American concerns that have invested in the Union can tell you how profitable those investments have been! In my capacity as South Africa's Minister of Economic Affairs I pass that tip to American businessmen — it is worth acting upon!"

While in New York Mr. Louw also addressed several groups of businessmen, including a dinner of the National Foreign Trade Coucil at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. At the latter, he noted that South Africa ranked eighth on the list of America's best customers in 1948, buying American goods to the amount of $492,000,000.

He also told American businessmen that political control in South Africa "must remain in the hands of those who represents European culture and European civilization."

Council on African Affairs, Inc.
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

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Membership, including subscription — $2

"Africans Want Full and Direct Representation"

"Africans want full and direct representation on all Legislative Councils in the Union." Dr. A. B. Xuma, President-General of the African National Congress, repeated this several times during a recent speech before the Institute of Citizenship in Capetown, South Africa.

"No Union government consisting of white South Africans only is capable of settling South Africa's colour problem," he said. "It would be well for South Africa to begin working on a policy of integration before the policy of colour discrimination destroys the nation."

"If no wiser counsel prevails," Dr. Xuma declared, "and the African people must accept apartheid (segregation) for the sake of peace, they will apply for apartheid on their own terms, on terms of equality and justice. The non-whites will demand three-quarters of the area of this country, including some of the leading towns, harbours and mines of all descriptions. There must be a complete severance of relationship with those South Africans who believe in apartheid.

"Above all, we demand that an international arbitration commission be appointed by the United Nations to adjudicate in the dispute between black and white in South Africa."

Italian Colonies (cont'd)

Despite all of the pressure which they brought to bear upon the recalcitrant delegations, the United States and Britain suffered defeat when the final vote was taken at 2:32 A.M., May 18th, after a marathon meeting of the Assembly. The vote reflected one of the first significant revolts of some of the smaller nations against the dominating innuence of the U.S. in the UN.

And so once again this long debated issue has been postponed. When the Assembly again convenes in September, liberal and progressive forces must be prepared to put up a stronger fight. There must be no further "deals" over any African territories!

The efforts to block the African people's forward surge toward independence will only result in the spread throughout Africa of the kind of demonstrations which occurred in Tripoli on May 17 when 20,000 Arabs marched through the streets denouncing British, American and Italian governments, tearing and burning flags of these countries, and calling a general strike. That the Arab marchers carried pictures of Premier Stalin and lauded the Soviet Union indicated that they were as conscious of their friends as of their enemies.

[Council on African Affairs]

AFRICAN AID COMMITTEE
Financial Statement, June 8, 1949
(Covering period March 2, 1949-June 7, 1949)

I. Disbursements

Note: Numbers in parenthesis indicate items paid by check and the check number. All other items paid from petty cash, receipted by vouchers. All disbursements by Council on African Affairs on behalf of the African Aid Committee.

24-23.21

Postage			
Miscellaneous.....	$ 51.15		
5,000 postcards for acknowledging receipt of coupon books.....	50.00	(1278)	
6,000 3¢ stamps for general mailing of Aid literature.....	180.00	(1303)	
			281.15
Telegrams.....	5.52		5.52
Telephone and telegraph (included in Council's telephone bill)			
March.....	3.96	(1290)	
April.....	6.32	(1307)	10.28
Stationery and supplies.....	21.37		21.37
Clerical.....	82.00	(1299,1300)	82.00
Multigraphing 250 sponsors letters.....	30.60	(1259)	30.60
Total disbursements			430.92

II. Accounts Payable

To Advance Printing Co.		
Printing 5000 postcards	20.00	
10,000 envelopes.....	56.10	
10,000 letterheads	86.70	
10,000 6-pg. folders	230.49	
6,000 return envelopes	61.20	
		454.49
To Lee Letter Service		
Addressing 4,243 envelopes.....	41.11	41.11
Total.....		$ 495.60

Expenditures contracted, but bills not yet received for:
5000 African Aid coupon books (Advance Printing Co.)
Multigraphing and addressing letters for general mailing with Aid literature (Lee Letter Service)

III. Receipts (through June 6, 1949)

From Council on African Affairs (contributions for aid received prior to organization of African Aid Committee)	$ 43.00
Contributions to African Aid Committee prior to general mailing, May 28	14.00
Contributions since general mailing, May 28, returned with coupon books	20.00
Individual contributions since general mailing, May 28	150.00
Total	$227.00

24-23-22

Bill Hunton [Council on African Affairs]

June 8, 1949

Memorandum from Dr. W. A. Hunton, Secretary of the Council on African Affairs to the Chairman and Executive Committee of the African Aid Committee:

I. In pursuance of the vote of the Executive Board of the Council on African Affairs that that organization should give assistance in the establishment and functioning of an independent body organized for the purpose of securing and transmitting financial assistance to responsible agencies of the African people to meet their emergency needs in response to their requests for such help, the Council on African Affairs has during the last three months undertaken the following steps in consultation with and approval of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and other prospective members of the Aid Committee:

1. Organization of a sponsors committee made up of individuals throughout the United States, Panama and Canada.

2. By means of communications sent out by Miss Shirley Graham, acting on behalf of a group of sponsors, approval of suggested officers and members of the executive committee of the African Aid Committee was secured.

3. With the approval of the initial sponsors of the committee materials were prepared for distribution to the public explaining the importance and aims of the committee's work.

4. These materials were printed (see list contained in Financial Statement) and a mailing list was prepared.

. From May 28 to date approximately 3500 persons throughout the United States have been mailed an Aid Committee folder, return envelope, and explanatory letter signed by Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois. An additional 1200 persons have been mailed an Aid folder, coupon book, confirmation return postcard and covering letter.

II. The work thus far done represents mainly laying the foundation for the campaign to proceed. While the expenditures to date, solely for printing and mailing represent a considerable outlay, although every possible economy has been exercised, it may be safely estimated on the basis of returns thus far from the mailing that this expenditure will be liquidated within a period of about a month and that revenue then can be used toward meeting requests from Africa for our help.

Two things seem necessary in carrying forward this campaign successfully:

1. Publicity beyond that generated by the Committee's own literature.

2. Organization of the Committee's efforts around specific aid projects and projected toward those sections of the public most likely to respond to these specific appeals.

In regard to the first point, it appears necessary that the Negro press, and thereby the Negro public, at least be made cognizant of the committee and its work by means of interviews with officers of the campaign, by endorsements, by quoted endorsements by leading sponsors and others, etc. Public meetings organized around the Aid campaign should be planned beginning in the fall if not earlier. The best publicity will, of course, come from the help actually sent to Africa as an indication of the campaign's success.

As for the second point, it is suggested that campaigns on several specific projects be organized such as the following:

1. Aid for Dr. Bokwe's clinic in South Africa, the campaign to be headed and promoted by medical men and women and directed toward getting contributions from medical and social workers in various key cities.

2. A campaign to give financial help for a specific school (independent of government financial help) such as that of Rev. Dr. I. P. Samuel (United Congregational Church), South Africa. This campaign to be led by a group of teachers and directed toward teachers and students in colleges and secondary schools.

3. A cultural campaign, for example, in answer to the request of Moerane in South Africa for musical instruments for the children's band which he has voluntarily organized, this campaign to have the support of Dean Dixon and other leading figures in the American musical world. A concert of African music might be a means of raising funds for this objective.

4. A campaign for assistance to a specific African trade union to be promoted by labor leaders and through American trade unions.

In addition to these specific projects conducted by sub-committees, it is recommended that in its public relations the committee focus attention upon the one or two most urgent or dramatic instances of need at the given time. At present the situation in Uganda and the conditions of starvation in Nyasaland lend themselves such dramatic emphasis.

III. In submitting this memorandum and the accompanying financial statement to the Executive Committee of the Aid campaign, the Council staff wishes to be relieved of the task which it has undertaken in getting the work of the Aid Committee launched. While the Council's staff will continue to lend assistance and will always answer to any calls which the Aid Committee may make upon it, it is only proper that the initiative and direction of the Committee's work should now come from the officers and Executive Committee of the African Aid Committee. The Council and the Aid Committee have separate functions. Although naturally their work will overlap to some extent it is desirable that the independent character of the Aid Committee be made manifest by its manner of operation. What is desired between the two organizations is cooperation, but not dependency of either one upon the other.

W. A. Hunton

84-83.20

file

MEMORANDUM

TO: DR. HUNTON

FROM: W. E. B. DU BOIS

DATE: JUNE 9, 1949

SUBJECT: TELEPHONE

I have sent the enclosed letter to the telephone company. My idea is to have the telephone in my office removed entirely and to leave the one in Mrs. Murphy's office, and to have it integrated with your system so that all calls meant for me will come in through y ur office.

We will keep careful record, and your office can do the same, of all out-going calls from our office and I will pay the charge for those calls.

I hope this will be satisfactory to you.

24-23-12

WEBD:lm

MEMORANDUM

TO: DR. HUNTON

FROM: W. E. B. DU BOIS

DATE: JUNE 14, 1949

SUBJECT: MRS. HEATH

Mrs. Heath might try Fisk University at Nashville, Atlanta University at Atlanta, and Morgan College at Baltimore.

24-23-14

MEMORANDUM

TO: DR. HUNTON

FROM: W. E. B. DU BOIS

DATE: JUNE 14, 1949

SUBJECT: KEY

Will you kindly see that I have a key to the office at the bottom of my stairs going toward the elevator. I understand that there is no key to the lock now on the door. Sunday when I came here to work, the door was locked. If, while I am working here, anybody going through that office should lock the door, I would be imprisoned in my office without opportunity to get out. I think that either I should have a key to that lock or that the lock should be changed.

R-4-23-13

NEWS RELEASE from

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.
23 WEST 26 STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-6209

PAUL ROBESON, Chairman — W. E. B. Du BOIS, Vice Chairman — ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, Treasurer — W. A. HUNTON, Secretary

35-3-329

ADDRESS BY DR. W.E.B. DU BOIS

WELCOME HOME RALLY FOR PAUL ROBESON, NEW YORK, JUNE 19, 1949
AUSPICES OF THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

On last Easter morning I found myself quite unexpectedly flying to France for my tenth visit. My first visits took place fifty years ago when as a student and young teacher I first saw Paris and the sweep of that greatest avenue in the world from the Triumphant Arch to the Place of Peace. It was in 1894 and 1900, the apogee of European civilization; and for 250 years France had, in many respects, led that march of culture. One sensed this in the pride of its boulevards; in the universal reign of its tastes; and in the world dominance of its exquisite language.

Fifty years passed over the world—a half century more revolutionary in cultural outlook and political ideal than any which humanity has seen. The whole world changed. The whole meaning of human culture was revolutionized. The total ideal of man was uprooted, for disaster or complete replanting.

France showed in 1949 a change and metamorphasis undreamed of in 1894. Gone was the subtle security of wealth; the confidence in the perfect setting of canons of taste to which all the world paid homage; and the gayety and light touch on life which always made Paris a thousand and one nights. But back of the change, the old and indomitable spirit of the French people still emerged, as it had at Verdun and Dunkirk; back of a vast shadow of uncounted dead, of crippled and maimed living; back of rags and poverty, still lingered and lived the old spirit of liberty, equality and brotherhood, which the work, family and country of Vichy had not transformed. The sweep of the Champs Elysees is still the noblest on earth, despite the shrinking of its fashion parade; the buildings of the grand boulevards need carpentry, masonry and paint; and the gay little restaurants with their pride of cheap living and high thinking reflect today the fall of the franc from 19 cents to three tenths of a cent.

The story of what has happened to France and Europe in the first half of the 20th century I have seen and heard in the visits I made between 1900 and 1949. I saw in 1906 and 1911, the division which placed colonial imperialism in growing opposition to interracial cooperation and world peace. French science and philanthropy ranged themselves back of the great Race Congress held in London in 1911, an event which might have changed world history but for that little German warship that slipped into Agadir and bluntly challenged the French and British grip on the cheap labor of Asia and Africa. The result was disaster to European civilization, and disaster which I only began to realize when I landed at Brest in December, 1918, a month after the Armistice closing the first World War.

France was prone. Her agony of suffering and death was written on the faces of 30 millions of people. Her very cry of military triumph was shot with tears. I remember vividly in the great hall of the Trocadero, how the magnificent figure of the leading actress of France stood before thousands and cried "C'est la victoire, c'est la victoire!" And how a marshall of France kissed the Legion of Honor on the cheeks of a black African and a yellow Annamese. But we all soon knew that it was a victory which cost too much, and from which not France nor Europe; not Britain nor Germany had courage to learn. Only Russia dared a new way and with one accord 14 nations including us, made war on her six times in twelve years and would repeat it today, if they dared.

35-3-330

I came to France four times between the first and second world wars, so that in each of the intervening decades I saw and judged and tried in weak and ineffectual ways to guide history. I hammered into deaf ears the continuing threat of colonialism; I tried to unite black public opinion the world over back of my demand for African freedom; I visited Belgium, England, Russia, Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal; French and British colonies in Africa, and the republic of Liberia. But the world, oblivious to small voices like mine and even to the stronger voice of rising socialism not only in Russia but over the world, swept doggedly on to restore conditions which existed before 1914; to reestablish the domination of Europe over Asia, Africa and the sea isles, and to make the white people of western Europe and North America the effective rulers of mankind and arbitrators of its destiny.

They killed the system of human culture which they sought to restore· how completely; by death and destruction; by uprooting of old culture patterns and vast displacement of peoples, they transformed this world and its civilization, even intelligent persons today to astounding extent utterly fail to conceive. Stop and compare the world of my first visit to France with today; in 1894, even I did not question the rightful leadership of the world by European culture; everyone expected that Europe would continue to rule Asiatics and Africans; that the British Empire was the last word in democracy; that American wealth was the object and end of American freedom and that the highest ambition of black and colored folk was to become as much like white folk as possible. What we did ask was that the colored world be ruled for its own eventual good; what we did believe and insist on, was that given time and opportunity, the colored world would catch up with the white in ability to make contribution to civilization; but we never questioned the norms and methods of that white world as the one way to accomplish all this.

What has happened since 1894? The white rule of the world has stopped. It is not merely going to stop--it has stopped. When 300 million indians walked out of the British Empire in all but name; when 400 million Chinese kicked the United States in the teeth and declared their independence of Europe; when the 100 millions of Indonesia refused longer to submit to the rule of Holland; in these events, by determination of the vast majority of human beings, an old world ended and a new world began. And those blind folk in the United States and the British Isles who still doggedly cling to the hope that by wealth, force and atomic energy they are going to restore the old world, are whistling to the winds of a dead past.

Nor was the new world inducted into being by force from without. It was decay within which made European civilization collapse. The second world war marked the failure of a system of industry which for four centuries tried to base the comfort and civilization of a few on the degradation, ignorance, disease and slave toil of the vast majority of mankind, and justified this procedure by preaching the belief that most human beings were not men in the same sense as Europeans. For a time this system had such phenomenal success that it seemed to prove its truth; Wealth poured into Europe and North America; miraculous technique made man master of nature; huge, high, wide and flamboyant cities were built; history, literature and art depicted white folk as supermen and ridiculed "niggers". Comfort and luxury spread themselves down even to white skilled workers who rejoiced in superiority to dark peoples and joined armies by tens of thousands to keep black wages down. All Europe congratulated itself that never before had mankind reached such heights of civilization. All was progress. All progress was measured in size and weight. All real men were white.

Then came signs of disaster--within the white countries, poverty, disease and crime persisted and grew. Ethics and religion gained wider areas of hypocrisy and misrepresentation. The majority of men were not being ruled for their own good or advancement. Business was to an astounding extent gambling, cheating and lying against this misrule and misconception. the French Revolution, the American Revolution, the Haitian Revolution and the Russian Revolution, from 1787 to 1917. 130 years revolted with force and violence. But beyond revolution and superior to it came ideas in the minds of free men who had the courage to think. The ideal of the Socialistic state arose or rather was restored from more primitive times and other lands; instead of a state ruled by the anardhy of individual gain there came gradually the idea of a state organized and planned by its scientists and artists for the good of the mass of its citizens.

Instead of industry for the profit of business men, came the idea of business for the comfort and good of all men. These ideas were not the invention of a few, but the gradually developed thought of men of learning and experience in all lands from the 18th century to our day. What has been the result?

One of the first things which I noticed in this visit to France was that the railroads of France no longer belong to private companies, but to the state. I knew

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that France already owned her telegraphs and telephones; I knew French cities owned their underground lines, streetcars and busses; all of the main public service were in the hands of the state; the state was entering private industry and when direct ownership did not result, severe regulation was increasing. Foreign trade, steamships and airplanes had state supervision and partial ownership. In other words, France is today a socialistic state to a large extent, and this socialization is growing.

But is France in this respect, exceptional in Europe? It is not. Neither in Europe nor in the world. There is not today in the world a single civilized land in which socialism is not wide-spread and growing. Every European country owns its transportation systems and systems of communication; every European country has nationalized many of its main businesses from banking to mining; from housing to manufacturing; from foreign trade to retail distribution of goods; from private land ownership to state ownership of all public utilities. In one group of countries, including the Union of Soviet Republics, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and most of the Balkans an industrial system is being worked out under which all wealth used for capital and all land and natural resources are either owned by the state or in process of gradual absorption. This system is not an experiment nor is it the result of the plotting of thieves and scoundrels.

It is the result of the considered thought and planning of the best minds of the world for the last 300 years. In Asia, the same policy in industry is being put into practice. India is basically socialistic in aim. China is becoming completely a socialistic state after the Russian model. Socialism is strong in Southeastern Asia and the concept of business and industry for public welfare and not for private profit is growing in the West Indies and among the laboring masses of South and Central America.

Only one great nation is apparently openly fighting the advance of socialism and that is the United States of America. And the fight here is more apparent than real. The advance of socialism in this country has been steady and large and still continues. We not only run the post office and a large part of the express business; we dominate flood control and irrigation; cities own transport facilities, water works, parks and recreation; the nation and states regulate mines, railroads, rivers and forests; bridges tunnels and harbors; we regulate wages, rents, interest, education, poor relief and old age security; banking in all its aspects and manufacturing in many respects, not to mention prices of goods for sale, are under national and state regulation.

Yet a vast propaganda is spread over the land, ascribing all our prosperity to unrestrained individual enterprise, our wealth entirely to private initiative and representing socialism as a failure and especially painting Russian communism, the most hopeful human effort in a hundred years, as a low conspiracy which can only be met by spending 83 cents of every dollar of the oppressive taxation laid on us for gggressive war in all parts of the world. Such insane propaganda and lying can only be met by sane and persistent array of facts and spread of information.

The one splendid thing about France of today, is the persistence of freedom of thought and expression. It was like a bath in clear, cold water to be six weeks in a country where people of intelligence and conviction were not afraid to talk, where a man has a right to be a communist and defend Russia, and another has equal right to praise the United States and the Marshall Plan, neither is smeared, jailed nor driven to suicide. France is today as ever a place of asylum for the oppressed of all races. At the Peace Congress were Europeans, Americans, Africans, Asiatics and West Indians, laborers, shop-keepers and capitalists. But France has no such aggregation of liars, traitors, spies, stool-pigeons and stray bitches as are today so rampant and so popular in the United States. In France today it is permissible to stand up and advocate peace without losing your right to earn a living.

I have, in my life attended many great meetings of men. I saw the Triple Alliance renewed in Berlin with pomp of three kings. I was at the University of London in 1911 with the races of the world; in Paris in 1919 to celebrate victory; in Geneva when the Assembly of the League of Nations was born; in Moscow on May Day, 1928; and in San Francisco when the United Nations was formed. I have had some experience in judging numbers and attitudes and sincerities among masses of men. I can say truthfully, that never before have I seen so great, so sincere and

35-3-332-

and so tremendous an outpouring of human beings, so utterly intent on the progress of mankind, as at the World Congress for Peace in Paris, April 21 to 24, 1949. I saw over two thousand delegates from all the world and all the continents attend eleven almost continuous sessions of the Congress for five long days, to listen not to vaudeville but to long factual speeches from men and women without grace of oratory but with bitter sincerity of truth, and I saw on that memorable Sunday 8 weeks ago five hundred thousand human beings, some of whom walked half across France, file all day through the Buffalo Stadium, and before the best brains and accomplishments of Europe, to register one solemn and unforgettable determination: "No more war!"

The Nation and the Herald Tribune reported 50,000 persons present in a "communist" demonstration! and this is the kind of information you are getting and swallowing. This is the sort of lie which a monopolized press is jamming down the throat of Americans. The news of the world is deliberately distorted or omitted by our newspapers. Our schools are being bought off or silenced. Yesterday Harvard received five million dollars to teach that the "American Way" of business was the best in the world; not, mind you, to investigate business methods in order to find which is best. Few teachers today can hold their job and teach the truth about American industry. I do not know a single Negro college in the United States where any complete picture of the economic condition of the world can be studied. But more important to this audience is the fact that in the last two decades, American Negroes have lost their world leadership of the darker people. After the first World War, when I went abroad, almost invariably I was approached by white persons and black for information on how we American Negroes were conducting our fight for liberty and equality. This time no one asked. Apparently they all sensed that the Negroes of the United States no longer were aware of the international situation nor in position to lead the darker world.

Gabriel D'Arboussier, Secretary of the French African Reunion was honored by the Peace Congress and made one of its vice-presidents. He sat May Day on the Tribune beside Joliot-Curie, Aragon and Picasso. He told me with enthusiasm of the effort of his organization to raise the economic level of the 25 million blacks of the French Sudan and Equatorial Africa. He pointed out how this organized black nucleus faced on the east the seven millions of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; and through it, Uganda and Kenya where Britain is today straining every nerve to restore her colonial empire and control of cheap black labor and materials; on the south, nine million blacks of the Belgian Congo where America is today monopolizing material for the atomic bomb, to control the world; and in the west, British West Africa which is fighting for Negro nationhood. I was gratified to see that this movement, instead of aiming at equal right with whites to exploit natives was set to raise the natives themselves to higher income, better education and less disease. I knew that D'Arboussier sensed that American Negroes were either unaware of this socialistic advance of the mass of men or were simply determined to share with white industry the spoils of exploitation. This explains why American Negroes today are not only beginning to be cautious in what they think or say; and why they think that their value to the United States is to agree with the dominant group, no matter what it advocates; and to fight anybody it orders them to fight, even their own friends; why, for instance, Negro physicians in so large majority oppose socialized medicine. They do not read what Russia, China and India are doing for public health. They are interested in income quickly and easily made.

There are two things American Negroes must do; first, they must know what is going on in this world; the vast revolution through which all of us are passing, the fundamental changes in the organization of work and income, the spread of democracy from politics to industry, the new concept of business for service and not for profit, the public ownership of land and capital, the equalization of income and the basic axiom "to each according to need and from each according to ability". This is the new world we are entering. We now here will not live to see its complete triumph but the shadow of its unfolding is upon us and the cry of its birth pains in our ears. As with study and understanding we sense the meaning of the coming world change, we must have the courage to help its beginnings and speed its growth.

35-3-333

Secondly, while the change is approaching, we must prepare its path: First, by a firm stand for peace. No more war. Least of all, war with Russia, the one nation which has curbed wealth, outlawed race prejudice and refused to own colonies. Russia is not perfect; neither are we; but there is nothing wrong with either that war can cure and we will do scant service to our country if we let our greedy leaders lie us into an unjust war.

Moreover, there is positive work for peace in front of us. The colonial world, and especially Africa, is today hungry and diseased, with small chances in education. Africa needs help which we can easily spare. She does not need further teaching of religious dogma. She needs food, medicine and schools.

The Council on African Affairs has just helped in establishing an African Aid Committee as a separate body whose function it is to send aid to Africa. For this work we ask your help and the help of all who care for the most exploited part of the world today, for the continent crucified for four centuries to make white folk rich,—where the imperialists are trying now to restore slavery and colonial exploitation. We welcome to this work all men of all minds.

It is more than stupid to refuse cooperation because other men's aims are not all yours. The man who works for peace is my brother; the woman who works for Africa and against colonialism is your sister. As a free American whose fathers for five generations have served this land, I will know what I say and say what I mean and none nor nothing shall stop me. So long as he walks toward the truth as I see it, I will be fellow traveler with communist or capitalist, with white man or black and I will proclaim as a fool the man who lays down a goal and then refuses himself to follow it because somebody he does not like walks to the same great end. This is the day that sorts cowards from the men of courage, and self-seekers from the unselfish. This is the day to stand and be counted. But I will not deceive you, such a stand will cost you something. It may cost you your job. But you can still own your soul.

##########

Jill

MEMORANDUM

TO: DR. HUNTON

FROM: W. E. B. DU BOIS

DATE: JUNE 20, 1949

SUBJECT: SECRETARY

I am dissatisfied at the way the secretary situation is working out. I understood that the Council was to pay the salary of my secretary. That she was to be my secretary, but that a part of her time, perhaps one-half when I could spare her, could be put on work for your office. This was a generous offer and I appreciated it.

But as it is working out, your office is getting most of my secretary's time and work. She is continually asked to leave my office unattended to work downstairs; orders are given her of which I know nothing, so that she practically has two or more bosses.

This I am sure you realize will not do. A secretary should be subject to one authority, and if and when her services are required it should be with the knowledge and consent of this single authority. I understand of course in what straits you have worked, without resourses to carry out your heavy responsibilities. I am sure you have not meant in any way to interfere with my work. But you must realize my position: I have but little time for much work: Mrs. Murphy has been trained to help me; I need that help.

I therefore suggest hereafter:

A. Mrs. Murphy will do all her work in my office, so that the office will at all times have supervision.

B. That when you have need for her help, you notify me and let me decide when best I can spare her.

C. That union rules for over-time be carefully observed.

This complaint is entirely mine. Mrs. Murphy has said nothing. I trust you will think this matter over at your convenience and let me have your conclusions.

2/-22-23

MEMORANDUM

From W.A. Hunton
To Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
June 27, 1949

1. Summer Vacations

Being pretty exhausted from a long, unbroken stretch of day-and-night work for the Council, I am planning to take the month of July off. Mrs. Patterson will be in charge of the office during my absence, and upon my return she will take the month of August off, in accordance with her request (she was told by her physician to take some rest this spring, but I persuaded her to join us almost immediately upon her arrival here from Chicago, and she now feels it necessary to take the time out and recoup.)

My secretary, Mrs. Mitchell, or a substitute during her two week vacation period, will be on duty throughout the summer.

The Council will provide salary for two weeks for Mrs. Murphy during whatever vacation period fits in with your plans. This is in accordance with our standing rule that staff members in the employ of the Council for at least six months shall receive two weeks vacation with full salary, with more time off without salary if desired. Kindly let me know when Mrs. Murphy will take her vacation, and also your own vacation plans. Arrangements will be made for our office to handle Aid Committee correspondence and your own secretarial needs during Mrs. Murphy's vacation.

2. Mrs. Murphy's Work

As I mentioned to you, your recent memorandum concerning our excessive use of Mrs. Murphy's time came as something of a surprise. I most certainly agree that her obligations to your work must have precedence over everything else. I have, indeed, never asked her to do any work without first asking if she could spare the time. Quite often she said that she had some work to do for you first and would help us after that was done. I of course always agreed that she do your work first.

As you realize, our staff is far too small to cope with the heavy volume of mailings we have been doing for the Council membershaip drive, African Aid campaign, releases, New Africa, and the June 19th meeting. We have tried to get volunteer help, without much success, and have been compelled to pay for extra clerical help at vaious times, though we could little afford it. We have all worked long hours, without requesting or receiving extra compensation.

As to the future, I think it would be best for us to have a mutual understanding and agreement concerning certain tasks that Mrs. Murphy will be expected to perform regularly in connection with the African Aid Committee, with the further understanding that she is to do no other work save for you, except when <u>with your permission</u> she <u>offers</u> her spare time and services to us.

24-23-8

2. Mrs. Murphy's Work (continued)

The following are the regular assignments in connection with the African Aid Co mmittee which I would propose for Mrs. Murphy:

A. Receiving and attending to mail addressed to the African Aid Committee:

1. Entering receipts in receipt book for all contributions, including those of donors in the coupon book;
2. Mailing all receipts to donors;
3. Keeping an alphabetical card file (A) with full name and address of all returns with or without contribution, and noting on each card the amount (if any) received, date received and a notation after the name as follows:
   C - if person returned coupon book which was mailed to him,
   CD - if the person made a contribution on a stub of a coupon book;
4. Mailing out additional folders or coupon books as requested;
5. Sending folders, letters, etc., to new names of prospective contributors sent in;
6. Keep alphabetical card file (B) with full name and address of persons (under 4 above) who get additional coupon books and persons (under 5 above), indicating materials sent, and (for both categories) the date the material was sent;
7. Referring to Dr. Du Bois or Mrs. Garvin such communications as require special answer (donations of $10.00 or more should receive a special letter of thanks, in addition to the receipt);
8. Keeping an alphabetical file of correspondence.

B. Other miscellaneous tasks:

1. Keeping a cash book record and vouchers for all cash expenditures (postage, supplies, etc.)--this entails setting up a petty cash fund;
2. Keeping a file of bills due and bills paid for the inspection of the treasurer;
3. Preparing and making bank deposits and keeping bank book and check book for the treasurer.

24-23-9

Mrs. Garvin, I understand, is at present assisting Mrs. Murphy in attending to the backlog of mail received to date. I can arrange to have further assistance given as I am eager to try to get this work up to date before I leave this week on my vacation.

Once the past correspondence is out of the way it would seem to me that the execution of these tasks would not take more than an hour or two of Mrs. Murphy's time daily, provided no further accumulation occurs and assuming that there is no sharp increase in the amount of mail received. We have already secured numbered receipt books and a treasurer's signature stamp for signing the receipts. Card files and folders remain to be secured.

I would like to know whether you approve of Mrs. Murphy's undertaking this work. If the time involved is too much, certain of the tasks can be taken over by Mrs. Garvin.

3. Other Matters Concerning African Aid Committee

My purpose in trying to get a complete picture this week of returns on the mailing to date is primarily in order that we may send out a follow-up letter to those who have not yet replied to our mailing of May 28, particularly the holders of coupon books. It occurs to me that it might be well to make use of the appeal from Mr. Mulumba for help in Uganda as part of the follow-up letter in order to stimulate a feeling of urgency. What do you think of this? Would you wish me to draft such a follow-up letter or could you do it?

I have discussed with Mrs. Garvin the steps to be taken in setting up of special project committees in accordance with the discussion at our last Executive Committee meeting. I shall attempt to work this our further with her this week.

Finally, I think it desirable to try to get the heads of certain organizations such as the Masons, Elks, Fraternal Council of Negro Churches, and the fraternities and sororities to underwrite our campaign of Africa Aid within their own organizations; that is, asking them to send a letter requesting their affiliated groups to take up our appeal formally. I think such a communication will have weight if it goes from you personally to the heads of the organizations. I can supply names of such people.

If it is convenient for you, I shall try to arrange for Mrs. Garvin, Dr. Beekman and myself to meet with you, briefly, sometime this week to discuss these and other matters.

4. Immediate Plans for the Council on African Affairs

It is unfortunate that our very successful meeting on June 19 came just at the beginning of the summer when it is most difficult to carry through further promotion work. However, we plan to try to get a nucleus of people in the Harlem area together in the next few days in order to establish a Harlem Committee of the Council.

We have also had Paul's speech printed as a 5¢ pamphlet. It will be off the press today or tomorrow and we are making plans for the widest possible distribution. The back cover will consist of an appeal to support and join the Council.

We shall also arrange to get reprints of your speech from Masses and Mainstream when it appears for similar distribution. As soon as I can arrange the time with Paul I want to try to schedule a meeting of the Council's Executive Committee this week (preferably, for Thursday) at which time there can be a general review of the membership drive to date, the financial and other results of the June 19 meeting, and discussion of the tasks which lie ahead.

W. A. Hunton

24-23-10

MEMORANDUM

TO: DR. HUNTON

FROM: W. E. B. DU BOIS

DATE: JUNE 27, 1949

SUBJECT: SUMMER VACATION

I am glad you are going to take a rest. You need it.

Mrs. Murphy will take her vacation: August 8 to 22.

Your memo on Mrs. Murphy's work is satisfactory to me. She will put the whole of this week on clearing up the backlog of mail. I shall be out of town until after the 4th.

It would be especially desirable to get the Secret Orders, Fraternities and Sororities to join in our African Aid. I will prepare a letter. Unfournately I shall be out of town this week, and therefore, cannot meet Thursday; but I will cooperate in anyway.

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

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[Council on African Affairs]

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26 STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-7622

June 30, 1949

Dear Friend:

I hope you will make every effort to be present at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Council on African Affairs on Wednesday, July 6, 4:00 P.M. at the offices of the Council.

With our Chairman back home with us and with the successful June 19 meeting as an index of the popular support the Council can win, we are eager to go forward. And we need your counsel and assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Alphaeus Hunton

W. A. HUNTON

WAH:mpm

84-83-14

New AFRICA

Council on African Affairs
Monthly Bulletin

For the united struggle of all democratic forces against imperialism; for the achievement of freedom, democracy, abundance, and peace by the peoples of Africa and the whole world.

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PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

An African Leader's Open Letter to the President of the United States

1, Hampstead Hill Gardens
London, N.W. 3

President Truman:

You and your government, and the American people, must know that we Africans, as well as all peoples in the non-self-governing territories, living under the horrors of imperialism, DO NOT WANT WAR, and WILL NOT GO TO WAR against peoples who liberated themselves from imperialism and fascism.

What did we fight for in the first and second world wars? Freedom? We are deliberately kept in political, economic, and social slavery. Progress? Our progress is retarded by the policies of the colonial powers. Prosperity? We live in perpetual imposed squalor and privation. Self-determination? We are dominated by foreigners, who usurped our political powers in our own countries.

We Africans have nothing of value to defend except our own lives. Although we are deprived of all Western values and democratic rights, which you say you mean to defend, we will not let you deprive us of our own lives.

The U.S. government and the American people are forgetting that they, at one time, like us today, were living under the yoke of a colonial power. What substantial difference is there between the present American foreign policy and that of the colonial power that once ruled over America?

For construction rather than destruction, American capital and leadership could effect international good, by stamping out colonialism, which is the main cause of international jealousies, leading to war.

Is it not A New Social Order rather than the power politics of the atomic bomb that will maintain and raise the established standards of civilization in the world?

The horse of Marshall Aid cannot be put behind the clumsy coach of colonial administration. Self-government and independence must be the initial capital to be invested in the non-self-governing territories, if at all Marshall Aid is to be in the best interests of all communities in those territories.

The peoples of the non-self-governing territories are seeking for the highest bidder in terms of self-government and independence for them. It is impossible to deny that American influence has grand opportunity today to take up the challenge and answer the call.

The silenced Africans know that they are the prey that the western European powers are stalking in the wild jungle of the North Atlantic Pact.

What constructive measures has the U.S. government ever introduced in the international field of influence to effect true democratic self-government and independence for the Africans?

In view of the fact that all schemes devised by the colonial powers are designed to stifle African political consciousness, and paralyze African initiative in trade with outside countries, what will the U.S. government do immediately to open Africa to international trade?

Considering that there is a concrete program of progress for Africa, what practical arrangements is the U.S. government making in order to utilize Marshall aid and all African manpower in progressive construction rather than destruction?

Realizing that Africa is rich in economic resources, which the colonial powers are draining alone on a co-operative basis of the western bloc, will the U.S. government issue to the colonial powers a decree to grant true democratic self-government and independence to African territories, in order that international trade with Africa will be established and conducted on the basis of PARTNERSHIP?

Will you show us the U.S. government's principle of a SQUARE DEAL in the so-called colonial development with Marshall Aid?

Yours faithfully,

(signed) SEMAKULA MULUMBA
Representative of the Bataka,
The Elders of the people in Uganda

TERROR IN UGANDA: 13,000 JAILED, HUNDREDS REPORTED KILLED GOVERNMENT WAGES WAR AGAINST AFRICANS

"A UNIQUE war has been unleashed against the innocent, defenseless Uganda people by the British government, as represented by the Uganda Protectorate Government led by Governor Sir John Hall," writes Mr. Semakula Mulumba (see preceding page and *New Africa* for Feb. 1949 and Nov. 1945).

In a long letter to the Secretary of the Council on African Affairs, dated May 19th, Mr. Mulumba gives a detailed account of the brutal, suppressive measures taken by the colonial authorities in their attempt to stamp out every vestige of the national and progressive movements among the Uganda people.

Trouble broke out on April 25th. "According to our traditions," writes Mr. Mulumba, "all the people may go to their Kabaka (King) and see him, or submit their demands to him. So the 25th of April, 1949, all the people assembled peacefully outside the Kabaka's palace (at Kampala) where he was supposed to go and see him. The Governor of Uganda, Sir John Hall, surprised them on that most solemn occasion by interfering with the British troops to prevent them from seeing their king. They fired on the people, killed several, and wounded many. The people had no weapons at all to fight with. The British troops just picked them off like rabbits."

This marks the second outbreak of violence in Uganda since the end of the war. In January 1945 the people's protest against injustices was crushed with shocking severity. The underlying cause of the national upsurge in this East African colony is not "Communist inspiration," as the Governor has asserted, but is the swelling resentment of the people against the evils of the dictatorial rule exercised by the British authorities and the puppet chiefs whom they control.

What Uganda Africans Want

The demands which the Africans sought to place before their king on April 25 were that a system of democratic election of 60 African representatives in the Kabaka's Council be granted, that the present African government resign, and that Africans be granted the right to gin their own cotton and be given licenses for trading freely with the outside world.

Having dispersed the petitioners, the Governor proceeded to ban the Bataka and the African Farmers' Union and hunt down the leaders and members of these organizations. He further imposed a rigid press censorship and declared the whole of Buganda Province in southern Uganda a "disturbed area," thus providing himself with unlimited emergency powers.

When Africans resisted by erecting barricades (out of oil drums and tree trunks) in the streets of Kampala and across roads leading to the city, the Governor summoned troops and armored cars from Kenya.

According to a smuggled letter received in Britain from Uganda and quoted by Mr. Mulumba, from April 26 to May 9 "the number of people murdered with bullets is above 800 now; but the British try very much to hide the bodies. One man told us that it was he who drove a truck accompanied by an armored car at night. They brought 72 dead bodies with heavy pieces of rock tied on them. These bodies were dumped in the Nile. The British threatened him and said that if they hear of it one day, they will kill him too."

The Governor himself warned that "all Africans in the areas of disturbance will suffer for the crimes of the comparative few because Government has power to recover from the community the full cost of compensation for the damage to persons and property. That power will be exercised, and I fear that the cost of compensation will be high and the communal penalty imposed will be heavy."

While the number of Africans killed has not been authenticated, it is officially acknowledged that some 1300 arrests have been made. Mr. Mulumba writes that those jailed are sentenced to terms of 5 to 10 years without charge or trial, and that an average of 8 to 10 persons die daily in jail as a result of starvation and torture.

"The people of Uganda," the African leader writes, "want a democratic African government in Uganda. They will not be slaves of the British government. They will not be governed by corrupted quisling chiefs. The Africans are cheated by the Indian cotton buyers for the colossal profits of the Uganda Protectorate Government. The Africans will no longer tolerate this kind of exploitation. They want to gin their cotton and sell it direct to Britain by themselves."

An Appeal to Americans

Mr. Mulumba ends his letter with an appeal to the American people to demand that the British government:

- bring about "the immediate resignation and recall of Governor Sir John Hall,"
- secure "the immediate resignation of the present African government of Quislings and tyrants,"
- "release all prisoners and stop all murders and tortures."
- "lift the bans on the Bataka and the Uganda African Farmers' Union,"
- grant "a democratic government for the people of Uganda," grant export licenses for the Africans and give them the right to trade with other countries,
- insure the "democratic rights of free speech and assembly in Uganda."

"Our greatest need at the moment," the letter concludes, is for funds to enable the Uganda people to continue their struggle for freedom, to provide medical aid, and to care for the dependents of those who have been killed.

New Africa *urges its readers to send letters of protest embodying the above demands to Sir Oliver Franks, British Embassy, Washington, D. C., and to send contributions to the African Aid Committee, 23 West 26th Street, New York, to be forwarded to Mr. Mulumba.*

Survey Cites Discontent of African Labor

Telling criticisms of the labor conditions and treatment of 6,000 Africans employed by the Kenya and Uganda Railway in East Africa are contained in a Colonial Research Publication, "African Labor Efficiency Survey," recently issued by the British government.

The report definitely affirms the technical efficiency of African workers when they are given the proper opportunities. Among the major handicaps which stand in the way, according to the report, are absence of both primary and technical education, physical handicaps arising from malnutrition an inadequate wage scale.

A white physician at Kampala, Uganda, observed that "Given an adequate wage and free, well-stocked markets of food, Africans can feed themselves better on their own than by any system of rations; and, further, that our paternalism is very deeply resented. . . .

"It is clear that the wage plan does not ensure wages adequate to enable an African residing in any one of the towns in East Africa to bring up a family. The stark fact must be faced that 4,000 of the Railway's African employees must live in restricted accommodation and quite a proportion of them must leave their wives and families on the native lands."

The report also states: "African confidence in the European is slipping. . . . Sitting and talking with the workers in their homes, we became aware of a very grave discontent which, unless constructively guided and relieved, may well threaten civil peace."

S. African Gov't. Takes Food Away From African Children

In still another move toward further enslavement of the eight million Africans in the Union of South Africa, the Nationalist government headed by Malan has taken steps toward discouraging even the little schooling enjoyed by African children by curbing and probably ending the program of school feeding.

The poor health conditions among the black people of South Africa are notorious. The majority of African children are undernourished and suffering from the diseases which go with malnutrition.

What do African children eat before they go to school and during the rest of the day? The majority have dry bread and tea for breakfast. Some have porridge. Some do not have any breakfast at all. Their next meal at home, which is also their main meal, is usually between 2:30 and 4 P.M. Very seldom does it include meat. The majority have fresh vegetables and milk only about twice a week. The parents of about 50 percent of the children are away from home all day—mother and father having to work to make ends meet.

It is no wonder, then, that government investigating commissions have called the school meals for African children essential. Nevertheless, despite appeals from many African and white organizations, officials are proceeding to eliminate the school feeding program, starting in the Transvaal Province.

More Child Labor Wanted

At a conference of Transvaal Nationalist Party leaders late last year various speakers clearly indicated their hostility to African school feeding. It was, they said, something that kept African children in school instead of making them come to work on the farms. " 'Kaffirs' do not go to school to learn but just to eat," they sneered.

The government has been spending twopence (less than four cents) per head for the daily feeding of African school children. The excuse for ending the program is that funds are exhausted and no fresh subsidy can be provided. It is argued that the white minority cannot afford to carry the burden of the 8,000,000 Africans.

The truth, of course, is that it is the Africans who bear the whites on their backs. Without black labor not a single gold mine could operate, nor could other industries or the farms carry on. The African people, as a matter of fact, paid the government $7,000,000 in direct taxation in 1945. Their contribution to the South African government in direct and indirect taxes has been estimated at a minmum of $75,000,000. And yet it is said that the government cannot find $3,480,000 to feed the African school children.

One South African church leader, Archdeacon C. A. Alderson, condemned the "hideous injustice" of a Christian government in reducing the pittance granted for the feeding of South Africa's poorest children because they are black. The poorest African farm laborer, getting less than one-sixth of the wages of an European laborer, had to pay for his children's schooling while the Europeans were getting it free, he said. "Where is justice, righteousness, common fairness and decency?"

Mr. Sam Kahn, the first Communist to win a seat in the South African Assembly, has declared that this latest action of the Malan regime "should rally the African people to the realization that their future, and even their life, is at stake, as long as this government is in power."

During frequent famine periods in South Africa, black mothers line up to receive a meager daily ration of corn meal, their usual diet.

Two British Views on Africa's Future

Among political commentators there are those whose articles serve as straws in the wind, indicating the path official policy is likely to follow in the near future. In the United States there is Walter Lippman, for instance; in England, "A Student of Europe" who writes in "The Observer" plays a similar role.

Recent articles by the latter show that the more he looks at and studies Europe the more clearly he sees Africa. He considers the military strategy of the western powers for the "defense" of Western Europe and inevitably he comes round to Africa. He discusses food supplies and the campaign for increased East-West trade in Europe and he eventually lands in Africa, the last hope evidently of solving the economic problems confronting capitalist Europe today.

In a recent article (The Observer, May 22nd) written on the eve of the Four Power Conference on Germany, "A Student of Europe" insists that Western trade with Eastern Europe must be restricted to a simple exchange of consumer goods for food.

But he is immediately confronted with the problem of finding alternative markets for the products of the heavy industries of Western Europe. To overcome this problem he advocates the replacement of the old European East-West trade "with a triangular design in which Western Europe imports American and Canadian food and exports machinery to tropical areas — such as S. E. Asia, parts of Africa, and the Caribbean — thus enabling them to produce more dollar-earning raw materials."

Africa the One Hope

Not even the most sanguine imperialist would claim that S. E. Asia offers a tempting or healthy prospect for new capitalist investment. And as the Caribbean presents only very limited opportunities, Africa is obviously the main centre of attraction for these plans. "A Student of Europe" merely says in a different way what others have said many times before (See *New Africa*, May 1947). He is really pointing out that the matter of solving Western Europe's economic problems at the expense of Africa has become very urgent.

However, he should have consulted Elspeth Huxley, expert commentator on

(*Continued on next page*)

South Africa's Iron Curtain

The Minister of Labor of South Africa told the Senate there last month that the government would not allow non-whites to attend conferences overseas.

Why? Believe it or not, the gentleman said: "I think it is unfair to the non-European himself to allow him to go overseas, especially in a country where there is no color bar and no discrimination, to attend a conference there and then have him come back to our conditions here. While there is a Nationalist Government I don't think that will be permitted."

For a long time Africans and Indians have been finding it difficult, if not impossible, to leave South Africa to go to Europe or America — even to attend sessions of the UN General Assembly. An African was barred from coming to the Peace Conference held in New York this Spring. Only white South Africans were represented at the World Peace Congress in Paris. And now the Transvaal Council of non-European Trade Unions, which is affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions, will be prevented from sending its delegates to that organization's Milan congress.

All in the name of "White Christian Civilization!"

British Views (Cont'd)

East Africa, before looking to that continent so confidently to solve the economic ills of Western Europe. The darling of the Kenya settlers writing in the "Sunday Times" on May 8th, said: "Today Africa may be full of promise, but it also harbors forces of instability which threaten to bring down in disillusion all our hopes and plans."

She names as first in importance among the forces of instability, "the pressure of population . . . on limited acres of productive land."

But then Mrs. Huxley shifts her eyes from realities to ghosts and readily seizes upon Communism as the inspirer of all the troubles with which the imperialist has to contend in Africa. She admits that little evidence can be produced of "Russian-inspired penetration into colonial Africa," but she nonetheless claims there is some evidence to show that Communist-trained Africans were at the bottom of the general strike in Mombasa in 1947 and of the Gold Coast riots in 1948.

Like many others, Mrs. Huxley makes the point that the raising of standards of living, in Africa as in Europe, is the best way to counter Marxist doctrine. She claims this to have been a major objective of colonial policy long before the advent of Communism, but is of the opinion that it will take a long time, being realizable only by the drastic reformation of farming methods and the slowing down of population increases. No talk, of course, of giving more of their land back to the Africans to support their growing numbers. No, just slow down the increase in population.

It would be a lot quicker, Mrs. Huxley, to kill off a few. But there is no guarantee that the remainder will then become docile once more and accept eagerly the new intensified tempo of exploitation that "A Student of Europe" among others prescribes for them.

DESMOND BUCKLE,
London

One Step Forward And Two Steps Back

The *Pittsburgh Courier*, most widely circulated Negro weekly in the United States and a supporter of Thomas E. Dewey in the last election and more recently of Truman appears to have awakened at last — well, half-awakened, we'd better say — to the facts of life in the international political arena.

We refer to an editorial in the May 21st issue of this paper entitled "Marshall Plan and Colonies." Although the editors have taken quite a long time to make up their minds regarding the Marshall Plan (shall we wait until 1950 or 1951 for their views on the North Atlantic Pact?), their comment is noteworthy. We quote:

"It is one of the curiosities of international politics that American Negroes, overwhelmingly opposed as they are to colonialism as represented by imperialistic rule of subject colored people by France, Italy, Belgium, Britain and Holland, are committed nevertheless through the Marshall Plan to the support of these nefarious enterprises. . . .

"The widely hailed 81st Congress seems destined not to approve the civil rights program any more than the 80th Congress did but it has approved the European aid program for which Negroes, like other Americans, will pay in continuing heavy taxation.

"Considering the increased reliance of Western Europe on the African colonies for war materials and the stepped-up exploitation which that will impose, there is unlikely to be much civil rights for the dark masses of Africa either.

"Nor would the picture have been different if the Republicans had won because the Marshall Plan is a bipartisan one, supported equally by the politicians of both parties, by leading liberals and by the white press generally."

Having proceeded thus far, the *Courier* editors evidently got frightened by the logical conclusion toward which they were heading. "Good heavens!" they must have said, "What's this? Another paragraph and we'll be supporting Wallace and the Progressive Party, or maybe even socialism! Horrors! If we don't take care, the *Courier* will be on Tom Clark's subversive blacklist!"

And so the editors quickly ducked out of their difficulty and got back on "safe" ground by saying that the imperialist powers might now be reforming as a result of "pressure from purse-holding Americans;" that the Russians "in their dealings with the peoples behind the iron curtain" are also to be classed as imperialists; and that—after all—"There is nothing Negroes can do about the use of their taxes to bolster governments exploiting darker people over the globe."

And that, we submit, is a representative example of how the great institution of the press may mould public opinion — in the shape of a pretzel.

Council on African Affairs, Inc.
23 West 26th Street
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ITEMS WORTH NOTING

NIGERIA—the Congess of Youth of Nigeria and the Cameroons, embracing 14 youth organizations, has applied for affiliation to the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

* * *

PRETORIA, S. AFRICA—A former Mosleyite, Mr. J. L. Battersby, who wears a swastika in his buttonhole, arrived from Britain in February (he was interned for 3 years in Liverpool during the war) and has begun publication of a journal glorifying Hitler and "Christian-Nationalism." In addition to welcoming Mr. Battersby and others of his type to South Africa, the Government recently passed a bill re-naturalizing Germans in S. W. Africa who were deprived of Union citizenship during the war because of their pro-German sympathies and deeds. At the same time, the government is intensifying its campaign against the trade unions, Communists, and progressive organizations in South Africa.

* * *

LONDON—Reverend Michael Scott, now resident in London, continues his brave one-man campaign to win U. N. help and justice for the people of S. W. Africa, despite repeated rebuffs — the latest of which is the refusal of his request to be permitted to appear before the United Nation's Trusteeship Council in order to urge that the question of the status of S. W. Africa be referred to the International Court of Justice.

* * *

ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN—"It is a fundamental duty of the new Legislative Assembly of the Sudan to pass laws ensuring the internal stability of the country. Such stability is essential for the encouragement of foreign investment in the Sudan and the loans necessary for economic development," says Sayed Sir Abd el Rahman el Mahdi Pasha.

* * *

WASHINGTON, D. C. — A branch of the United States Treasury Department is to be established in Johannesburg to encourage the increased export of base metals from Africa to the U. S. The branch will come under the direction of the Bureau of Federal Supply (stock-piling agency) of the U. S. Treasury Department, and is the first of its kind to be established in Africa.

* * *

MONROVIA, LIBERIA—C. Frederick Taylor, Editor of the *African Nationalist*, which has criticized the Liberia Company and United States military programs in Liberia, has brought an injunction suit to stay the deportation order directed against him on President Tubman's initiative (See *New Africa*, February 1949).

* * *

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Homer M. Adams, Illinois politician and business associate of Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., head of the Liberia Company (*New Africa*, October 1948), has obtained a $300,000 a-year government contract to maintain Roberts Airfield in Liberia. The significant thing about this, aside from the Stettinius connection, is that Mr. Adams, the contractor, is said to have not a single airplane or piece of major air equipment.

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS
23 West 26th Street, New York 10, New York

MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING--JULY 6, 1949

PRESENT: Paul Robeson, W.E.B. Du Bois, Doxey Wilkerson, W. A. Hunton, Gene Weltfish, Charles Collins, Rev. B. C. Robeson, Ewart Guinier, Louise T. Patterson.

Meeting was called to order by the Chairman. Minutes of the last meeting, which had been circulated previously, were approved.

Report of the Secretary, Dr. Hunton, on the recent activities of the Council included a review of actions taken on the matter of the ex-Italian colonies at the U.N. General Assembly Meeting, which actions included conferences and a delegation to Lake Success to see Mr. Dulles, American delegate.

Mrs. Patterson, Director of Organization, presented a financial report on the June 19 meeting and plans for an immediate membership drive in New York which will be concentrated in Harlem and Brooklyn. She also reported on the proposed tour of Mr. Robeson under the auspices of the Council to be undertaken in the fall to five or 6 major cities between New York and Chicago.

A report on the general financial status of the Council and expected expenses and income during the next two months was presented.

After discussion of these reports by Executive Committee members, sub-committees were proposed, approved and established as follows:

1. Sub-committee of Ewart Guinier, Charles Collins and Louise T. Patterson to make arrangements for a meeting of trade union leaders to present the program of the Council and ask for their support.

2. Sub-committee of Rev. Robeson, Doxey Wilkerson and Paul Robeson on plans for Harlem.

3. Sub-committee of Herbert Aptheker, Dr. Hunton, Dr. Weltfish, and Mrs. Robeson on student participation.

4. A financial committee with Dr. Du Bois as chairman, Ewart Guinier, Dr. Weltfish, Louise Patterson, to which will be referred all requests for Mr. Robeson to fill speaking and concert engagements.

The next meeting of the Executive Committee was set for Wednesday, August 3 (subsequently postponed to August 10).

The meeting adjourned.

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MEMORANDUM

TO: MRS. PATTERSON

FROM: W. E. B. DU BOIS

DATE: JULY13, 1949

SUBJECT: TELEPHONE

My arrangment with Dr. Hunton was that beginning July 1, all telephone bills were to go to him. We are to make monthly to him, a statement of the actual out-going calls from this office. We will do that on the first of each month. Meantime I am enclosing my check for $10.68 which includes my indebtedness until July 1.

W. E. B. DU BOIS

WEBD:lm

Enclosure: Check

Hunton

July 14, 1949

Dr. Du Bois:

Do you have any material you could give on this request?

L.T.Patterson

24-23-25

Hunton

MEMORANDUM

TO: MRS. PATTERSON

FROM: W. E. B. DU BOIS

DATE: JULY 19, 1949

SUBJECT: PUBLICITY

The Original Who's Who began publication in England in 1848, one hundred and one years ago. All other publications like Who's Who in America, World Who's Who are imitations of this original book.

The 1949 issue of the Original Who's Who has just been issued through the MacMillian Company who are the American agents. It is a very conservative publication. Its 3080 pages covering the world admits comparatively few americans. It is interesting to note that this last edition contains the names of only two American Negroes so far as we have been able to discover.

They are Paul Robeson whose name has been included for several years and Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois whose name appears first.

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Publ. in N.Y. Compass 8/11-12/49

TESTIMONY OF DR. W.E.B. DU BOIS

Historian and Vice Chairman of the Council on African Affairs, on behalf of that organization and the American Continental Congress for Peace to be held in Mexico in September, in opposition to the Military Assistance Bill, H.R. 5748, at hearing of the House Committee on Foreign Relations, Washington, D. C., August 8, 1949.

65-3-334

I appear here at the request of the Continental Peace Congress to be held in Mexico next month and of the Council on African Affairs to protest against the proposal for the United States to arm Europe for war. The Congress is asked to vote down payment of a billion and a half dollars together with unspecified sums in the future to implement the Atlantic Pact. This huge sum is not for education, although our schools are in desperate need of help. It is not for infantile paralysis which is sweeping the land, nor for cancer which is killing thousands. It is not for curbing and putting to work the mad waters of those great rivers which annually kill men, women and children and destroy their homes, stock and property, leaving muddy and stinking disease behind. This rich country has not enough money to spend for fighting ignorance, disease and waste, or for the old age security of its workers, but nevertheless is asked to spend a vast treasure to murder men, women and children; to blind and cripple them and drive them insane; to destroy property by fire and flood; and for a third time in a half century to jeopardize the whole edifice of civilization.

We are assured that these arms are for peace, not war--just as we were promised that the Pact was for peace not arms. None but the stupid believe this assurance. Mr. Acheson's logic is flawless for fools: "Gentlemen, this is a pact for peace." "Thank you, gentlemen; now arms for the Pact, not for war but for peace, war for peace. Russia? We do not mention Russia. We just must fight Russia. It is simple, gentlemen."

We are asked to believe that this country is in danger of attack from Russia or that Russia is ready to conquer the world. We did not believe this when we asked ten million Russians to die in order to save the world from Hitler. We did not believe it when we begged Russian help to conquer Japan. We only began to believe it when we realized that the Russian concept of a state was not going to collapse but was spreading.

Assuming that you do not like and even fear Russian communism, by what right do we assume that it can be stopped by force? One idea seems to be that we can conquer the world and make it do our bidding because we are rich and have the atom bomb. Even if this were true it begs the question of the right and justice of our rule. Why in God's name do we want to control the earth? Is it because of our success in ruling men? We want to rule Russia and we cannot rule Alabama. We tried to rule Porto Rico and gave it the highest suicide rate in the world. We

sought to rule China and have just confessed our failure. We set out to rule Germany and apparently our only result is surrender to the very forces which we fought a world war to subdue.

How have we equipped ourselves to teach the world? To teach the world democracy, we chose a Secretary of State trained in the democracy of South Carolina; when we wanted to unravel the worst economic snarl of the modern world, we chose a general trained in military tactics at West Point; when we want to study race relations in our own borders we summon a baseball player. If we aim to rule the world we have got to learn to rule ourselves. We have got to free our science from the control of the Army and Navy. We have got to make our schools centers of real learning and not of propaganda and hysteria. We have got to clear our minds of unreasoning prejudices. We who hate niggers and darkies, propose to control a world full of colored people. Will they have no voice in the matter?

35-3-335

Without exact and careful knowledge of this world, how can we guide it? Yet we know that our knowledge of the world is today fed to us by a press whose reporters say what the owners of the press order them to say. This is not the reporters' fault. If they want to eat they will write as they are told. It is our fault, we who are unwilling to pay even five cents for our morning news. Big business which pays mil- for control of news gets what it wants printed. We naively assume that what we read in our press is the whole truth, when a little reflection would convince us that we have in America no complete picture of what is transpiring behind the "iron curtain". If we retort with the assertion that Russians are equally deceived as to conditions here, that is no excuse for us. Two wrongs never made a right and two lies do not spell the truth.

If all this was simply opinion, we could rest there and wait. But we are asked to fight. We are daily being pushed into a third world war on the assumption that we are the sole possessors of Truth and Right, and are able to pound our ideas into the world's head by brut force. This is a crazy idea and it is worse than folly to try. If we have the answer to human wealth and happiness, we do not have to force this knowledge by atom bombs.

Ideas are seldom changed by force. I will not say that war has never advanced mankind, but I will aver that in modern days it would be hard to prove that of a thousand wars, a hundred had added to human progress. Whatever is true in the past, it is certain that no world war can bring success to any nation.

Of course, we know this is true of war as usually fought. But we think that we can now fight by pushbutton and machine; that human beings will only be necessary in mopping up. We Americans will not fight. We'll let John do it--John and Jacques

and possibly, Hans. While we pay the bill from such pockets as we can reach most easily.

This is crude self-deception and makes us today the most hated nation on earth. The world indulged in that dream when arrows were invented, when gunpowder was first used, when armored battleships and submarines appeared. It is a dream which never will be realized. No, the only cure for war is reason. We have got to know and study the facts and act so as to avoid force. Otherwise we are lost.

Let's face it. We fight Russia. We fight China. We win or lose or stalemate. If we win, what can we do with 150 million Russians and 450 million Chinese? What would we know in their case more than we knew in Germany or Japan? What would convert them to our way of life except their eventual belief in it? And is not belief, fact and reason--and not guns--our real recourse?

35 - 3 - 326

What hinders us from beginning to reason now before we fight? Why are we afraid to reason and wait and pursuade? We <u>are</u> afraid. For we stop logical thinking. We invent witchwords. If in 1850 an American disliked slavery, the word of exorcism was "abolitionist". He was a "nigger lover". He believed in free love and murder of kind slave masters. He ought to be lynched and mobbed. Today the word is "communist". Never mind its meaning in a man's mind. If anybody questions the power of wealth, wants to build more TVA's, advocates civil rights for Negroes, he is a communist, a revolutionist, a scoundrel, and is liable to lose his job or land in jail. And yet there is not today in this nation an honest progressive citizen who does not share in his beliefs many of the basic ideas of communism.

I am a fellow-traveler with communists in so far as they believe the great ideals of socialism as laid down by the world's great thinkers since the 17th century. I believe in the abolition of poverty. I believe in curbing the social and political power of wealth. I believe in planned industry and more just distribution of wealth. There is in this body of belief nothing revolutionary, unless human progress is revolutionary. There is nothing which has not been advocated by the best thinkers of three centuries.

But what we are being taught to believe today is that Russian communism is not socialism, but something dishonest, misled and essentially evil,--while our capitalist system alone is light and truth. Calling names does not settle this controversy. We call Russia an authoritarian state. So are we. All states are and must be slave states. They differ in degree of control over citizens and progressive states look forward to a decrease of state control and increase of individual freedom. But Russia starting with 90% of illiteracy in 1917 could not start as a free democracy. Only educated people can rule successfully. Russia showed her faith in democracy by promptly decreasing her illiteracy to less than 10 per cent in 30 years. We showed our belief in slavery by taking 86 years to reduce Negro illiteracy to 30 per cent.

We rage at planned economy. But we have planned economy. It grows and sells our crops. It sets our wages and fixes our prices. It tells us what to manufacture and when. But democracy has no part in it. Our planning is done by our plantation system; by the great trusts of steel, tin and aluminum; by General Motors and the Du Pont empire and Standard Oil; by railroads with their fraudulent bonded debt and watered stock; by Wall Street. This planning is strictly in private hands until it breaks down. Then trust and railroad, bank and big farm come to the government for relief. That is not socialism, it is patriotism.

Let us balance in a reasonable way the case of Russia and the United States. Russia has never attacked us. We not only have invaded Russia, but allowed our country to become the center of the most far-reaching verbal attacks on Russia. We are making the United States a refuge for every ousted landlord and exploiter, spy and informer who hates Russia. We blame Russia for joining Germany in 1940. But we know that she did this only after the United States and Great Britain had refused her offers of alliance and she must join Germany or stand alone. When Germany turned and treacherously attacked Russia, we awaited her annihilation with equanimity. When, to our surprise, Russia beat Hitler, we welcomed her help but took our own good time before easing her desperate struggle in the east by a western offensive. We sought her alliance against Japan and courted her at Yalta because we did not dream Japan was so near collapse. And even then we yielded no more than Russia was able to take. She kept faith with us in every promise at a greater cost than any other country paid. Yet we peremptorily ended her absolutely essential lend-lease and since 1945 have apparently sought every excuse to make war upon her.

Why do we want war with Russia and who leads this demand? We profess to want to protect western Europe against Russia. But it is western Europe which since 1917 has almost continuously attacked Russia. It was western Europe and the United States who after World War I seized countries long recognized as Russian and organized border nations like Poland for the expressed and declared purpose of using them eventually for conquering Russia. It was not imperialist expansion which led Russia to re-annex the Baltic states and to secure by every means the close alliance of Poland and the Balkans.

35-3-337

The real reason for war on Russia is not her natural effort to protect her own borders but her effort to establish a socialistic state. Our country is ruled by incorporated wealth, incorporated so as to form a non-human person, protected by the Fourteenth Amendment, secure in organization and ownership of property and able to escape major taxation by hiring the best legal talent of the land. This wealth is forcing us into war. The people of the country do not want war. You do not want war. But somebody does want war, sombbody with power and influence, who owns the press and controls radio, cinema and theatre. Somebody whose consequent ability to to form public opinion has forced this nation into hysteria and fear.

Who is this somebody? It is the group which control the corporate wealth of this land. They have made money out of war. They are making money out of the fear of war. They demand a third world war to ward off the depression which threatens their business and their wild waste of public taxation. The enemy of this power is the plan of Russia to found a state where this power of wealth will be curbed and destroyed. It is not a question as to whether or not Russia can do this, as to whether or not the present Russian state is or is not succeeding. It is the determination to compel citizens to believe this can never be done and that any attempt to curb the anarchy of rule by wealth is of itself a crime to be suppressed and not even discussed.

Gentlemen, make no mistake. Russia and Communism are not your enemies. Your enemy, ruthless and implacable, is the soulless and utterly selfish corporate wealth, organized for profit and willing to kill your sons in order to retain its present absolute power. It is not our sympathy for the Balkans that is leading us to war. What did we care about the Balkans so long as western capital was making 75 per cent profit out of oil and slaves? We kowtowed to czars and splendid grand dukes so long as they held power. But when Russia drove out idle nobility and foreign exploitation and tried to build a state for the consumer and not the investor, then the world which lives on low wage and monopolized land and resources began to scream

that this plan was impossible and criminal and must be stopped by force. But why? If Communism cannot be made to work, it will fall of its own overweight. But it may succeed, and to stop any such chance you are asked to hurl the world into war.

The cost will be horrible. If we force Europe to a military race for arms her effort to recover will be nullified. Another war, even if victorious, will ruin Great Britain and France. And its eventual cost by increased taxation will throw the laboring classes of all the Americas into hopeless turmoil and despair. This is why we are calling next month a Continental Peace Congress in Mexico.

The hope of America, the hope of the world, is no more war. We have the cure for disagreement and mistake in the United Nations. Once we forced the League of Nations on an unwilling world. Then we refused because of petty internal politics to support our own child. It failed, and war and depression resulted. We planned a United Nations, including our own provision for unanimity without which we would not join. Now when we cannot have our way in everything, we are ready again to sabotage our own handiwork and substitute war for persuasion.

35-3-335

If you vote these billions, never believe that war will never start without your consent. If there had been such an appropriation two years ago, we would have been at war now by an unexplained "mistake". We began the Mexican War before Congress declared war. We fought Spain after she had yielded every point Congress demanded. We can easily be in a Third World War before you hear of it, when the military has this blank check.

Socialism, whether accomplished by communism or reformed capitalism or both, is the natural and inevitable end of the modern world and grows out of the industrial revolution as fruit out of the seed. It is spreading in every civilized land today including the United States. To try stopping it by red-baiting and hysterics is stupid. To turn back the clock by war is a crime.

######

Hunton

August 10, 1949

Hereafter, no one is to be allowed to have access to my books and files except they have written permission from me.

W. E. B. Du Bois

94-23-19

[COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS ...]

Peck

ARTHUR M. FINE
569 Webster Avenue
New Rochelle, N. Y.

August 17, 1949

Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th St.
New York City, New York

Att: Mr. W.A. Hunton

Gentlemen:

In accordance with telephone conversation today, I am writing to inquire if it would be possible for Dr. DrBois to be the principal speaker at a meeting which we are planning in a high school auditorium in New Rochelle, New York, early in October. The auspices would be The Council on African Affairs, The Civil Rights Congress, and a local group.

23-9-26

The Board of Education of New Rochelle does not permit collections to be made at meetings, but it is our intention to sell tickets which is permissible. The proceeds would be divided on a basis mutually agreed upon.

The high school auditoriums are the only large meeting halls in New Rochelle, and we have a pretty good record for getting large turn outs.

To the best of my knowledge, Dr. DuBois has never spoken in New Rochelle and I think his appearance would guarantee an overflow audience.

I would appreciate a response to this letter as soon as possible so that we can agree on a date, etc.

Very truly yours,

A M Fine at.
Arthur M. Fine

afm;al
cc: Dr. W.E.B.DuBois

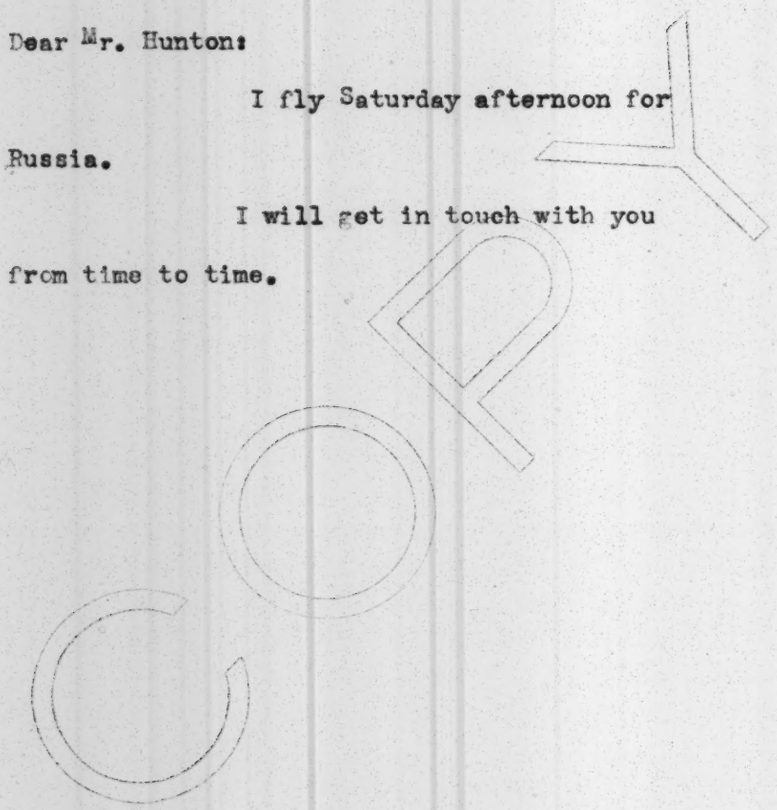
Dr DuBois has just left for Russia, Will write you when he returns

August 18, 1949

Dear Mr. Hunton:

I fly Saturday afternoon for Russia.

I will get in touch with you from time to time.



24-23-18

August 24, 1949

23-9-27

Mr. Arthur M. Fine
569 Webster Avenue
New Rochelle, New York

Dear Mr. Fine:

Dr. Du Bois has just left for Russia.

He will write to you when he returns.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

New AFRICA

Council on African Affairs

Monthly Bulletin

For the united struggle of all democratic forces against imperialism; for the achievement of freedom, democracy, abundance, and peace by the peoples of Africa and the whole world.

Volume 8, No. 7 July-Aug., 1949

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PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

SOUTH AFRICA SEEKS U. S. ARMS AND CAPITAL

August has seen the arrival of two prominent South African officials in the United States: the Minister of Defense, Francois C. Erasmus, on a mission to purchase some B-29 planes and other military equipment; and Finance Minister Nicolas C. Havenga, on a mission to stimulate increased American capital investment (already $100 million) in South Africa and to try to get Wall Street and U.S. officials to agree to raising the world price of gold.

The request for planes and guns for South Africa points up the important role which Africa is expected to play in the war plans of the new anti-Soviet axis. These guns and planes may very well be used against Africans.

One of South Africa's strong bargaining points is the large quantities of strategic metals that country is providing for U. S. stockpiles and America's keen interest in South Africa as another source of uranium ore.

The Malan government is in the same category with fascist Spain. No American aid, military, financial, or otherwise, should be given the Herrenfolk ruling class of South Africa!

South Africa's Pro-Nazi Prime Minister Malan Awaits an Invitation to Join the Atlantic Pact.

Truman's Bold New Program

Let us try to clear away some of the double-talk which has hidden the real meaning of the "bold new program" for aid to underdeveloped areas of the world, which President Truman set forth as Point Four of his inaugural address last January.

James Reston (New York *Times*, June 26, 1949) speaks of the Point Four program as "part accident, part humanitarian, part propaganda, and part bare-knuckled business." There was in fact no such program worked out or agreed upon at the time of the speech. The President sought acclaim by speaking of raising the social and living standards of downtrodden peoples. Beyond this was the objective of trying to win over these peoples as allies in the world-wide campaign against the Soviet Union and Communism. But above everything else, the "bold new program" was and is a "bare-knuckled business" proposition.

There is, in fact, little that is new in this program. Since the end of the war the burden of trying to prop up the weakened imperialist economy of Western Europe has been placed increasingly on the backs of the colonial peoples, particularly in Africa. Europe needs cheap labor: Africans can be forced to supply it. Europe and America need great quantities of cheap raw materials: there are plenty in Africa's soil. Europe needs technical experts, machinery and new railroads in the colonies in order to search out and speed up the production and export of the wealth there: the United States will supply these under the Marshall Plan — and now under the "bold, new program" — in exchange for a bigger share of that colonial wealth. Europe needs dollars to pay for what it buys from America: dollars can be secured by selling more and more colonial raw materials to the United States for its stockpiles of strategic war materials and consumer needs.

But the Scheme Won't Work!

But this Africa-to-Europe-to-America merry-go-round hasn't been able to relieve the crisis of the capitalist world. Things are getting worse instead of better. The British Colonial Secretary, Mr. Creech-Jones, told Parliament in July that although the colonies had made "a very considerable contribution in regard to our dollar savings and dollar earning in the past few years," nevertheless Britain had "reached a somewhat difficult period." There had been a slump recently in the prices and demand for colonial commodities and it would be necessary to cut down on dollar expenditure in the colonies as in the rest of the Empire. Another Briton, Sir Eric Macfadyen, observed recently that "every penny in the price of rubber per pound up or down means about $17,000,000 in our balance of trade with the United States; and several pence have been knocked off the price in the last six months."

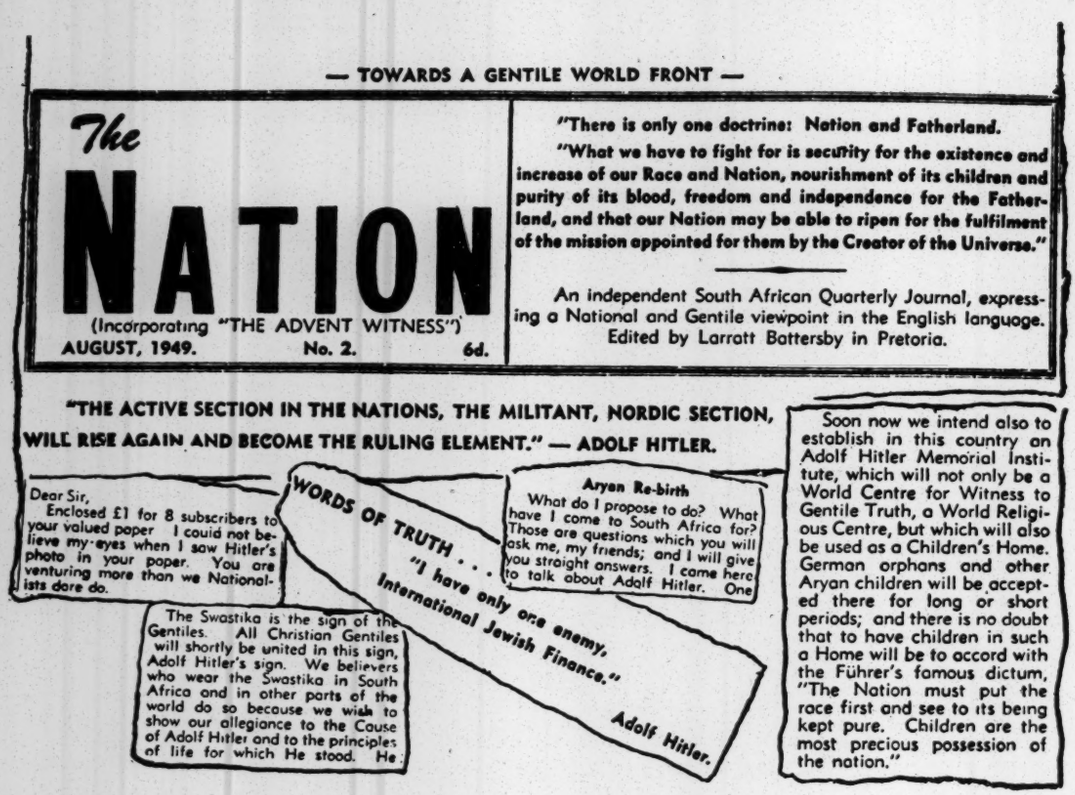
On July 6, Washington reported that it was sympathetic toward the British Government's proposal for easing the dollar-shortage crisis by speeding up the scheduled purchase of strategic materials from British areas for stockpiling purposes.

On August 13, London announced that at the Anglo-American Economic Conference to be held in Washington in September, the British government would stress as the solution for its present difficulties (1) "a major program of investment in British areas" by the United States and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (which means Wall Street); (2) stabilization of certain

(*Continued on page 3*)

SOUTH AFRICA PERMITS THIS ➡

Larratt Battersby, interned in Britain during the war, migrated to South Africa with a swastika on his coat lapel, was admitted to the country and granted a license for his newspaper THE NATION. Specimens of its vile fascist contents are reproduced at the right.



— TOWARDS A GENTILE WORLD FRONT —

The NATION

(Incorporating "THE ADVENT WITNESS")

AUGUST, 1949. No. 2. 6d.

"There is only one doctrine: Nation and Fatherland.

"What we have to fight for is security for the existence and increase of our Race and Nation, nourishment of its children and purity of its blood, freedom and independence for the Fatherland, and that our Nation may be able to ripen for the fulfilment of the mission appointed for them by the Creator of the Universe."

An independent South African Quarterly Journal, expressing a National and Gentile viewpoint in the English language. Edited by Larratt Battersby in Pretoria.

"THE ACTIVE SECTION IN THE NATIONS, THE MILITANT, NORDIC SECTION, WILL RISE AGAIN AND BECOME THE RULING ELEMENT." — ADOLF HITLER.

Dear Sir,
Enclosed £1 for 8 subscribers to your valued paper I could not believe my eyes when I saw Hitler's photo in your paper. You are venturing more than we Nationalists dare do.

WORDS OF TRUTH . . .
"I have only one enemy, International Jewish Finance."
Adolf Hitler.

Aryan Re-birth
What do I propose to do? What have I come to South Africa for? Those are questions which you will ask me, my friends; and I will give you straight answers. I came here to talk about Adolf Hitler. One

The Swastika is the sign of the Gentiles. All Christian Gentiles will shortly be united in this sign, Adolf Hitler's sign. We believers who wear the Swastika in South Africa and in other parts of the world do so because we wish to show our allegiance to the Cause of Adolf Hitler and to the principles of life for which He stood. He

Soon now we intend also to establish in this country an Adolf Hitler Memorial Institute, which will not only be a World Centre for Witness to Gentile Truth, a World Religious Centre, but which will also be used as a Children's Home. German orphans and other Aryan children will be accepted there for long or short periods; and there is no doubt that to have children in such a Home will be to accord with the Führer's famous dictum, "The Nation must put the race first and see to its being kept pure. Children are the most precious possession of the nation."

THESE THINGS ARE HAPPENING IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

MOVIE BANNED — A government-appointed censorship board announced on July 29 that it had banned Hollywood's "Home of the Brave," anti-Jim Crow film telling the story of a Negro soldier, from being shown publicly in South Africa. Incidentally, South African expenditure on American films amounts to $4,000,000 annually.

* * *

NO MORE MEDICAL SCHOLARSHIPS — The Malan government earlier this year announced that it would discontinue scholarships for African medical students, a few of whom are permitted in Witwatersrand University, although they are in segregated classes and must use only cadavers of non-white people for laboratory study. The government's action was answered by white students at the University who agreed to levy themselves $2 a year to help continue the scholarships.

* * *

SINGER REFUSED PASSPORT — After having made all arrangements to go to London in order to study singing at the Royal College of Music, James Phillips of Johannesburg, a colored singer known as South Africa's Paul Robeson, was denied a passport. No reasons were given for the refusal.

* * *

TWO CENTS FOR BLACK CHILDREN; ELEVEN FOR WHITE — As a result of strong public pressure, the South African government has agreed to continue the program of school-feeding for African children, except in schools in European farming areas. However, the cost per meal per child will be reduced from 3½c to 2c and no child over thirteen years of age is to get a meal at school. Children in the white schools of the Transvaal, on the other hand, are to receive free meals costing 11c.

* * *

CITIZENSHIP FOR NAZIS — Several prominent Nazi leaders in South West Africa have been granted South African citizenship by the Malan government whose leaders were themselves pro-Hitler during the war. The government also is reinstating 300 former South African policemen who were discharged or interned during the war for political reasons.

While giving citizenship and votes to such friends, the Malan government, at the same time, has moved to limit the votes of its opponents by enacting a new citizenship law which makes it more difficult for British immigrants to acquire South African citizenship. The new law lengthens the period for citizen qualification and gives the Minister of the Interior extraordinary powers to withhold or revoke citizenship.

* * *

NO INTERRACIAL MARRIAGES — The last session of the South African Parliament also enacted the "Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act." This law, which went into immediate effect, declares that any marriage between a European (white person) and a non-European, whether it takes place within or outside the Union of South Africa, shall be "void and of no effect in the Union." It levies heavy fines upon any one who knowingly performs a marriage ceremony between such persons or is in other respects a party to such a marriage. A crowd of 2000 in Cape Town on May Day unanimously denounced the law as "fascist in concept and character . . . an insult to the non-white peoples of South Africa and an unwarranted interference with the natural rights of an individual."

* * *

FREE SPEECH BANNED — The Minister of Justice has issued an order forbidding Sam Kahn, Communist candidate who was overwhelmingly elected last fall by Africans as their representative in the House of Assembly, from addressing any public gatherings in the Johannesburg area within the next twelve months. Since May his attempts to address African meetings have been repeatedly banned on the ground that they would result in stirring up racial conflict. On one occasion, although no meeting was held, police clubbed those who had assembled without knowing about the cancellation.

Communists are not the only ones to come under this suppression of free speech and assembly. An African, Joseph Nkatlo of Cape Town, was sentenced to three months imprisonment or a $100 fine on charges of "promoting hostility" between Africans and Europeans in a speech which he made to a mass meeting.

Inkundla Ya Bantu, an African edited newspaper, says in a recent editorial: ". . . We should like to ask the Government: What is the African expected to do now that he must no longer assemble peacefully to discuss his problems? The next thing is to ban existence for the African!"

U. S. AGAIN INVADES FRENCH NORTH AFRICA

Demaree Bess, in an article entitled "We're Invading North Africa Again" (*Saturday Evening Post*, June 18, 1949), writes: "Even before President Truman made his inaugural address last January, his bold new program for developing backward areas already had been launched in French North Africa . . .

"Europe's African colonial system has now been given a central role in America's own strategic and economic plans. American policy here (French North Africa) today, far from being 'anticolonial,' serves as a powerful prop for French control of these North African territories. In theory, many Americans may still disapprove of the European colonial system. In practice, the United States Government is reinforcing it."

Incidentally, Morocco is the only place in the world where the U.S.A. still retains the out-moded imperialist practice of extra-territorial rights.

Some facts about the U. S. invasion of French North Africa are cited in a recent article by Leon Feix, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France, who says:

"After Allied troops landed in November 1942 the monopolists were granted substantial mining concessions. In April 1947 three American financial groups gained control of the Moroccan Atlas Mining Association, which has a virtual monopoly of lead ore deposits in this region. Since then, big American capital investments have been made in the mining industry. In December 1948 two firms, the Shell and Gulf Oil companies, holding 65 per cent of the capital investments, were given a concession for the newly discovered oil deposits in Tunisia. The primary object of America's plan in North Africa is to use Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia as a base for preparing aggression against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies."

Anticipating Truman's "bold new program," seven of the largest French investment banks early this year, with the close collaboration of responsible French officials, worked out proposals for "colonial development" projects which should be considered in the plans for allocating Marshall Plan funds to colonial areas. According to the proposals, the banks, while relying on Marshall Plan aid, would themselves maintain supervision over the projects. Cooperation of U. S. bankers would be sought in getting capital for the venture.

The Truth About Truman's "Bold New Program"

(*Continued from page* 1)

commodity prices by international agreement; and (3) resumption by the United States of "large scale buying of strategic war materials from the sterling area."

Africa Chosen for Capitalist Expansion

In the light of all this, as James Reston remarks in the article previously mentioned, Truman's "bold new program" has "gained in importance in the last five months as a long-range escape from the economic problems of the United States and Western Europe."

With the deepening of the capitalist crisis, it becomes clearer than ever that EXPAND OR BUST is the fundamental rule of the "Free Enterprise" economy. And it is Africa, the continent of colonial bondage still left to the imperialists, that has been given priority as the area of capitalist expansion to stave off the bust.

I. F. Stone asks: "What will the South say of growing more cotton in Africa and what will Montana say of mining more copper in the Congo when they themselves are suffering from 'overproduction'? The nearest place to bring about economic expansion, of course, is right here at home. There is a darkest America as well as a darkest Africa. There are huge stretches of poverty in the South, of undeveloped resources in the West, and plenty of slums to justify a Point 4 program within our own borders. Why doesn't business do this job?"

The answer, of course, is that bigger and better profits can be made by investments in colonial areas where labor can be easily exploited and resources can be taken away for little or nothing from powerless peoples. And hence it is that that major stronghold of reactionary Big Business in the United States, the National Association of Manufacturers, quickly hailed Truman's "bold new program" soon after it was announced.

Dr. Rayford Logan Agrees with N. A. M.

That is to be expected. But what shall we say when Dr. Rayford W. Logan, addressing the 40th annual conference for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in July, calls upon the Negro people to "join forces with those who want to make Point Four truly a bold program"? It is true that he added some qualifications. Support of Truman's program, however, comes first in his statement.

Dr. Logan's stand on this issue is precisely like that of Mr. Walter White in supporting the Marshall Plan — with certain conditions which by the very nature of the Plan's objectives were and are impossible of fulfillment. Both gentlemen tip their hats to democratic sentiments while actually embracing the United States' imperialistic foreign policy. They apparently want us to believe that a lion can coo like a dove.

Dr. Logan sets forth five "basic principles" which should be advocated "in addition to the passage of the appropriation" covering Point Four. Let us examine these principles.

"Basic Principles" vs. Hard Realities

First, technical experts should be selected with care as to their "proper attitude toward the people with whom they are going to work." Naturally. But isn't Dr. Logan aware that the loyalty tests being applied to government servants and others outside government service today in the United States have established friendliness of white people toward Negroes or participation in struggles against Jim-Crowism as evidence of an attitude of "disloyalty"? And doesn't he know that colonial authorities have their own conception of "the proper attitude" to be maintained toward their subject peoples?

Second, Dr. Logan says that there should be no discrimination in the selection of technical experts and those provided technical training. Again, naturally. But can Dr. Logan point to any colonial territory, American, British, or otherwise, where this has been or is the case? He is asking for a Fair Employment Practices Code for the colonies when we haven't been able to get one adopted in the United States.

The third of the "basic principles" is that "as much protection should be given for the protection of labor as for the protection of capital." Really, now, whose leg is Dr. Logan pulling? Does he believe that the state apparatus dispenses equal justice to capital and labor in the United States? Is he not aware that in all the talk about the "bold new program" there has been heavy emphasis upon the necessity of "inducing" private capital to invest in colonial areas by securing government guarantees of the safety and profitable return on such investments — *but no mention*

over ▷

The Truth About Truman's "Bold New Program"

whatever of guarantees of decent wages and working conditions for those whose labor is to provide the profits?

We suggest that Dr. Logan read Ted O. Thackrey's editorial in the *Daily Compass* of August 12, stating that there can be no "reason or excuse for extending government guarantees to exported capital, which is exported for private gain. What we do need is more concern — perhaps we should say any evidence whatever of concern — for human security ahead of this concern of the Secretary of the Treasury for the safety of private capital abroad . . . What proposals has the Truman Administration to make concerning your security and mine?"

What Section of Labor Does He Mean?

Fourth, Dr. Logan asks organized labor in the United States to help develop colonial trade unions. One section, the progessive minority of American organized labor recognizes this responsibility; but it is hardly worth while asking leaders of the other section of organized labor, as yet indifferent to the needs of Negro workers here in the United States, to have a care for workers in colonial countries. The national leadership of the A.F. of L. and the CIO have only recently joined hands in support of an international labor organization to fight the World Federation of Trade Unions, main support of colonial workers in their struggle for freedom from the yoke of imperialism.

Fifth, and finally, Dr. Logan states that "native peoples should be given an effective participation in the formulization and execution of policies." Can he cite one instance in which a subject people were given "effective participation" with their masters in determining their own economic destiny.

Dr. Logan either forgets or ignores the fact that the investment of foreign capital in a country under foreign rule has the sole aim of utilizing the labor and raw materials of that country for the amassing of profits in the hands of the foreign investors. If American capital is interested in investing in Africa, its objective is profits — bigger profits than can be secured by investment elsewhere. The Point Four program simply marks the last stage in the drive of American capital to achieve dominant control over the resources and markets of the increasingly restricted capitalist world.

U. S. Puts Squeeze on Imperialist "Partners"

The Western European powers are not happy over the relinquishment of their exclusive control of their colonies to the Yankee Dollar. But they can't help themselves. It's either half a loaf or none for them. And so they are compelled to join in a chorus of praise of the Truman program. The deep inter-imperialist jealousies cannot always remain hidden, however, and may be seen in the following expression of Lt. Col. Peter Penn, in a British broadcast earlier this year:

"If America is allowed to invest too much capital, the mineral wealth of Africa will become American before it is dug from the soil. The chance that Africa will have to sell her minerals for dollars to America will be gone.

"We do not want American help to take the shape of large trading corporations all over Africa. We do not want them to establish markets for American capital goods in our territories, following them up by service depots everywhere . . .

"Do not let us think for one moment that Africa, watered by a stream of American gold, will flower as an English rose. The national flower of America is Golden Rod! But we don't want to be ruled by a rod of American gold — and this could happen if we are not sufficiently up and doing ourselves."

If the British and other Europeans do not want to be ruled by a rod of American gold, *neither do the Africans.*

No Substitute for Self-Government

Yes, the African people want the resources of their countries to be developed so that they can enjoy a decent and modern mode of life. Yes, they need money with which to get such development under way — and technical help, too. But they know from long experience that these things will be done properly and benefits will accrue to the African people only when *they themselves* determine what shall be done and how it shall be done. For this, self-government — and nothing short of self-government — is necessary. There can be no general economic and social advancement where democratic self-rule is absent.

It is therefore more necessary than ever to place first emphasis upon political freedom for African and other colonial peoples. If we do this, we shall not become lost in the blind paths of "bold new programs" which spell continued slavery for oppressed peoples and continued profits for the oppressors.

AFRICAN APPEALS IGNORED; SEVEN BASUTOS EXECUTED

On August 3rd, seven Africans, including two chiefs, were hanged in Basutoland, British protectorate in South Africa. The charge against them was participation in "ritual murders." In Basutoland's capital, Maseru, martial law was invoked at the time of the hangings to prevent any uprising.

Several months ago, Lekhotla la Bafo, the national organization of the Basuto people, sent a petition to the United Nations declaring that the British government had for the past two years been waging war against a peaceful nation under the pretext of suppressing so-called ritual murders in Basutoland.

Basuto authorities had issued a proclamation, the UN was informed, "providing for the collective punishment of all people in a district where a person is murdered. The police quartered in the area in which a person is murdered are allowed by this proclamation to live at the expense of the people there. This is no less than a declaration of war upon an innocent and peaceful people."

"Fictitious Evidence" Alleged

The petition cited "fictitious evidence" upon which several of the arrests had been based and urged that an impartial Commission of Inquiry consisting of both white and African members should investigate conditions.

The UN petition was pigeon-holed. London only recently got around to sending an anthropologist to investigate the alleged revival of ritual murders in the colonies. But the executions took place prior to the submission of his findings and despite strong African appeals for review of the condemned men's cases.

"This thing that is called ritual murder is not our custom," said Josiel Lefela, founder of Lekhotla la Bafo and a member of the Basutoland National Council, last November. "It is a new thing to us. 'Murder' we can understand. It means killing. But 'ritual' is something that implies custom. And these killings that have taken place in Basutoland are not customary with our people.

"The term 'ritual murder' invites people to believe that we are barbarians, and we are afraid that it will act as some justification for the further taking away of our rights."

The Council on African Affairs urges that the British government, through the person of the United Kingdom Ambassador in Washington, Sir Oliver Franks, be called to account for what is happening in Basutoland.

African Labor Front

KENYA — An East African Trade Union Congress, cutting across racial lines, has been organized in the British East African colonies. A central Council of 25 members was elected at the first meeting held last May Day. The President of the Central Council is an African, F. Kubai; the General Secretary is an Indian, Makhan Singh; and the Assistant Secretary is a white worker, H. M. Stanley.

* * *

NORTHERN RHODESIA — In this colony, noted for its copper mines, African trade unions are of recent growth. The African Mine Workers Union now has a membership of over 10,000, more than one-third of the total African labor force of the copper mines, and has won recognition (in June) from four of the mining companies.

* * *

ALGERIA — Algerian dock workers in June refused to load ships carrying supplies to Indo-China to aid the French imperialists' war against the Viet-Nam. Ships were delayed until troops were assigned to complete the loading.

* * *

SOUTH AFRICA — The Malan regime, besides continuing the Smuts policy of denying trade union rights to African workers and jailing them for daring to strike, has launched an all-out campaign against the trade union movement as a whole, white as well as non-white. Government-sanctioned mob violence, reminiscent of Hitler's storm troopers, has struck at the progressive Garment Workers Union. An Industrial Legislation Commission has attempted to dictate to the trade unions under the guise of ferreting out communism.

Despite these pressures and the disruptive tactics of fascist groups like the White Workers Protective League, the trade union movement has in the main put up a united fight for survival. At the annual conference of the South African Trades and Labor Council last April, attended by 142 delegates, representing 65 unions and 141,550 workers of all races, the proposal to form a separate body for African workers was voted down.

Council on African Affairs, Inc.
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Subscription to NEW AFRICA — $1 *a yr.*
Membership, including subscription — $2

An African Looks at the Colonial Exhibition

(Report by Milton Brown, Nigerian worker, on a visit to the much-publicized display arranged by the British government in London to quicken the empire consciousness of the British public)

I have been to the Colonial Exhibition to see what the Colonial Office had to say about my native land. I had heard that the central theme of the exhibition was colonial progress — and that is something I had never seen at home, so I was curious to see what it might mean in other parts of Africa.

One enters the exhibition through a dimly-lit hall full of trees and squeaking noises. This is supposed to represent "darkest Africa" but I must say it was more like a holiday sideshow called "The Ghost Train" I once came upon at the seaside, than like any jungle I have ever seen.

Through the jungle we came to the first sight of progress — a brightly-lit pre-fabricated house, labelled "A site in New Africa," such as I have never seen in Africa, so it must be indeed "new." Here were figures of cocoa farmers and miners, chiefs and missionaries. We saw the chief with his white advisers, and a doctor and a nurse.

The doctor, according to a little notice, spends his time fighting disease and hates to see how few hospitals there are to help him, but until more of his people come forward to train as doctors, no more hospitals can be built. Well, this doctor's people are my people too, and I know many who would like to become doctors, but they cannot, because they cannot pay for the education that would be needed.

What About Wages?

Yet in this waxwork show we see farmers and miners producing the goods from which the great monopolies, such as Unilevers, draw millions. I thought of the wages these workers draw — farmers $3.00 a month; miners, as little as 37c a week. I remembered Government figures which show that the average family income in Nigeria is $60 a year, and that the average wage for an African worker in Kenya is $84 a year.

There is no explanation at the Colonial Exhibition of the fact that the wealth of Africa is being drained from the country by the great monopolies, while the African worker is too poor to educate himself, or live what people in Britain would call a civilized life.

The only sign of civilization I found, in fact, was in the very interesting collection of paintings and woodcarvings. But such arts have, of course, been going on for hundreds of years, so it does not seem that colonial rule has very much to do with them.

Apology for Conquest

Then came that section of the Exhibition which explained the British entry into Africa and other lands. Here it is explained that when the traders and slavers had come to Africa the British Government was reluctantly forced to follow, to take over the administration of my country, to put a stop to bloodshed, and to ensure justice, as it were, between the traders and the native peoples.

Now that struck me as strange, for to us Africans the Government has always appeared as the force behind the traders, smoothing their path with laws imposed upon the native people, and ready to back them with troops against the Africans when necessary. There is a great deal at this exhibition about the "reluctance" with which our British rulers came, but nothing at all about the conditions they imposed upon the people of Africa, in the interests of the traders.

How is Africa governed? All we are shown at this exhibition is a highly-complicated diagram of a tree, with government stemming from Whitehall, through the colonial governors to the native chiefs. It is all rather difficult to follow, though it is clear that the power comes from on top.

No Democratic Representation

It could have been made clearer, though, if they had shown us the fact that in Kenya, for example, four Africans are *nominated* to the Assembly to represent an African population of 5,000,000; while out of a total of 27 European representatives 11 are *elected* on universal suffrage by a total of 24,000 Europeans. Or that in Nigeria only four representatives are directly elected out of an Assembly of 42.

The last section of the exhibition is devoted to the fight against man's natural enemies in the colonies — the tsetse fly, the mosquito, sleeping sickness, bad water and soil erosion. These are tremendous problems, and need big solutions. But I couldn't help remembering that many diseases, such as leprosy and hookworm, for instance, were rife in Europe, too, not so very long ago, and there they have been destroyed by draining land, providing good water supplies, clearing slums, and building hospitals. If the millions of pounds of profits that have been drawn out of Africa had been put to such purposes, these things would be under control now in Africa, as well as in Europe.

A don't think this exhibition will be sent around the Colonies: the colonial people know too much of the facts. It is intended for the British people, to lull their conscience.

Not the Road to Progress

If it has taken 100 years in Nigeria, for example — and Nigeria is "in advance" of some other colonies — to provide one doctor for every 135,000 people, and education for 660,000 children out of 8,000,000, how long will it take before the battle with disease and ignorance is won? But the truth is, these conditions exist not because "there hasn't been time," but because Empire thrives on just these conditions. Empire means grabbing super-profits, by making native people work for bare subsistence wages.

We Africans want to end the hold of British imperialism over us, not just because we are impatient of the slow rate of progress, but because we know this is not the way to progress at all.

Paul Robeson Addressing Packed Audience of 5000 at Welcome Home Rally in New York in June, held by the Council on African Affairs.

A Message from the Chairman

To Members and Friends of the Council on African Affairs:

I want to take this means of conveying a personal message and word of greeting to all my friends and all supporters of our work in the Council. Some of you I saw and talked with at the Welcome Home Rally in Harlem — and I want to thank you and tell you how deeply moved I was by that marvelous tribute. Others of you I have seen as I have gone around in New York, Chicago, and Washington, D. C., helping in the fight against Jim-Crowism in these places.

But to the many others all across America whom I have not yet seen — to all of you, my friends — I want to say that I come back from Europe more determined than I have ever been in my life to give my maximum time and energies in the fight for full freedom, full equality, for the Negro people. I will not compromise a hair's-breadth in that fight — nor will the Council. Intimidation and terrorization are increasing daily in America, particularly against the Negro. The would-be American fascists become bolder and bolder. What they did in Peekskill, N. Y. on the night of August 27 was just what Hitler's storm troopers did to German anti-fascists. They were not merely attacking me personally; they were attacking the Negro people, the Jewish people and all who stand for peace and democracy in America.

But we will not be cowed. And we will not forget our fight for Negro rights here is linked inseparably not only with the struggle of all American workers, but also with the liberation movements of the peoples of the Caribbean and Africa and of the colonial world in general. This is particularly true of the present period when the Big Money Rulers of America have taken on the role of bankers and overlords of all Western Europe and its colonial holdings. The one force which stands as the barrier to all the war-mongers, profiteers and fascists who would engulf the world in a third blood bath is the united strength of democratic and peace-loving peoples of all colors, all races, and faiths throughout the world. In England the Electrical Trades Union, whose members I addressed, has contributed $1000 for work on behalf of freedom for Africans. In Scotland I saw miners as they came out of the pits give hundreds of dollars out of their earnings to the same cause. American workers must and will do no less.

I ask you to stand with us in the Council, to help build and strengthen our organization in every community, so that it may play its most effective role against our oppressors and false leaders, and in fighting for the rights of Negroes here and in Africa and for our common freedom.

Sincerely yours,

PAUL ROBESON

Hunton

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26TH STREET • NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK • MURRAY HILL 3-6209

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

LOUISE T. PATTERSON, *Director of Organization*

September 16, 1949

Dear Friend:

The officers of the Council on African Affairs invite you to join them in sending an open letter to President Truman expressing our demand that there must be no more Peekskill outrages. The text of the proposed letter is enclosed herewith. You are no doubt familiar with the main facts of what happened on August 27th and September 4th at Peekskill, New York; very briefly the facts are as follows:

24-23-30

On the night of August 27, outside Peekskill, New York, a mob resorted to lawlessness and violence in order to prevent the occurrence of an open air concert by Paul Robeson, sponsored by Peoples' Artists for the benefit of the Harlem chapter of the Civil Rights Congress. Inflamed by the local paper which had been carrying on a campaign against the concert, the mob action started with a parade of members of various veterans' organizations opposed to the holding of the concert. With police conspicuously absent, the mobsters barricaded the roads leading to the concert grounds, beat up men, women, and children, assembled for the concert, shouting obscene, anti-Negro, anti-Semitic epithets at them and made a bonfire of the literature, music, and camp chairs for the concert. Meanwhile, on a nearby hill, a KKK cross flamed.

Determined to answer the outrageous attack upon the democratic rights of the people,25000 Americans of all races, creeds and classes returned to Peekskill Sunday afternoon September 4th to hear Paul Robeson sing. The un-Americans declared that their own anti-Robeson demonstration would again take place and would outnumber Robeson's followers. They could only muster some 1000 Legionnaires and others for their parade. They dared not interfere with the concert.

Instead, they waited until the concert-goers were starting homeward in cars and buses. Then, from along the sides of the road where the police directed the cars, the un-Americans launched their cowardly and fiendish attack with rocks and clubs, smashing the windows of the vehicles, overturning some, and causing injury to 200 of the concert-goers. It was not the fault of these hoodlums that no fatalities occurred.

And the police? Yes, there were 900 or more armed police and state troopers on hand this time, pledged to maintain law and order. If the police had done their duty they could easily have dispersed and stopped the hoodlums. But witness after witness has testified how the police aided,

abetted, encouraged, and, in some instances, participated in the attack.

And Governor Dewey? For ten days he remained silent - until after he had received the expected white-wash reports from his subordinates, the same officials who had been derelict in their duty in the first riot and whom he had charged with the responsibility of preventing the second riot.

The Governor's statement, issued on September 14th, reveals that his primary interest is in making a case against the VICTIMS of the mob attacks. It is they - "Communist groups" he calls them - who "obviously did provoke" the riots, he declares. And he orders a grand jury investigation to determine, among other things, "whether the meeting (sic) was initiated and sponsored for the purpose of deliberately inciting disorder and a breach of the peace, and whether it was part of the Communist strategy to foment racial and religious hatreds."

24-83-31

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Such is a brief recital of the Peekskill story as it stands as of September 15th. The end is not yet. What happens next depends on you and other Americans. The Council on African Affairs, along with other organizations, is taking action on this matter because it regards what happened at Peekskill as the most threatening sign of emerging fascism in the United States which has thus far made itself visible. Unless we all act together in protest against this danger, we face the complete fascist suppression of the Negro people, other minorities, and all individuals and groups which speak out for the protection of our constitutional liberties, for full and equal rights for all peoples, and for peace.

Please join us, therefore, in sending the enclosed open letter to President Truman.

Very truly yours,

W. A. Hunton

On Behalf of the Officers of the Council on African Affairs

MEMORANDUM

TO: DR. HUNTON

FROM: W. E. B. DU BOIS

DATE: SEPTEMBER 21, 1949

SUBJECT: NEWSPAPERS

These offices ought to see Negro newspapers regularly. I am therefore asking Mrs. Murphy every week to buy the following papers:

Pittsburgh Courier
Chicago Defender
New York Age
Amsterdam News
Afro-American
Norfolk Journal and Guide

This will cost about 85 cents per week. If your office is willing, I will be glad to share this expense with you, paying 45¢ and your office paying the remaining 40¢.

Also you have two African papers we ought to see; East and West Africa and one of the Ethiopian papers. Do you take these regularly?

mss 23-24

[Council on African Affairs]

September 30, 1949

MEMORANDUM

TO: Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois

FROM: W. A. Hunton

SUBJECT: Publications

I am sending you herewith a list of publications received at present or in the past by the Council. The asterisks indicate which ones are kept on file. I am sorry that I have been delayed so long in getting this list prepared for you.

The publications that are on file are, for the most part, to be found along the rear wall of the vault in the rear of the Library. I will show Mrs. Murphy just where they are so that she can get them at any time.

Recent issues of the publications currently received will be found in my office and Mrs. Murphy can obtain any of these that you wish at any time.

The African newspapers that are not kept on file represent a special problem as these have to be cut up and the clippings filed. I think probably the best policy would be for me to send these up to you as soon as they come in, after which they can be returned to my office for clipping. There is quite a stack of these papers on hand now which I have not been able to get to. Mrs. Murphy is free to bring them up to you.

I have not included United States newspapers in this list except for one or two out-of-town ones. I get the New York Times, Tribune, Compass, Worker, and Guardian regularly and clip these, and I shall buy the Amsterdam News, Age, and Norfolk Journal and Guide also, according to our plan. I assume that when the Negro papers are brought down you are finished with them and they can be clipped.

As we go along perhaps we can work out a smoother system of exchange of all the papers. I know that there are many publications not listed or that we no longer receive which we should get. As soon as our finances are a little better straightened out I hope that we can renew or enter subscriptions to some of them and I shall confer with you on this.

Sincerely,

W. A. Hunton

W. A. Hunton

WAH:mpm
Enc: List of Publications

[Council on African Affairs]

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED BY COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

(September - 1949)

* Currently received and kept on file.
** No longer received but back issues kept on file.
Those not starred are currently received, clipped, and not kept on file.

GENERAL

** Africa. London. q. = q. (quarterly)
* Africana. London. q
** The African. New York. m. = monthly
** African Affairs. London. q
* Africa Newsletter. London, Africa Committee of the C.P. m.
** African Interpreter. New York. q.
** African Studies. London. q.
** African Transcripts. Pennsylvania University. m.
** African World. London. m.
Allied Labor News. New York. w. = weekly
* Anti-Slavery Reporter. London. m.

** Bantu Studies. London. q.
Bulletin of the Colonial Office. London, Information Department. w.
** Bulletin of the Imperial Institute. London. m.

** Colonial Parliamentary Bulletin. London. m.
* The Colonial Review. London. q.
* Commonwealth Survey. London. m.
** Congress Vue. New York, National Negro Congress. m.
** Crisis. New York. m.
** Crown Colonist. London. m.

* East Africa and Rhodesia. London. w.

** Foreign Affairs. New York. m.

* Information Bulletin. Paris, Women's International Democratic Fed. m.
* Information Bulletin. Paris, World Fed. of Democratic Youth. m.
Information Bulletin. Paris, World Fed. of Trade Unions. w.
** Inside the Empire. London. m.
** International Affairs. London. m.
* International Labor Review. Geneva. m.

** Journal of Negro Education.
** Journal of Negro History.
** Journal of the Royal African Society. London. q.

** Labour Monthly. London. m.
Los Angeles Tribune. Los Angeles. w.

** Monthly Summary of Race Relations.

N.N.A.C.P. News Releases. New York. w.
** The Negro Worker. Paris. m.

** The Negro History Bulletin. Washington, D.C. m.
** The New African. London. m.
News From France. New York. w.
** News Letter. Washington, D.C., Inst. of Ethnic Affairs. m.
* News Letter. London, League of Coloured Peoples. w.
* New Times. Moscow. w.

** Opportunity. New York. m.

** Pan-Africa. Manchester. m.
** Phylon. Atlanta. g.

** United Empire. London. g.
** United Nations Bulletin. Lake Success. w.
United Nations News Features. Lake Success. w.
* United Nations News Letter. Lake Success. m.
** United Nations World. Lake Success. m.
** United States Department of State Bulletin.

* Venture. (formerly Empire). London, Fabian Colonial Bureau. m.

** WASU Magazine. London. m.
Weekly Review. Augusta, Georgia. w.
** West Africa. London. w.
* The World in Focus. Chicago, Library of International Relations. m.
* World Trade Union Movement. Paris, World Fed. of Trade Unions. m.

BELGIAN CONGO
* Congo Mission News. Leopoldville. g.
** Congopresse. Leopoldville. m.
** La Voix du Congolais. Leopoldville. m.

CARIBBEAN
C. T. A. L. News. Mexico City. w.
* Jamaica Arise! Jamaica. m.
Panama Tribune. Panama City. w.

ETHIOPIA
** Ethiopian Herald. Addis Adaba. m.
** Ethiopian Review. Addis Adaba. m.
* Ethiopian Sun. New York. m.
** New Times and Ethiopian News. London. w.

FRENCH AFRICA

** La Revue du Monde Noir. Paris. g.
** Le Mois de l'Afrique.Equatoriale Francais. Brazzaville. m.
* Notes Africaines. Dakar. g.

GAMBIA

Gambia Echo. Bathurst. w.

GOLD COAST

Accra Evening News. d. = daily
** The Ewe News-Letter. Accra. m.
** Gold Coast Bulletin. Accra. w.
Gold Coast Observer. Cape Coast. w.
Morning Telegraph. Sekondi. d.

KENYA

** Sauti Ya Mwafrica. Nairobi. m.

LIBERIA

* African Nationalist. Monrovia. w.
** Weekly Mirror. Monrovia. w.

NIGERIA

Daily Comet. Lagos. daily
* Nigeria. Lagos. g.
Nigerian Eastern Mail. Calabar. w.
West African Pilot. Lagos. daily

SIERRA LEONE

The African Standard. Freetown. w.
The African Worker. Freetown. w.

SOUTH AFRICA

** Ambag. Cape Town. m.
Bantu Forum. Verulam, Natal. w.
* Common Sense. Johannesburg. m.
* The Democrat Monthly. Johannesburg. m.
* Freedom. Cape Town. m.
* The Garment Worker. Johannesburg. m.
The Guardian. Cape Town. w.
* Inkululeko. Cape Town. w.

COPY

84-83-4

SOUTH AFRICA (CONTD)

** The Passive Resister. Durban. w.
** Race Relations. Cape Town. g.
* Race Relations.News. Cape Town. m.
** Socialist Review. Johannesburg. m.
** South African Outlook. Lovedale. m.
South Africa Reports. New York. w.
The Torch. Cape Town. w.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

* East Africa and Rhodesia. London. w.
** The Labour Front. Salisbury. m.
* N. B. Salisbury. m.
* The New Rhodesia. Salisbury. w.
Sitima. Bulawayo. m.
African Welfare Bulletin. Bulawayo. m.

UGANDA

** Bulletin of the Uganda Society. Kampala. g.
* Makerere. Kampala. g.

FOREIGN MISCELLANEOUS

* Afroamerica. Mexico City. g.
* Boletim Estatistico. Rio de Janeiro. g.
* Far East Spotlight. New York. m.
* India Quarterly. New Delhi. g.
* Soviet Literary Monthly. Moscow.
** The Student. Bombay, All-India Students' Federation. w.
* Voks Bulletin. Moscow. m.

New AFRICA

Council on African Affairs

Monthly Bulletin

For the united struggle of all democratic forces against imperialism; for the achievement of freedom, democracy, abundance, and peace by the peoples of Africa and the whole world.

Volume 8, No. 8 Sept., 1949

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PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

"If You Don't Want Us, Why Don't You Shoot Us?"

"You arrest us in town. You arrest us in our homes in the location. If you don't want us anywhere, why don't you shoot us?"

This is what a group of young unemployed Africans said to police who accosted them in Jabavu Township, a Negro slum district near Johannesburg, South Africa, not long ago. They were expressing the bitter resentment and desperation felt among Africans who have been increasingly hounded by the police.

Near Cape Town recently nearly 200 Africans were arrested in a mass round-up by 100 armed police and special agents. Most were sentenced for lacking proper identification papers. Their aggregate fines totalled $1,600, the majority being sentenced to fourteen days at hard labor or a fine of £2 ($8). They had no legal counsel.

The Guardian, a liberal South African newspaper, states that "reports from all over the country show that today the pass offices and the courts are becoming part of a huge organization for forcing African workers out of the towns and on to the farms. A vast new recruiting agency for farmers is being set up."

"At the Native Commissioner's Court in Fordsburg," the paper reports, "hundreds of Africans are charged each day with pass offenses (lacking required identification papers). Only a handful manage to evade conviction, which means prison or hard labor on the farms, because most cannot pay their fines.

Farmers' Slave Market

"Lining the streets outside this court can be seen cars and lorries with an assortment of platteland number plates. From the maize and potato belts come the farmers looking for cheap labor.

"In a shed near the court, as they wait, Africans are pressed to accept farm work (at wages of $8 to $10 a month for a six-months' contract). If they accept work, they are told, the charges against them will be withdrawn.

"The negotiations in the shed over, the men are marshalled into line and move slowly from a series of wired cages into the court room dock. They wait in the open for hours till their turn comes.

" '262-262 cases,' mutters the clerk of the court, striding up and down. He turns to an African constable: 'We'll have

(*Continued on next page*)

Drought and Starvation Strike Again in South Africa

The worst drought in the history of the Southeastern Cape area of South Africa, continuing now for over 14 months, has brought wide-spread suffering and starvation. The region principally affected is known as Ciskei, one of the crowded reservations set aside by the government for Africans. Even in good times malnutrition and disease are rife here.

A district surgeon in the Ciskei says that mothers coming to him all say the same thing — "My children have had nothing to eat for days." He warns that the appalling drought conditions may soon reduce the whole population of the area "to a huge mass of starving, helpless people. They are pretty near that now."

The greatest sufferers as a result of the prolonged drought are babies-in-arms. One sees scores of these, said the doctor, thin, potbellied and covered with all sorts of rashes, or swollen from foot to face and obviously suffering much pain. All this is a direct result of a gross lack of nutritive foods — milk, fresh vegetables and fruit.

Infant Mortality Alarming

"I should not like to guess how many die from this cause," the doctor said, pointing out that no death statistics are available in rural areas. "But we can be pretty certain that infant mortality has risen alarmingly in the past few months."

Another account of conditions in the Ciskei comes from a newspaper correspondent who writes:

"Nobody who has not seen it can possibly appreciate the devastation the 14 months' drought has brought. It is exactly as though vast armies have driven through the area and carried out a scorched-earth policy. Thousands of acres . . . are now a brown desert stretching as far as the eye can see and on which sand swirls and eddies . . .

"The old men and women just sit in the shadow of their huts watching the skies. It is useless to try to work the lands because the ground is as hard as iron."

In July, Cape Town citizens organized the Ciskei Famine Fund, an unofficial volunteer relief agency similar to the African Food Fund through which the Council on African Affairs sent assistance during the famine period of 1945-46.

Assistance Needed

Contributions of funds by readers of NEW AFRICA in order to purchase food for the famine victims in the Ciskei may be sent to the African Aid Committee, headed by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, 23 West 26th Street, New York 10, New York. These contributions will be forwarded immediately to the Ciskei Famine Fund in Cape Town.

BECHUANALAND RULER POSES TEST FOR BRITISH GOV'T.

The American press carried rather full accounts of the marriage of Seretse Khama, 27-year old chief designate of the Bamangwato people in Bechuanaland, to a white English girl in London, prophesying that as a result of the marriage his people would refuse to accept him as their ruler.

But these same newspapers, for the most part, have omitted news of the fact that a Kgotla or parliamentary gathering of some 6,000 of the Bamangwato people, held from June 20th to 25th, enthusiastically expressed their acceptance of Seretse Khama as their chief and his white wife as their queen. There were only some forty dissenters.

Neither has the press reported that this overwhelming decision now stands in danger of a veto by the British government, which has final authority in determining the succession of chieftanships. The whole question of whether Seretse Khama may take his rightful position is now the subject of a judicial inquiry appointed by the British High Commissioner of Bechuanaland.

Color Bar Is Issue

Why is the British government not content to let the Bamangwato people's decision stand? The answer is to be found in the fact that the white ruling class in South Africa and Northern and Southern Rhodesia is up in arms against the presence of an African chief with a white queen reigning in a territory on their borders, because it would undermine their whole Jim-Crow system whereby white rule is preserved.

The governments of the three territories mentioned have all made strong protests to the British government against Seretse as chief of the Bamangwato. The South African government, having just passed a law banning interracial marriages, is particularly upset.

Will the British government yield to these pressures? If so, it means defying the almost unanimous will of the Bamangwato people, with serious consequences for the administration. On the other hand, upholding the people's decision means antagonizing the white settlers of the Union and the Rhodesias. Here is a clear-cut test case of African rights and democracy as against white settlers' demands and Jim-Crow.

Council on African Affairs, Inc.
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

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BIDDING FOR DEATH

BRUSSELS, BELGIUM, AUGUST 1 — It was reported here that with the expiration of the U. S.-Belgium contract for the exclusive shipment of uranium ore to U. S. atomic plants from the Belgian Congo, the world's major uranium source, the British were seeking to break the American monopoly on atomic bomb manufacture by bidding for one-fourth of the Congo's uranium ore output, said to amount to about 12,000 tons annually. The United States, however, "had expressed its desire to renew the old agreement on an exclusive basis even if this meant higher prices."

LONDON, AUGUST 2 — A British Foreign Office spokesman denied that his government was asking Belgium for increased supplies of uranium from the Congo. And he declined to confirm a report that Britain was already entitled, under an agreement with Belgium, Canada, and the United States, to receive 50 per cent of the Belgian Congo's output but had taken her share only one year since 1945.

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Not talking.

"MIND YOUR OWN BUSINESS!"

A hundred years ago the slave owners of America's Southland told the northern abolitionists to mind their own business. Today the rulers of Africa's exploited millions say the same thing to the world's anti-imperialists.

In a recent issue of *The New Rhodesia*, for example, a weekly journal published by and for the white ruling class of Southern Rhodesia, the Council on African Affairs is coupled with the Secretary-General of the United Nations as meddlers in other people's business.

Mr. Trygve Lie, the journal says, is "getting too big for his boots" and acting "like that other Secretary-General . . . Mr. Joseph Stalin" when he "goes out of his way to rant about the 'end of the days of Empire and colonialism' and by implication to urge the peoples of Asia and Africa to seek the aid of the United Nations organization in their efforts to rise 'from dependence to equality'."

It is "sheer dream fantasy," the journal declares, to believe "that the Black people, or any substantial proportion of them, have at present, or will have in the foreseeable future, the capacity either to share equally in the rule and development of Africa, or to take over that rule . . .

"In so far as Mr. Trygve Lie, or the spokesmen of the Fabian Colonial Bureau, encourge that dream fantasy by their ill-considered assumptions, they are just as much the enemies of Africa and of the Africans as the American Council for African Affairs, which, under the chairmanship of Paul Robeson, propagates lies about white rule in Africa for the set purpose of preparing the way for Communism."

A hundred years ago, as Dr. Du Bois states elsewhere in this issue, "abolitionism" was the bogey instead of Communism.

"Why Don't You Shoot Us?" (Cont'd)

to do one a minute.' One after another the cases are brought forward.

"Hard labor or a fine for not having a proper service contract. Fine or a week in prison for being out late the night before. Heavy term or a fine for entering the town illegally.

"There is no time for argument. Those who plead not guilty are remanded and pushed aside. The work of the court must go on. The jails and the farmers are waiting outside. The country has a chronic farm labor shortage."

But even with the strictest enforcement of the hated pass laws, government officials are still not satisfied:

Fascist Labor Regulations

Item: In June a government proclamation ordered that all casual laborers (which means Africans) in urban areas should in the future wear metal badges displayed "in a prominent position" on their person "at all reasonable times." The badges carry the name of the person, the name of the area in which he is working, and his number. If it is lost the worker must pay 50c for another badge.

Item: In March of this year, the government issued a circular directing Departments and Provincial Administrations "wherever possible to substitute civilized labor for uncivilized labor . . . Natives should only be employed as messengers where the services of a European youth are not available."

Item: By the terms of a Native (Urban Areas) Amendment Bill now before the South African Parliament, a Native Commissioner or Magistrate may declare any African to be "leading an idle, dissolute or disorderly life," having "no sufficient means of livelihood" (what African worker does?), or otherwise undesirable, and may thereupon "order that such native enter into employment for such period, at such wages and under such other conditions as such native commissioner or magistrate may determine, and, if he deems fit, that such native be detained in custody pending his removal to such employment."

If that is not slave labor practice, if that is not fascism, WHAT IS?

BRITAIN'S IRON CURTAIN HIDES UGANDA INFAMY

The debates in the British House of Commons very often are more significant for what is NOT said than for what is said. When some members of Parliament in July, for instance, tried to get information on developments in Uganda following the uprising there in late April, the discussion went like this:

Mr. Braddock asked the Minister for colonies if he was aware that on June 15, 1949, King Mutesa interviewed and intimidated the Bataka one by one; that he informed them he would imprison or deport them if they did not deny that they had sent a representative to Britain; and what action had been taken in this matter.

Mr. Creech Jones: "I am asking the Governor for information, and will write to my hon. friend when it is received."

Mr. Braddock: "Do I understand that the Minister will take action it this statement proves to be correct?"

Mr. Creech Jones: "No, sir. I must receive the facts before I consider any action."

Mr. Braddock asked the Secretary of State what additional numbers of troops had been introduced into Uganda arising from the recent disturbance, and from where had they been brought.

Mr. Michael Stewart, Under-Secretary of State for War: "It is not the policy to give information about the number of troops stationed in or moved to a particular area."

Mr. Braddock: "I want to point out that I put this question down to the Secreary of Sate for the Colonies, and I am astonished to find the Under-Secretary of State for War answering it. Are we to understand that the War Office is taking over the responsibilities of the Secretary of State for the Colonies?"

Is There A War On?

Mr. Stewart: "No, sir. My hon. friend asked for information about the movement of troops, and naturally the War Department replies."

Mr. Braddock: "Does not my hon. friend realize that the reason for sending the troops is the condition of affairs in the Colony?

Mr. Gallacher (Communist member): "Is the hon. gentleman aware that there are very serious allegations, with very much evidence to back them up, that an actual reign of terror is being carried on in Uganda —"

Mr. Speaker: "The question merely asks how many troops have been sent there, and nothing about a reign of terror."

Mr. Gallacher: "On a point of order, Mr. Speaker —"

Mr. Speaker: "The hon. gentleman must not ask these irrelevant questions which have nothing to do with the question on the Order Paper. They are mere propaganda, and I am getting a little tired of them."

Mr. Gallacher: "It has something to do with the question."

Mr. Speaker: "No. The hon. gentleman will resume his seat now. Mr. Dobbie."

Mr. Gallacher rose.

Mr. Speaker: "I told the hon. member to resume his seat, and that is the end of that."

Leaders of the Bataka (Elders of the Clans) in Uganda, which has led the movement for more democratic rights in the colony and has recently been outlawed by the Governor. Three in this group are aged between 80 and 100. Mr. S. Mulumba, their spokesman in London, is seated at the extreme right.

Appeal Made to United Nations for Uganda Inquiry

A petition has been sent to the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations by Mr. Semakula Mulumba, London representative of the banned Bataka Party, requesting that a Commission of Inquiry be sent to the British colony of Uganda. Mr. Mulamba charges Governor Sir John Hall with persecuting and suppressing the Bataka and other African organizations there, frustrating the desire for democratic African assemblies, violating human rights, censoring the press, and permitting troops to assault defenseless Africans (See *New Africa*, June, 1949).

The urgency of an impartial inquiry into conditions in Uganda is underscored by the fact that the Governor of the colony has appointed his own hand-picked one-man Commission of Inquiry in the person of Sir Joseph Sheridan, former Lord Chief Justice of Kenya. It has been made clear that the British Colonial Office will accept whatever white-wash findings he makes.

Persistent inquiries about the Uganda situation by members of the British Parliament have been evaded by colonial officials on the ground that it was necessary to await the report of the Governor's Commission of Inquiry (see story at left).

It is known, however, that 1,435 persons in Uganda have been arrested and that the trial of these persons has been pushed with greatest speed, 60 having been sentenced by May 14, some to imprisonment at hard labor for periods of from five to eight years. One of the several high-handed actions of Governor Hall has been his outlawing of the African Farmers' Union; his confiscation of the cotton (Uganda's main export — year's total crop valued at over $68,000,000) lying in stores belonging to this organization; and his turning it over to an official receiver (who is no doubt on friendly terms with the British-controlled Uganda Company (Cotton), Ltd.).

Believe-It-or-Not Dept.

"A united western Europe . . . with free access to the immense resources of Africa, combined with the strength of the Americas, could become the mightiest force the world has ever seen to build a permanent peace." Achieving this involves "an ever closer relationship, a greater give-and-take, a greater interdependence between the people of the five still free [yes, "free" — Editor] continents — western Europe, Africa, the Americas and Australia." — Governor Thomas E. Dewey, speaking at Williams College, June 19.

•

"Under the trusteeship system — and I am sure I voice the thought of all of us — there is no room for colonial exploitation." — Mr. Francis P. Sayre, U.S. representative of the U. N. Trusteeship Council, July 8.

They Speak for Peace

DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS, *to the House Committee on Foreign Relations on August 8, in testifying on behalf of the Council on African Affairs and the American Continental Congress for Peace, in opposition to the Congressional Military Assistance Bill*:

"What hinders us from beginning to reason now before we fight?

"Why are we afraid to reason and wait and persuade? We *are* afraid. For we stop logical thinking. We invent witch-words. If in 1850 an American disliked slavery, the word of exorcism was 'abolitionism.' He was a 'nigger lover.' He believed in free love and murder of kind slave masters. He ought to be lynched and mobbed. Today the word is "communist." Never mind its meaning in a man's mind. If anybody questions the power of wealth, wants to build TVA's, advocates civil rights for Negroes, he is a communist, a revolutionist, a scoundrel, and is liable to lose his job or land in jail. And yet there is not today in this nation an honest progressive citizen who does not share in his beliefs many of the basic ideas of communism.

"I am a fellow-traveler with communists insofar as they believe the great ideals of socialism as laid down by the world's great thinkers since the 17th century. I believe in abolition of poverty. I believe in curbing the social and political power of wealth. I believe in planned industry and more just distribution of wealth. There is in this body of belief nothing revolutionary, unless human progress is revolutionary. There is nothing which has not been advocated by the best thinkers of three centuries.

"Gentlemen, make no mistake. Russia and Communism are not your enemies. Your enemy, ruthless and implacable, is the soulless and utterly selfish corporate wealth, organized for profit and willing to kill your sons in order to retain its present absolute power . . .

"Socialism, whether accomplished by communism or reformed capitalism or both, is the natural and inevitable end of the modern world and grows out of the industrial revolution as fruit out of the seed. It is spreading in every civilized land today, including the United States. To try stopping it by red-baiting and hysterics is stupid. To turn back the clock by war is a crime."

Statement to the President of the United States, signed by 55 Negro churchmen, representing seven million church members of 11 denominations:

"A people still in economic bondage in a land of plenty such as the Negro people in America will naturally look askance at our Government's declarations of freedom for peoples in other lands, while it neglects to put these declarations into practice at home . . .

"We ask the question whether we or any group of Americans should lend support to Britain, France, Italy, Portugal, the Netherlands, and Belgium in order to guarantee that the colonial peoples under their rule shall not win their destiny of freedom and independence. We ask the question whether the shameful policy of repression and discrimination which characterizes our Government's policy in the Panama Canal Zone and in every section of the United States mainland, entitles us to believe that this is the American way of life which the North Atlantic Pact is designed to protect."

GABRIEL D'ARBOUSSIER, *Vice-president of the African Democratic Union, the one-million strong organization in the French colonies below the Sahara*:

"As for us, the Negroes in Africa, when we are threatened by a certain bogey, we simply say: 'We do not know whether the Soviets want war, but we can state that so far we cannot see a Soviet base in the whole of Africa.'

"We know, on the contrary, of some which belong to the United States of America. We also remember that already in 1945, immediately after the victory of the United Nations, Mr. Truman declared that the security line of the United States passed through Dakar and Casablanca . . .

"All the anger of the reactionaries directed against the Soviet Union is also directed in other forms against the colonial peoples. The latter have learnt, thanks to these reactionaries, that there is a natural alliance between the country of socialism and the oppressed people the world over."

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman of the Council on African Affairs*:

"Beyond their common concern with preventing World War III, the Negro people should have a special and personal reason for damning the administration's Military Aid Program. Just consider what this program means. Negroes, along with other citizens, will be asked to pay taxes to furnish that small one per cent of the ruling class of Britain, France, and other imperialist powers with guns and planes which will in all likelihood be used by these powers, as has happened before, to maintain their own and America's domination over the enslaved peoples of Africa and parts of Asia.

"They will be asked to support the imperialist axis against the anti-imperialist forces throughout the world. They will be asked to help keep hundreds of millions of black, brown, and yellow peoples slaving for their white overlords. Thanks to United States aid, British troops are already doing a police job in the African colonies.

"The Council on African Affairs has already exposed this hidden but important aspect of the Atlantic Pact and has registered its opposition to the Military Assistance Bill. How can any honestly led organization or institution of the Negro people fail to call these measures outrageous and criminal?

"The government's current high pressured campaign accompanied by provocative war-scare propaganda for implementation of the Atlantic Pact, when contrasted with the scandalous scuttling of urgently needed civil rights and social welfare legislation, uncovers the deceit and brazen hypocrisy behind the idealistic declarations that these war measures are intended to make the world 'safe' for the 'American way of life'."

And on the Other Side . . .

"We are pledged in the Atlantic Pact . . . to place all our resources at the disposal of our friends in that Pact for the defense of the West against aggression. An essential and intrinsic part of that defense must be not only Africa and African resources, but African manpower, and African military manpower.

"How can that be done when at the same time certain elements in West Africa are being deliberately encouraged to feel that within a few years they will have such a form of local or absolute self-government as will . . . make it impossible for us to rely upon the military resources which they have placed at our disposal in the past, and which we need today for the purposes of carrying out our own obligations under the Atlantic Pact? . . ."— Lord Lennell, speaking in the British House of Lords.

[Council on African Affairs]

Hunton

4

MEMORANDUM

TO: DR. W.E.B. DU BOIS

FROM: W. A. HUNTON

DATE: OCTOBER 4, 1949

SUBJECT: Mrs. Murphy's Working Hours

24-33-32

I am very sorry that a misunderstanding has arisen with respect to my memorandum of October 1, addressed to my secretary and your secretary concerning working hours, and that there still seems to be the impression that I am making exhorbitant demands upon Mrs. Murphy's time and attention. It has certainly not been my purpose or desire to impose upon Mrs. Murphy's obligations to you. In my reply to your memorandum of June 20th I set forth certain specific tasks which you agreed she could do. These tasks have not been done by her in a satisfactory manner and it has become necessary for me to attend to them in part myself and assign them to another young lady, Mrs. Davis, who has been hired on a part-time basis. I did not mention this to you because I did not wish to place Mrs. Murphy in an embarrassing position, but your memorandum makes it necessary for me to state the facts.

You will remember that in the memorandum of October 1st, I stated that I wished to "recommend" certain rules with respect to working hours and I asked that both your secretary and mine indicate whether the recommendations were satisfactory from their point of view. In sending you a copy of the memorandum I, of course, intended that you let me know if the recommendations were not agreeable.

I cannot be specific as to the exact amount of time Mrs. Murphy has done work under my direction, but I am absolutely sure that it has been much less than one-half of her regular office time, even including one or two Saturdays on which she consented to come in to help with some mailing. (Mrs. Mitchell, my secretary, has already in the past been working at least two Saturdays a month.) I can say that , since the time of your return from abroad, I have not called upon Mrs. Murphy for any time except for the following: three hours on one Saturday, during which she consented to help with a mailing; the afternoon of the day before our Aid Committee meeting, during which she worked with Mrs. Davis in trying to prepare our Aid Committee financial statement; a morning when she made a series of telephone calls for us; and one other day when she mailed out about two dozen receipts for Aid Committee contributions. This totals at the maximum no more than sixteen hours of work out of two weeks' time.

In order to avoid further misunderstanding, I would suggest that in the future one of two courses be followed: (1) I shall not ask for any of Mrs. Murphy's time, except when, with your consent, she volunteers to do such work, or (2) that certain specified hours be designated by you during which time Mrs. Murphy can do work under my direction. In both cases this work would be done in your office and would, of course, in an emergency, be abandoned for whatever tasks you might have for her to do.

However, if neither of these courses seems practicable to you, or if you prefer, rather than have any continuing misunderstanding between us in this matter I am ready and willing to consent to Mrs Murphy giving her full time exclusively to your work, with her salary being paid as usual by the Council.

May I assume that you are in agreement with the second point of my memorandum of October 1 to Mrs Murphy and Mrs. Mitchell?

Very truly yours,

W. A. Hunton

W.A. Hunton

WAH:mpm

MM 24-8-3

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26TH STREET • NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK • MURRAY HILL 3-6209

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

LOUISE T. PATTERSON, *Director of Organization*

OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN
(Copies also sent to Gov. Thomas E. Dewey and Attorney-General J. Howard McGrath)

October 12, 1949

President Harry S. Truman
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

A criminal assault was made against the American people and their rights at Peekskill, New York, on the night of August 27, 1949.

The criminal attack was repeated a week later on Sunday, September 4, in the same locality.

We declare that the record of what happened on those two occasions, as contained in on-the-scene press and radio reports, press photographs, and the testimony of assault victims and other eye-witnesses, proves conclusively that Governor Thomas E. Dewey and the responsible officials under his supervision are, at the minimum, guilty of gross negligence in the protection of the rights, property, and lives of American citizens.

We declare, further, that Governor Dewey has clearly demonstrated his unfitness to hold public office by the character of his statement of September 14 in which he made the astounding charge that the responsibility for the violence and lawlessness rested with the victims of the violence. Mr. Dewey sought credence for this transparently false and monstrous charge by the hackneyed reactionary expedient of characterizing the Peekskill "incident" as a Communist manoeuver.

It is apparent from the terms of reference which he laid down for it that Governor Dewey would like to make the pending grand jury investigation of the Peekskill riots another anti-Communist witch-hunt. As such it will in reality be another attack upon the rights of all Americans.

It is now evident to all that the present administration of the State of New York can not be relied upon to protect the basic constitutional rights of its citizens, and that appeal must now be made to the federal authorities. That is why we write to you, Mr. President, and declare that it is imperative that you instruct the Attorney-General and the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice to launch an immediate investigation and prosecution of those who conspired, connived, and assisted in the Peekskill attacks on August 27 and September 4, in accordance with the provisions of the Federal Statutes: Title 18 - Sec. 51, 52 U.S. Criminal Code; Title 8 - Sec. 47 - Sub. 3, and Sec. 48, U.S. Code Annotated.

We wish to emphasize, Mr. President, that Peekskill is by no means an isolated instance of the violation of the constitutional rights of American citizens.

230-40

Two years ago Paul Robeson was barred under similar circumstances from giving a concert in Peoria, Illinois. Last year Presidential candidate Henry Wallace and his supporters were assaulted in many parts of the country. Most especially we call your attention to the fact that the past several months have seen lynchings and increasing mob violence and brutal atrocities against Negro citizens in Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Illinois, and other states, including New York where case after case of police brutality and murder has occurred with no punishment meted out to the guilty officers.

Peekskill demonstrated what this mounting anti-Negro violence and contempt for human rights may develop into unless speedily checked. Peekskill was a reminder of Hitlerite Germany where fascism got its start with organized mob assaults, with official sanction, against the Jewish people, in the name of German "patriotism" and "anti-Communism".

23c-40

The warning is clear, Mr. President. The Peekskill outrages are the product of that perverted Americanism which brands as un-American those who speak out for peace, who stand up for their constitutional rights and those of their fellow-men, or who are concerned with freedom for colonial peoples rather than with the raw materials that can be stolen from their lands.

We are convinced that the time has come to put an end to this cold war against the American people; the time has come to utilize the agencies of our government <u>in actual fact</u> toward promoting democracy at home and peace abroad. The eyes of the world are upon you, Mr. President.

Respectfully yours,

Officers of the Council on African Affairs,

Paul Robeson, Chairman
W. E. B. Du Bois, Vice Chairman
W. A. Hunton, Secretary
Estelle M. Osborne, Treasurer
Louise T. Patterson, Director of Organization

And also signed by the following:

Bishop C. C. Alleyne, Phila.
C. B. Baldwin, New York
Charlotta A. Bass, Los Angeles
Dr. Walter N. Beekman, Brooklyn
Charles Chaplin, Beverly Hills, Cal.
Dr. Phillips Brooks, Brooklyn
Rev. G. Chilton Christian, Brooklyn
Archbishop Edwin H. Collins, New York
Felix A. Cummings, New York
Thelma M. Dale, Philadelphia, Pa.
Rev. John W. Darr, Jr., New York
Dr. Clifford Davis, New York
Frank Marshall Davis, Hawaii
Earl B. Dickerson, Chicago
Dean Dixon, New York
Dr. Arnold Donawa, New York
Ernest Ellis, Detroit
Rev. Charles C. S. England, Brooklyn
Edward E. Fisher, Washington, D. C.
Aloncita J. Flood, New York
Kumar Goshal, Brooklyn
Shirley Graham, Long Island, N.Y.
E.Y. Harburg, New York
Oliver Harrington, New York
William Harrison, Boston, Mass.
Rev. Edler Hawkins, Bronx, N.Y.
Rev. Charles A. Hill, Detroit
Rev. James L. Horace, Chicago
Charles P. Howard, Des Moines, Iowa
Ada B. Jackson, Brooklyn
Thomas R. Jones, Brooklyn
Rockwell Kent, New York
John Howard Lawson, San Fernando, Cal.
Pearl Laws, New York
Dr. Catherine D. Lealtad, New York
Ray Lev, New York
Foster McCurdy, Cleveland, Ohio
George Marshall, New York
Larkin Marshall, Macon, Georgia
Mary Jane Melish, Brooklyn
Mrs. John F. Moors, Brookline, Mass.
Helois Walker Moorhead, New York
Willard Motley, Chicago
Capt. Hugh Mulzac, New York
Bishop D. Ward Nichols, New York
Aubrey Pankey, New York
William L. Patterson, New York
Dr. C.A. Petioni, New York
Irving Potash, New York
Lee Pressman, New York
Willard B. Ransom, Indianapolis, Ind.
Rev. Sandy F. Ray, Brooklyn
Rev. Benjamin C. Robeson, New York
Rev. James H. Robinson, New York
Therese L. Robinson, Washington, D. C.
Dora Shaw, New York
Mary Church Terrell, Washington, D. C.
Rev. Bishop Toliver, Chicago
Alcott L. Tyler, New York
Dr. Gene Weltfish, New York
Amos J. White, Jacksonville, Fla.
Lindsay H. White, New York
Doxey A. Wilkerson, Brooklyn

NEWS RELEASE from

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26 STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-6209

PAUL ROBESON, Chairman — W. E. B. Du BOIS, Vice Chairman — ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, Treasurer — W. A. HUNTON, Secretary

FOR RELEASE OCTOBER 13, 1949

(Note to Editor: This is an advance release of the announcement to be made by Paul Robeson at a press conference in Washington, D. C., October 13, at 4:00 P.M., prior to his appearance at a public meeting in that city the same evening.)

WASHINGTON, D. C.: Paul Robeson, Chairman of the Council on African Affairs, disclosed today that his organization had sent a letter to President Truman signed by over 60 church, labor, and other figures throughout the country, demanding that the "criminal assaults against the American people and their rights" at Peekskill on August 27 and September 4 be made the subject of federal investigation and prosecution.

The letter warned that "Peekskill demonstrated what mounting anti-Negro violence and contempt for human rights may develop into unless speedily checked." What occurred at Peekskill was called "the product of that perverted Americanism which brands as un-American those who speak out for peace, who stand up for their constitutional rights and those of their fellow-men, or who are concerned with freedom for colonial peoples rather than with the raw materials that can be stolen from their lands."

"We are convinced," the letter continued, "that the time has come to put an end to this cold war against the American people; the time has come to utilize the agencies of our government in actual fact toward promoting democracy at home and peace abroad."

Federal action in the Peekskill riots was said to be "imperative" in view of the fact that "the present administration of the State of New York cannot be relied upon to protect the basic constitutional rights of its citizens."

The statement, copies of which were sent to Governor Dewey and Attorney-General McGrath, charged that the record of what happened at Peekskill "proves conclusively" that the Governor of New York and the responsible officials under him "are, at the minimum, guilty of gross negligence in the protection of the rights, property, and lives of American citizens." It also charged that by attempting to place the blame for the riots on the victims of the violence, in his statement of September 14, Governor Dewey had "clearly demonstrated his unfitness to hold public office."

Signers of the letter included twelve church leaders, among them being Bishop D. Ward Nichols and Rev. James H. Robinson of New York, Rev. Sandy F. Ray and Rev. Charles C.S. England of Brooklyn, Rev. Bishop Toliver and Rev. James L. Horace of Chicago, and Rev. Charles A. Hill of Detroit.

Also among the signers were officials of the United Auto Workers, CIO, Local 742, Detroit; United Cafeteria and Restaurant Workers, Local 471, Washington, D.C.; Hotel Front Service Employees' Union, AFL, Local 144, New York; United Chemical Workers, Local 121, New York; Wholesale, Retail and Warehouse Workers, Local 65, New York; and the Furriers Joint Council, CIO, New York.

From the cultural world, signers included Charles Chaplin and E.Y. Harburg; Dean Dixon, Ray Lev, and Aubrey Pankey; and authors Willard Motley, John Howard Lawson, Shirley Graham, and Kumar Goshal. Among other signers were C.B. Baldwin of the Progressive Party; Charlotta A. Bass, editor and publisher of the California Eagle; Atty. Charles P. Howard, Atty. Lee Pressman, and Willard B. Ransom, Indiana State President of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

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OPEN LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT and the CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

Because we believe that the deep desire of all mankind for a world at peace can be realized and that failure to do so may destroy civilization, we address this open letter to the Administration and the 81st Congress.

Peace depends upon an understanding between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

The people of both nations want peace. Yet millions of American citizens believe that the Russian government wants to impose Russian communism upon the nations of the world. At the same time, millions of Russian citizens believe that the American government is driving toward world domination by American capitalism.

These fears have led to acts by both nations which have deepened the division between them and generated further fear and hostility. As a result, we are today burdened with expenditures of a military nature that consume more than half of our budget. Support for questionable regimes in various parts of the world is costing us hundreds of millions of dollars and the friendship of liberty-loving peoples. War preparations are making it impossible to achieve the program of domestic reform, for which the American people voted, and are jeopardizing our political democracy.

230-9

If the present pattern of measures and counter-measures by our country and Russia persists, it can lead only to a war which neither nation can win and in which mankind may be destroyed.

Yet a further step is now being prepared in the form of a North Atlantic military alliance, to be followed by a huge and costly program of arming Western Europe for war.

This step will not only retard recovery in Western Europe, it will irrevocably commit us to a fatal two-world policy. It and the counter-measures it provokes will widen the split in the world between two armed camps, increase conflict in every part of the globe and intensify an arms race that will impoverish all people and may end only in a war of extinction.

Therefore, we urge President Truman and the Congress to reject the proposal for a North Atlantic military alliance.

There is a constructive and honorable alternative.

We are deeply convinced that capitalism and communism not only can but must live together in the same peaceful world. No dispute between the United States and Russia need be resolved by force, and there are no differences between them which in time cannot be settled by peaceful negotiations. We are of the opinion that all of the possibilities for such negotiations have never been fully explored.

We urge that the President, through a special emissary to the Soviet Union, prepare the way for a meeting between the highest ranking authorities of the two governments. Issues now outstanding between the two countries should be thoroughly discussed and an atmosphere of mutual confidence established in anticipation of multi-lateral discussions at which final settlements could be achieved.

This will prepare the way for peace treaties with Germany and Japan. It should provide for the resumption of trade between East and West. There should be firm commitments against interference in the affairs of other nations and the principle established that aid to the needy peoples of the world be administered through the United Nations. It should lead to a sufficient measure of confidence between East and West as to make possible a general reduction in armaments.

If war comes, a settlement between impoverished, devastated nations must be made after the war -- if any survive to make the treaty. Let discussions be held NOW, before war becomes inevitable.

The new Congress and the Adninistration have a unique opportunity, in Lincoln's words, to "nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope of earth." We petition for the discharge of this responsibility in a spirit worthy of our past and creative of our future -- to the end that all mankind may be freed from the threat of total war and total death and may face the days to come with confidence in enduring peace and in a better life for all.

23a-9

October 28, 1949

N

MEMORANDUM TO DR. HUNTON

Do you suppose it will be possible for us to follow up this matter of the boy who wishes to study medicine and help him in any way? I am turning the correspondence back to you.

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

COPY

24-23-20

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26TH STREET • NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK • MURRAY HILL 3-6209

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

LOUISE T. PATTERSON, *Director of Organization*

November 3, 1949

To the Honorable Members of the
General Assembly of the United Nations
Lake Success, New York

Gentlemen:

The Council on African Affairs, an organization embracing Negro and white Americans in many sections of the United States concerned with the advancement, welfare, and liberation of the people of Africa and subject peoples of other lands, wishes to bring to your attention its views concerning the proposed recommendations regarding the future of the former Italian colonies, as voted by the sub-committee of the General Assembly's Political Committee at the present session of the Assembly.

Our organization has followed closely the discussions on this problem since their origin in the Foreign Ministers Conference. We have addressed several communications on this matter to the State Department of the United States, and to the United States and other delegations to the United Nations during the meetings of the General Assembly held last September and in the spring of this year. In all of these communications we have reiterated the basic principle that Africa belongs to the Africans and that the paramount consideration in determining the question of the former Italian colonies there should not be the interests of any European or other government, but the "needs and aspirations of the peoples of Libya, Eritrea, and Somaliland, of the Ethiopian people, and of the people of Africa in general."

It is our view that the decisions reached by the Committee dealing with this matter at the present session of the General Assembly failed to accord with this principle and with the principles of the United Nations Charter in several respects. Specifically, we wish to urge that the following revisions be made by the General Assembly in the pending recommendations as voted by the sub-committee of the Political Committee:

1. <u>Italian administration of Somaliland must be rejected in favor of direct U.N. administration through the Trusteeship Council</u>. No individual power should be awarded administration over any colonial area. Least of all has Italy any claim to restoration of its power in Somaliland in the light of its past record in East Africa. Only last month on October 5th, four persons were killed and many others were wounded by police under British direction in crushing a demonstration of the Somali people against the return of their country to Italy. According to reliable sources, more than 100 such demonstrations have occurred in all sections of the territory. "The Somalis," says the Somali Youth League in an open letter to the United Nations, "will resist - even at the price of complete extermination - any attempt to reimpose the oppressive and hated Italian rule in

832-4

Somaliland." Will the United Nations provoke revolt and bloodshed in East Africa by endorsing a decision which so patently defies the will of the people directly concerned?

It should be remembered that direct U.N. administration through the Trusteeship Council was what the Somali Youth League, a representative organization, asked for as an alternative to immediate independence. This was also what U.N. Secretary-General Trygvie Lie recommended in his annual report last June as "the best solution" of the ex-Italian colonies problem. But this solution was rejected. Why? Simply because it happens that the Soviet Union is a permanent member of the U.N. Trusteeship Council?

2. The Assembly must amend the evasive decision that Italian Somaliland should become independent after a ten-year period, UNLESS the General Assembly should decide otherwise at that time, by giving a definite guarantee of independence within five years and providing for unification of the Somali peoples and lands.

3. Independence for Libya - a united Libya - should be guaranteed within the shortest possible time, one year at the most. Such independence to be real must carry with it the removal of all foreign military forces and bases from the territory.

4. Eritrea's future should be settled along with that of Libya and Somaliland at this session of the General Assembly. There is no excuse for appointing still another investigation commission. This is merely a stalling device which may benefit Britain and Britain's imperialist friends, but not the Eritreans, nor the United Nations. Let the Eritrean people be free at the earliest possible time, within three years at the most, to decide their own political future - in association with Ethiopia or otherwise.

5. In relation to the Advisory Council for Libya, other appointive procedures, and trusteeship terms for the three territories, the Soviet Union must be given equal voice with the other major powers. To do otherwise, to attempt to bar the Soviet Union from such equal participation, means to add to the serious tensions already existing in Soviet-American relations and to undermine the principle of big power unanimity which is the very foundation for the successful functioning of the United Nations and the achievement of its goal of lasting peace and human progress.

The people of Africa, Negro people everywhere, and the world in general will watch closely and judge the character of the United Nations by what that world body decides on the future of the former Italian colonies. For in this instance the United Nations is in the unusual position of having full and final authority to determine the status and future of peoples held in colonial subjection. In the interest of justice, peace, and genuine African freedom, we urge your support of the foregoing revisions of the pending recommendations regarding the ex-Italian colonies.

Respectfully yours,

Paul Robeson

Paul Robeson, Chairman

W.A Hunton

W. A. Hunton, Secretary
Council on African Affairs

PR:WAH:mpm

[Council on African Affairs]

MEMORANDUM

TO: Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Chairman, African Aid Committee

FROM: W. A. Hunton

DATE: November 14, 1949

SUBJECT: African Aid Committee

After six months, the status of the work of the African Aid Committee requires careful review and careful planning for the future. To date, approximately $1300 has been contributed, $1000 of this having been expended on the printing, mailing, and other costs involved in the initial launching of the campaign (more than half of the materials printed last May still remain unused).

The results achieved thus far have been based entirely on response to a mailing campaign. There has been no general publicity in the press or otherwise and no program of activity (meetings or other public affairs) and no conscious effort to enlist the support of organizations. It cannot be said, therefore, that the program has yet been really publiclylaunched.

24-23.34

The reason for this is clearly the lack of due attention and work along these lines . The Council's staff itself, since preparing the literature and attending to the initial mailing, has been unable to do more than attend to the bookkeeping. The Committee's secretary, Mrs. Garvin, found it necessary, because of the pressure of her own trade union responsibilities to give up responsibilities for the Aid Committee's work. It appears, therefore, that the first problem to be resolved in planning for any future work is providing for a qualified person to take over the executive work of the Aid Committee, giving at least twenty hours of full attention weekly to such work. This appears to require the addition of another person to the staff of the Council, one-half of whose time would be devoted to the work of the African Aid Committee and one-half of whose salary would be met from Aid Committee income. I believe that a proposal to this effect should be acted upon by the Executive Committee at its next meeting.

The tasks of such a person will consist of the following:

1. Promotional work
    a. Publicity in the press
    b. Contacting and working with organizations to get their support: Elks, Masons, churches, fraternities and sororities, women's and youth organizations, trade unions
    c. The development of special projects directed to
        (1) Fraternities and sororities - for scholarship aid to African students
        (2) Doctors, dentists, and social workers - for support of health clinics and services
        (3) Teachers, students and youth groups - for support of educational projects in Africa

(4) Progressive trade unions - for aid to progressive African unions.
(5) ALP and Progressive Party circles - for support to African liberation movements

d. General mailings and follow-ups
e. Arrangement for cultural affairs, public meetings, etc., sponsored by the Aid Committee

2. Other services

a. Attending to routine correspondence
b. Supervision of bookkeeping
c. Preparation of annual reports

Tasks remaing to the officers and Executive Committee would then include:

1. Maintaining contact with African leaders and organizations in order to ascertain needs and verify proper use of funds sent
2. Determining allocation of funds to be sent
3. Approving and supervising the general program of activity as carried out by the Executive Officer.

I am convinced that if properly handled, the Committee's work can be tremendously successful. The present objective conditions and the increasing attention to Africa in America lead me to this conclusion. However, the job must be done on a systematic and business-like basis. Failure to do this will mean that we will be in the position, as at present, of merely drawing in sufficient funds to cover expenses. To do no more than this would be worse than useless; it would be disastrous.

Because of this consideration, as well as the need to have something to peg up promotion and publicity on, I believe that the Executive Committee should at its next meeting allocate such funds as are on hand - approximately $300 - for a worthy project and send the money off at once, even though we have obligations still outstanding. I would recommend that this allocation be made to Dr. Bokwe in South Africa for medical assistance to famine victims in the area where he has his clinic.

To summarize, I hope that at the next Executive Committee meeting, an agreement can be reached on the hiring of an Executive Officer on a half time basis, definition of his tasks, and authorization for the first aid contribution to be sent to Africa.

24-23-35

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS
23 West 26th Street, New York 10, New York

MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (ENLARGED) - NOVEMBER 18, 1949

A G E N D A

Minutes

Report on Organization

Report on Information Services

Report on Finances

Schedule of Meetings of Executive Committee

Adjournment

* * *

Report on Organization

1.. Analysis of results to date
   a. Present Council membership - how obtained and where

2. Problems to be encountered in further expansion
   a. Activities and meetings
   b. Field work involved in organization and maintenance of Council groups
   c. Issues to be met

3. Immediate Program
   a. Brooklyn - November 27
   b. Harlem
   c. Negro History Week
   d. Eslanda Robeson Tour
   e. Joint Projects

4. Constitution - propose sub-committee to meet, make draft and report at next Executive Committee meeting. This same sub-committee to continue functioning permanently, as advisory on organization.

Report on Information Services

1. Importance of this function at present time

2. Scope of Tasks

3. Review of recent works on role of United States in Africa, on ex-Italian colonies, materials for tour

4. Proposals
   a. Press releases - weekly
   b. New Africa - enlargement and expansion of circulation (now 3000)

c. Preparation of series of pamphlets (see below)
d. Servicing other organizations
   (1) speakers' bureau
   (2) speakers' outlines
   (3) films and display materials
e. Action Program
   to be launched with conference in late February or March to be centered around South African's annexation of South West Africa, proposed annexation of British Protectorates, and general fascist oppression of Africans.
   to be developed into national campaign culminating in delegations presenting demands to United Nations, and picketing demonstrations.

33a-4

Proposed Schedule for Pamphlets

Subject	Appeal	Authors	Pub. Date
(1) African Today (Maps, pictures, general information on political, economic, and social conditions in principal territories)	general	Hunton	January 1
(2) Africa and Point Four (Meaning and effect of imperialist policies, and especially Truman's Point Four, on workers in the colonies and in U.S. Support of objective of political independence and U.N. rather than U.S. and program of aid	general and labor	P. Robeson	January 1
(3) Africa's Cultural History (Background and current problems of education and cultural expression)	general and schools	Du Bois and Cowhal	May 1
(4) What Africans Are Saying (Quoting demands for self-government and statements on domestic problems and imperialist policies)	general	Hunton	May 1
(5) Africa and the United Nations	general	?	September 1
(6) Undetermined			September 1

Report on Finances

1. Current monthly operating costs

2. Need for securing substantial contributions earmarked for
   a. Maintenance of Dr. Du Bois' office and secretary
   b. Publication of New Africa
   c. Publication of specific pamphlets

3. Budget for 1950 to be presented at next meeting of Executive Committee

COPY

A3a-4

NEWS RELEASE from

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26 STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-6209

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* — W. E. B. Du BOIS, *Vice Chairman* — ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* — W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE — NOVEMBER 22, 1949

POLICE SHOOT DOWN STRIKING COAL MINERS IN NIGERIA

Between twenty and forty Africans were killed and many more injured, according to Reuters News Agency, when police opened fire on striking miners at the government-operated coal mines at Enugu, Nigeria, West Africa on November 18th.

The striking miners were demanding a daily basic wage of 5 shillings and 10 pence (80¢). The white mine managers sought to import strike-breakers. It is reported that the police started shooting after the wives of strikers had set fire to the managers' houses and attacked the strike-breakers.

The Government's explanation of the shooting is that "the police were surrounded by a large number of miners armed with crowbars, picks, hatchets and spears, who rushed at the police and attempted to disarm them and obtain possession of the explosive stores." The police succeeded in removing the explosives.

The Enugu collieries have been the scene of labor unrest for many years past. In 1945 there was a strike of 3600 miners there as a result of a dispute over the terms of an award made after arbitration. The Public Works Department resorted to mass dismissals of workers, some of whom had as many as twenty-five years of service to their credit. African newspapers have spoken of the pittance wages paid African workers in the coal and tin mines of Nigeria as "appalling" and "wholly inadequate" for maintaing their health and strength.

"The slaughter of African workers at Enugu," says the Council on African Affairs, "is a shocking demonstration of the determination of the colonial rulers to try to crush the growing might of African labor and national consciousness - in which African women have long played a prominent role - especially in the British West African colonies of Nigeria and the Gold Coast. It is upon the cheap labor system of the colonies that the rulers of Britain, France, Belgium, and their creditor, Wall Street, depend for the carrying forward of their Marshall Plan and Point Four schemes for the super-profitable plundering of more of Africa's raw materials."

232-11

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE NOVEMBER 22, 1949

DECISIONS ON EX-ITALIAN COLONIES MAY PROVOKE TROUBLE IN EAST AFRICA, SAYS COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

NEW YORK—The decisions on Libya, Somaliland and Eritrea voted by the United Nations General Assembly on November 21st, with only Ethiopia dissenting and nine countries abstaining (Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, France, New Zealand, Poland, the Soviet Union, Sweden, the Ukraine and Yugoslavia), have by no means finally settled the future of these territories, and the members of the United Nations may soon find that they have stirred up a lot of trouble in East Africa by their decisions, in the opinion of Dr. W. A. Hunton, Secretary of the Council on African Affairs, who was present as an observer at the closing debate and vote on the ex-Italian colonies question.

232-11

The worst and most dangerous feature of the decisions, he said, was the handing back of Italian Somaliland to Italy, even though under U.N. trusteeship and for a limited ten-year period. Somali leaders to the United Nations very bluntly stated that their people would "resist - even at the price of complete extermination - any attempt to reimpose the oppressive and hated Italian rule." Already the Italian government is planning to move a military police force of 16,000 men, including 900 airmen, into Somaliland.

In his final plea to the General Assembly, Mr. Abte-Wold Aklilou, Ethiopian Foreign Minister, said that "in closing their eyes to the principle of self-determination of peoples both in Somaliland and in Eritrea," the United Nations members had "voted for the creation of the most terrible of threats to the security of Ethiopia...Italy would be reinstalled without any condition in the south of Ethiopia while, at the same time, any sort of satisfaction, even provisional, is refused to Ethiopia on its northern frontiers.

"Do not attempt to say to Ethiopia, three times attacked by Italy from these self-same territories; do not say to Ethiopia, which sees in the obstinacy of Count Sforza in insisting upon the return of Italy to Somaliland and also to Eritrea on the pretext of a formula of so-called independence; do not say to Ethiopia, which sees created to the south a terrible threat and which sees the dispatch to Somaliland of a highly trained army division; do not say to Ethiopia, I repeat, that it is wrong in feeling itself threatened."

The delegate of the Soviet Union, Amazasp A. Arutiunian, recalled that Fascists at a demonstration in Rome last May had raised the cry for a reconquest of Ethiopia. He said that the decision to grant Italy trusteeship over Somaliland "cannot but play an evil role in unleashing colonial adventures by Italy," and that "the United States and the United Kingdom are trying to link Italy still more solidly with the aggressive bloc of states set up by the North Atlantic Treaty."

Among other bad features of the General Assembly's action on the ex-Italian colonies, according to the Council's Secretary, was the decision to postpone for still another year the determination of the future of Eritrea, following the send-

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF THE REGULAR MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD
HELD TUESDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1948, 4:00 P.M. AT 23 WEST 26 STREET

Executive Board members present: Paul Robeson - presiding, Dr. Gene Weltfish, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Estelle Osborne, Herbert Aptheker, Charles Collins, and Alphaeus Hunton. Also present were the following Council members: Edith Field, George Marshall, Doxey Wilkerson, Kumar Goshal.

Minutes of the last meeting of October 11, 1948, were read and approved.

The Secretary, Alphaeus Hunton, read communications received from two former Council members, from C. Frederick Taylor, editor of The African Nationalist, Liberia, and from Rabase M. Sekike, Acting President of Lekhotla la Bafo, Basutoland. The contents of the two last-mentioned communications were discussed and appropriate action was recommended.

After outlining the work done by the Council since October 1--promoting the distribution of the pamphlet on South Africa, Seeing is Believing, securing endorsements of the Council's UN Petition on the former Italian colonies, and issuing several releases and New Africa--the Secretary opened the discussion on the program that the Council should undertake, centering around the following five points:

1. Information and Education. Stress was placed on the need for enlisting the cooperation of members and friends of the Council, especially those in the fields of education and journalism, in forwarding to the Council's office information relating to the colonial question in general and Africa in particular, from all possible sources. It was also mentioned that volunteer aid from among qualified advanced students should be sought in analyzing UN document material and in conducting general research work.

The Secretary indicated various ways in which the educational work of the Council could and should be improved, stressing in particular the desirability of planning and publishing a series of popular pamphlets designed to answer the interests and questions of various categories of readers such as trade unionists, teachers, physicians and health workers, secondary school children, etc.

Action taken: General approval was given to the expanded program of information and education as outlined. It was noted that some members had already taken the initiative in forwarding items of information on Africa to the Secretary and others present promised to do likewise. Kumar Goshal was designated Chairman of a committee to draw up plans and a budget for a series of pamphlets to be issued by the Council.

2. Direct Aid Campaign. The Secretary proposed establishment of a broad and representative committee, including individuals who are not members of the Council, which should have the responsibility of directing and promoting a public campaign for financial and other material assistance for the people of Africa. It was pointed out that several appeals for such help have been received by the Council from Africa in recent months. It would be the responsibility of the committee itself to determine allocation of aid, whether for meeting an emergency situation, or for education or health services, or for the promotion of trade union organization, etc. The committee would keep its own separate financial records and would function autonomously for all practical purposes.

Action taken: The establishment of the committee along the lines outlined was

enthusiastically endorsed and authorization was given for initial steps to be taken. It was suggested that Dr. Weltfish and Miss Lena Horne might be asked to serve as co-chairmen of the committee.

3. Developing Direct Contact with the African People and Their Leaders. Parallel with direct aid, the need for direct increased contact between progressive forces in America and in Africa was stressed. Arrangements should be made as soon as possible for the Council's officers to visit various sections of Africa and bring back first-hand reports--this would be of great value in augmenting the prestige and following of the Council. Also of importance, it was pointed out, was arranging for the leaders of organized labor and peoples' movements in Africa to come here and tour the country, speaking directly to the American public. The Board approved these objectives in principle.

4. Membership Drive. It was stated by the Secretary that the practice thus far followed of adding to the membership of the organization only through elections represented a serious obstacle in the path of developing broad popular support of the Council's program. Numerous inquiries were received by the Council asking how one might become a member and, as things stood, no satisfactory answer could be given. The Secretary recommended that membership in the Council be based upon the payment of annual dues, that the Council undertake immediately a drive for several thousand members, and that a qualified person be secured as quickly as possible to join the staff of the Council as organization director.

Action taken: The Board, following a full discussion, ratified the general terms of the proposal and designated a committee composed of Charles Collins, Doxey Wilkerson, Dr. Weltfish, and the Secretary to work out the details of the new membership policy.

5. Public Meetings. It was recommended that a series of six of more public meetings in New York and other major cities be planned during the next 2-month period. These meetings would serve the double purpose of promoting the membership drive and enlisting wide support for the Direct Aid Campaign and for the Council's immediate programmatic objectives: the petition drive on the question of the former Italian Colonies and the fight against fascist racial oppression in South Africa. The recommendation for such a series of meetings was approved by the Board, the Chairman and Vice-chairman, Paul Robeson and Dr. DuBois, both expressing their readiness and desire to participate in the meetings.

A statement on the financial operations of the Council during the period from October 1 (when the offices were reopened and the Secretary formally entered upon his duties) to December 1, 1948, was presented by the Secretary on behalf of the Treasurer, Mrs. Osborne, who was compelled to leave the meeting before this point on the agenda was reached. After reviewing the Council's needs and discussing ways and means of raising funds, in addition to the membership drive and meetings previously referred to, the Board appointed a Finance Committee composed of William Gould, Thomas R. Jones, and the Treasurer, Mrs. Osborne, to assist in dealing with the problems of the Council's income and expenditures.

There being no further business to be discussed, the meeting was adjourned.

* * *

MEMORANDUM

TO: DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

FROM: W. A. HUNTON

DATE: DECEMBER 19, 1949

You will be interested in the attached note from George Murphy. It is my understanding that the National Committee will meet again in February and that it is desired to have the material in hand for a resolution on Africa well in advance of the meeting.

I wondered if you would have time to prepare a brief statement of a page and a half or two, setting forth the main points which should go into such a resolution. I am sure that such a memorandum from you would be most welcome to Mr. Wallace.

Sincerely,

Alphaeus Hunton

WAH:mpm

24-9-28

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26TH STREET • NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK • MURRAY HILL 3-6209

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

LOUISE T. PATTERSON, *Director of Organization*

December 22, 1949

Memo to
Dr. Du Bois
from
Louise Patterson

64-23-2

I have received the following requests which I should like to have your reaction to:

1) Local 65, 13 Astor Place, New York, is planning a Negro History Week program on the evening of Feb. 10 and have asked if you could participate on a fee basis. } in Chicago

2) The Hugh Gordon Bookshop, Los Angeles, has written that they would like to have you speak in Los Angeles at a mass meeting under their sponsorship, if possible, the latter part of January. They want to know the cost and if not the latter part of January, how soon or rather how near that time could you come. } Feb. or After } $250

I heard that you might be going to the Coast and want to know if you would be interested. The Bookshop is the progressive bookshop in the Central Avenue area.

Sincerely,

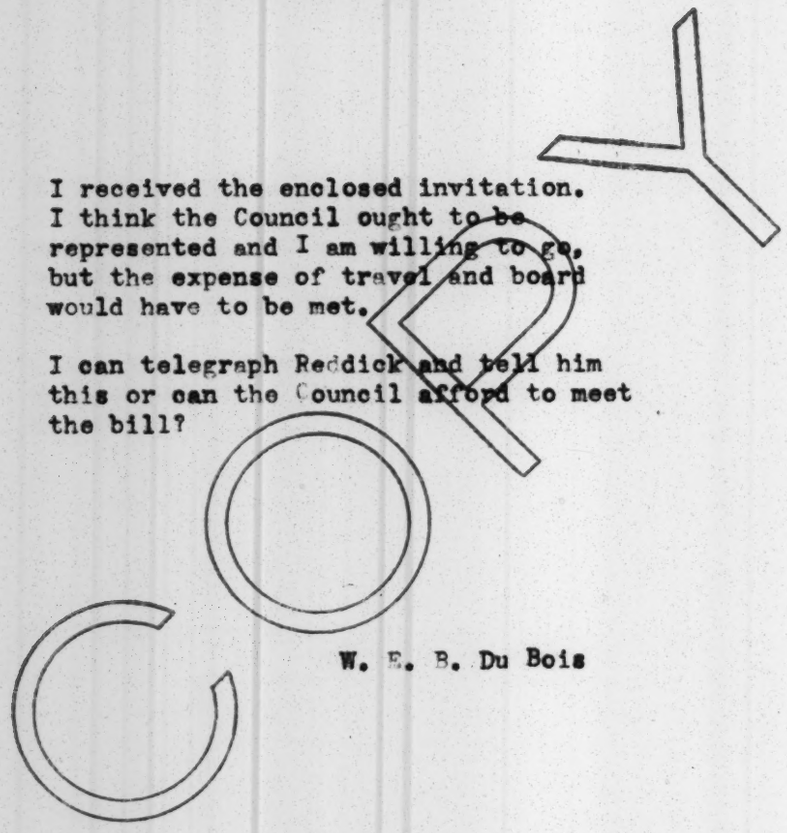
Louise Patterson

MEMORANDUM

TO: DR. HUNTON

FROM: W. E. B. DU BOIS

DATE: DECEMBER 22, 1949



I received the enclosed invitation. I think the Council ought to be represented and I am willing to go, but the expense of travel and board would have to be met.

I can telegraph Reddick and tell him this or can the Council afford to meet the bill?

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-33-21

M E M O R A M D U M

TO: Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

FROM: W. A. Hunton

DATE: December 22, 1949

I am very pleased to know that you have been invited and can go to speak on the program with Azikiwe in Washington on December 27. I assume Dr. Reddick will introduce you as representing the Council.

Our bank account is very low at the moment, down to less than $100, in fact. We can, however, advance you $25 toward expenses of the trip. If you do not think this is adequate, please let me know how much more you would need.

I would like very much for us to be able to sponsor a meeting for Azikiwe in New York. I have not been able to find out how long his stay will be or what his plans are. In the event I cannot reach him on his arrival here Saturday, could you raise this question with him? If there is not time to arrange for the public meeting, or if there are other reasons why it cannot be held, we should at least try to arrange for a reception for him here in the building. Could you see what is possible in this regard when you talk with Dr. Azikiwe?

W A Hunton

WAH:mpm

24-9-29

MEMORANDUM

TO: MRS. LOUISE PATTERSON

FROM: DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

DATE: DECEMBER 30, 1949

SUBJECT: LECTURES

Answering your memorandum of December 22:

1---I am speaking in Chicago, February 8 to 10.

2---I could not undertake a trip to Los Angeles before April. If they would be interested in a date at that time, ask them to write.

WEBD:LM

File copy

New AFRICA

Council on African Affairs

Monthly Bulletin

For the united struggle of all democratic forces against imperialism; for the achievement of freedom, democracy, abundance, and peace by the peoples of Africa and the whole world.

Volume 8, No. 11 December, 1949

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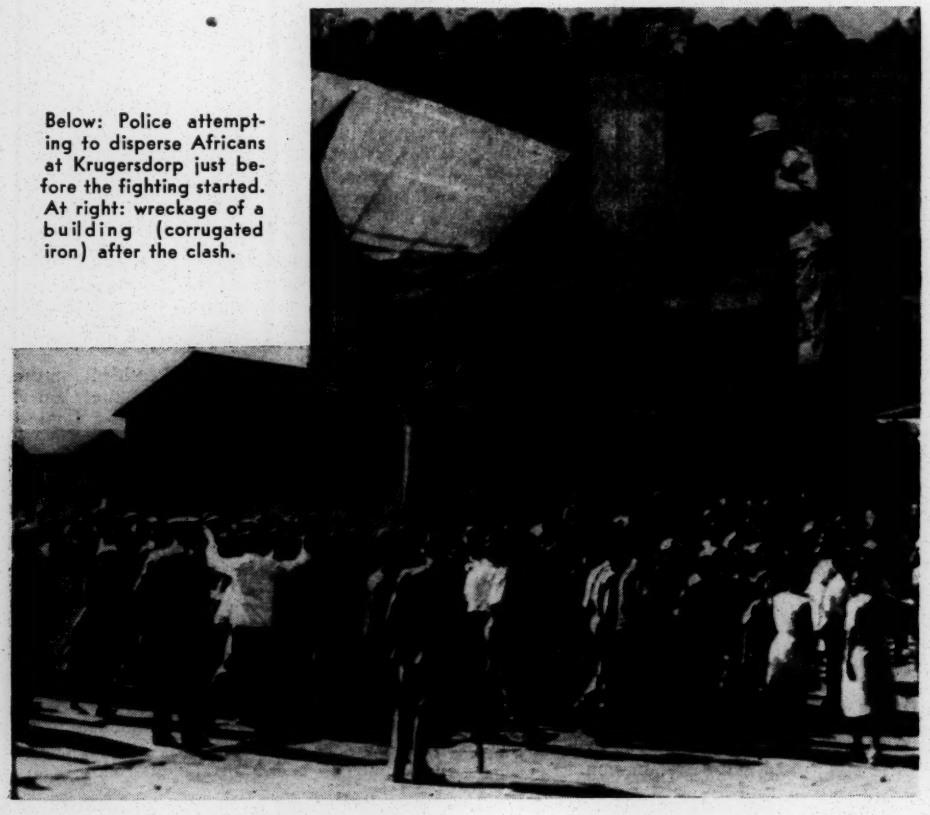
PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

AFRICANS FIGHT POLICE IN THIRD SOUTH AFRICAN CLASH

Another pitched battle between police and Africans in the vicinity of Johannesburg, South Africa, the third of a series of such clashes in recent weeks, occurred at Randfontein on November 11, this time leaving three Africans killed and a number of others injured.

The first fight occurred in Johannesburg's Western Areas during the Bantu strike against the bus fare increase (reported in October *New Africa*), the second at Krugersdorp on November 1 (reported last month; pictures below), and now Randfontein. (*Cont'd on page* 3)



Below: Police attempting to disperse Africans at Krugersdorp just before the fighting started. At right: wreckage of a building (corrugated iron) after the clash.

Enugu Massacre Sets Off Strong United Protest Action

Nigeria, Britain's largest colonial possession, is tense following the shooting down of coal miners on strike at Enugu by police on November 18th.

At Aba, Port Harcourt, and other cities in the vicinity, sympathy strikes and demonstrations occurred. The government responded by ordering wholesale arrests, press censorship and other repressive acts. In Lagos, the capital, a National Emergency Committee was quickly organized, embracing all political and labor organizations in the country regardless of their previous differences, the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons, the Nigerian Youth Movement, the Trades Union Congress of Nigeria, the Nigerian National Federation of Labor, the Supreme Council of Ex-Servicemen, Nigeria Youth Congress, and others.

On November 22, over 5,000 citizens assembled at a mass meeting in Lagos, held under the auspices of the National Emergency Committee. They adopted a resolution which said: "It is now imperative to call a halt to the incessant massacres of citizens demanding civic rights." They declared:

"We, the people of Nigeria, pledge our wholehearted support to the newly formed Emergency Committee. We have no confidence in this Government which resorts to shooting down unarmed workers and citizens. We insist on securing for the victims of the Enugu Colliery the victims of the Enugu Colliery shooting, their families and the Nigerian public, the fullest justice and redress, and on bringing to adequate punishment those who ordered the shooting in the first instance. We will discountenance any inquiry instituted by the Government unless the personnel is manifestly acceptable to the National Emergency Committee. We shall insist that the Government undertake to make a law to outlaw shooting as a means of settling labor problems."

WILL YOU HELP?

Assistance is urgently needed for the families of the slain and injured strike victims shot down by police at Enugu, Nigeria, and for the support of the colliery workers' struggle for a decent living wage.

Contributions sent to Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Chairman, African Aid Committee, 23 West 26th Street, New York City, will be promptly acknowledged and transmitted to Nigeria.

Speak Out for Nigerians!

The Council on African Affairs has called upon American organizations to send messages protesting the Enugu shooting to British officials, and expressions of support to Nigerian labor organizations.

The following message has been sent to Arthur Creech Jones, British Secretary of State for Colonies, London; to Governor Sir John Macpherson, Lagos, Nigeria; and to Sir Oliver Franks, British Ambassador, Washington, D.C.:

The Council on African Affairs most emphatically denounces the colonial tyranny and fascist brutality represented by the action of police in shooting dead between 20 and 40 African workers and wounding many others at the government-operated Enugu coal mines in Nigeria, West Africa, on November 18, the victims being among several thousand mine workers who were on strike for a basic wage of 80c a day.

We condemn with equal abhorrence the further killing, wounding, and terrorization of Africans in Port Harcourt and other cities where spontaneous expressions of support for the mine workers' struggle were answered by government orders imposing virtual martial law, denying freedom of the press, and ordering widespread arrests by police.

We protest also against the further repressive steps being taken by the British government — exemplified by the mission of Sir Percy Sillitoe, Britain's chief secret service man, to East Africa, as reported in the New York *Herald Tribune*, November 30th — to combat the Africans' struggle for freedom and to "tighten up Empire security."

We fully support the demands of African workers in Nigeria and all other British colonies for a decent living wage and the removal of all discriminatory and oppressive labor practices whereby high profits based on low wages are maintained in the colonies for the benefit of foreign exploiters. We demand that maximum punishment be meted out to all those responsible for the outrageous murders at Enugu.

We demand that British government authorities accede to the demands of the Nigerian National Federation of Labor, the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons and other Nigerian organizations for the abolition of economic exploitation and the tyranny of colonial enslavement.

Pledge to Nigerian Workers

To M. A. O. Imodu, President, and Nduka Eze, Secretary-General, Nigerian National Federation of Labor, 25 Princes Street, Lagos, Nigeria; and to J. O. Smith, President, and Ikenna Nzimiro, Secretary, Public Works Department Workers Union of Onitsha:

We Americans, Negro and white, officers and members of the Council on African Affairs, express our deepest indignation at the action of British police in shooting down African mine workers at the Enugu coal mines on November 18.

We have observed the long struggle of our brother workers in Nigeria against exploitation and oppression. We recall the great movement of twenty years ago in protest against the monopoly cheaters, organized by African women, when many of them were slain by British police and troops at Aba, Nigeria. We recall the general boycott in Nigeria and the Gold Coast against the cocoa combine in 1937, and the general strike of Nigerian workers in 1945 for a decent living wage.

We wish you to know that we stand with you in your fight for freedom, human rights and justice, recognizing that we in America cannot wipe out Jim-crowism and unemployment or insure world peace as long as our brothers in Africa are held in slavery and denied democratic rights and self-determination.

BRITISH PROGRESSIVES SHOCKED BY NIGERIAN SHOOTINGS

From London our correspondent, Desmond Buckle, writes that on November 23rd during "question time" in the House of Commons the lobby was thronged by a large number of angry West Africans accompanied by British supporters and sympathizers. They went not only to tell M.P.'s what they thought of the shooting of Nigerian mine workers, but also, if possible, to send a deputation to Mr. Creech Jones, Secretary of State for Colonies, and to tell him: "The murder of our people must stop!"

Mr. Creech Jones, however, found it convenient to be absent. Nonetheless the deputation lodged with Mr. Rees-Williams, Under-Secretary of State for Colonies, five demands for the consideration of his department. Among them were demands that a Commission of Inquiry be appointed consisting of British *working* trade unionists and representatives of the Nigerian Labor Movement, and that police in Nigeria should not in the future be allowed to carry arms.

The Student Labor Federation, representing socialist students in the British universities and technical colleges, has recorded its "horrified protest" against the killing of men on strike for legitimate wage demands, and pledges its support to the Africans and all organizations fighting on their behalf. Indeed, many such protests have been received, including one from the leaders of 200,000 mine workers of Eastern Germany.

However, the new so-called anti-Communist international labor movement, sponsored by British T.U.C. and American C.I.O. leaders, holding its first meeting in London at the time of the Enugu outrage, found it convenient to ignore what was happening to colonial workers in Nigeria.

BRITISH HAVE WORRIES IN EAST AFRICA, TOO

A few days after the riots in Nigeria and while R.A.F. planes stood ready in London to rush more troops to that trouble center, Sir Percy Sillitoe, Britain's chief secret service man, flew to East Africa for the purpose of tightening up "empire security" in Kenya, Tanganyika, and other territories there. He went on from there to South Africa.

Colonial officials were reported worried at the growing anti-European hostility of Africans in this area. Both Uganda and Kenya have had serious disturbances in recent months.

The East African area, Kenya in particular has become known as the "new nerve center of imperial defense" now that the British have had to move out of Palestine and make some concessions in Egypt and India.

Items Worth Noting

LONDON—The formation of a mercenary all-African army was discussed at the recent conference of high British colonial officials and officers. The proposed army, under direction from the London War Ministry, would be an integral part of a proposed Atlantic Pact military force, the core of which would be made up of Germans and other western European pro-fascist elements. The main "expert" on the all-African army at the London meeting was the Deputy High Commissioner for East Africa, Major General Ballentine. Reports indicate there was division of opinion at the London conference as to the wisdom of building an African army in view of the growing African struggle for liberation. South African officials are particularly horrified by such a plan.

* * *

KENYA—The (white) Electors Union of Kenya has issued a statement declaring that "the time has come to demand from His Majesty's Government an unequivocal statement that European leadership is paramount." Their ultimate goal, the statement says, is "a British East African Dominion." There are five million Africans in Kenya, as against 29,500 whites.

* * *

LONDON—British officials have vetoed the projected federation of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland as a step toward a new "Dominion of Capricorn." Sponsored by local colonial officials and business men in these colonies but strongly opposed by Africans, the plan aimed at a federation like that already established in the British East African colonies of Kenya, Tanganyika, and Uganda. The British government's veto is reported motivated by fear that the proposed federation, managed by the white settlers for their own interests, would provoke further unrest and revolt among the six million Africans in the three colonies.

* * *

WASHINGTON—A U.S. Information Office is being established in Accra, Gold Coast, and Lagos, Nigeria, State Department personnel, U.S. medical, military, and air attaches, and numerous technicians are on missions in various parts of Africa from Cairo down to Capetown. Agents of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission arrived in South Africa last month to survey the prospects of getting uranium from South African gold ores, — to add to what the U.S. gets from the Belgian Congo.

* * *

NIGERIA—Nnamdi Azikwe, President of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, has gone to Prague to attend a Conference on Human Rights. He has also been invited to visit Moscow. While in London, Azikwe attended the British Peace Congress and was guest speaker at a "Freedom for Africa" meeting held by the Africa Committee of the British Communist Party and attended by a large audience mainly of Africans.

* * *

MADAGASCAR—Copying South Africa's anti-Indian discrimination, the Governor of this French island colony off the east coast of Africa has been invested with arbitrary powers to deport 15,000 Indian settlers at short notice. Two years ago an independence revolt in Madagascar was suppressed — after 80,000 black patriots had been slaughtered.

U. N. HEARS REV. SCOTT'S PLEA: ASKS WORLD COURT ABOUT S. W. AFRICA

What a New York newspaper described as "a miracle" took place at Lake Success on November 26 when Reverend Michael Scott, after three years of persistent efforts, was finally permitted to come before a U.N. committee, bringing the requests of the Herero and other African peoples of South West Africa that their chiefs be granted a hearing before the U.N., that the lands taken away from them be returned, and that Southwest Africa be brought under the U.N. trusteeship system.

Mr. Scott reviewed the long history of suffering experienced by these Africans from the time when their population was all but exterminated under German rule, prior to World War I, down to the present period of oppression under South African administration. He pointed out that the South African government had been guilty of sending bombing planes against these defenseless pastoral people in order to deprive them of their lands.

Rev. Michael Scott

He quoted Africans as saying, "We are really living under slave conditions in this country. We detest the Pass Law and also the Masters and Servants Act, because such laws are only intended to keep the Africans in permanent slavery."

He emphasized the urgency for U.N. action in defense of these oppressed people to prevent racial conflicts from growing and spreading to other sections of Africa and to prevent the South African government from accomplishing the annexation of Southwest Africa as provided for in the Southwest Africa Act adopted this year.

When Rev. Scott ended his hour and a half statement, no one asked questions. There was an embarrassed silence until the Haitian delegate, Stephen Alexis, spoke out: "Now I understand why they did not want to allow that man to speak . . . These South African whites still believe in maintaining a race of masters and a race of slaves . . . Are they human? . . . Their behavior reminds me of the slave dealers who oppressed my people in the 18th century . . . but my ancestors awoke and swept them away, and I realize that our race is eternal!"

The General Assembly for the fourth time called on South Africa to bring the former mandate territory of South West Africa under trusteeship (the United States was one of those voting "no"), requested the Union government to continue to provide annual reports on its administration of the territory (it announced last July that it would no longer do so), and asked the International Court of Justice to give an advisory ruling by the time of the next General Assembly meeting as to whether South West Africa comes under the sovereignty of the United Nations, South Africa, or some third party.

Does it require a court decision to determine that the sovereignty of South West Africa is vested in no one except the 300,000 Africans of that territory?

"A Certain Eminent Singer"

In a vain effort to stem the majority demand for Reverend Michael Scott to be heard, the British delegate, Sir Terrence Shone, argued that granting permission for the spokesman of the Southwest Africans to speak to the U.N. delegates would establish "an awkward, if not dangerous, precedent." And turning to the U.S. delegation, he warned them that they could even face the possibility of seeing "a certain eminent singer who has lately been in the news" spread his complaints before a U.N. committee.

If the U.S. delegation was not influenced by this reference to Paul Robeson, it nevertheless joined the side of Britain, attempting to limit the "hearing" of Reverend Scott to written testimony. When this failed, the U.S. joined Britain, France, South Africa and eleven other countries in voting against the proposal to permit the Anglican clergyman to speak to them. But there were twenty-five other countries in favor of hearing Reverend Scott and their stand for democratic procedure and human rights prevailed.

AFRICANS FIGHT POLICE (cont'd)

Under the Malan administration police raids and arrests in South Africa's black ghettos have been intensified. The victims of the "white supremacy" government's unceasing harassment have been pushed to the limit of their endurance. At Randfontein as at Krugersdorp they beat back three successive police charges. Then the police used their guns instead of their clubs; the Africans, of course, had no guns.

The funeral service for those slain at Randfontein was attended by nearly a thousand people. Said Dr. A. B. Xuma, president of the African National Congress, "We know that these men who lie here did not die in vain, but died for the freedom of their people."

TRAIN DISASTER TURNS SPOTLIGHT ON PORTUGUESE SLAVE LABOR

Sixty people were killed and 104 seriously injured when a train carrying Mozambique Africans home from working in South African gold mines plunged from a bridge in eastern Transvaal last month. Mozambique on the east coast is one of Portugal's two major African colonies; Angola in the west is the other.

Twice a week trains with as many as 700 of these migrant workers round the dangerous bridge on the curve of the Elans River, where the tragedy occurred, bound to or from Mozambique. Last year 76,800 Africans were sent from their villages in the Portuguese colonies to work in the gold and coal mines of the Transvaal.

Portugal's export of Africans to the South African mines is a very profitable enterprise and has been going on since the last century. Under an agreement signed between the two governments, Portugal gets the registration fee, recruiters' fee, and passport payment of about $2 for each worker sent to the Union mines. In addition, the agreement provides that these workers may receive only half of their wages in South Africa, the other half being held until their return to the Portuguese colony to make sure that they can pay their taxes and provide for their other needs when they get home. At least one-fifth of Mozambique's ordinary revenue comes from taxes paid by Africans and another one-eighth is income from these migrant workers.

Portugal has never joined the International Labor Organization or ratified any convention against forced or slave labor. A. T. Steele, New York *Herald-Tribune* correspondent, reported (February 15, 1948): "Few colonies in Africa have a worse record of forced labor than Portuguese Angola." Conditions in the East African colony, Mozambique, are the same if not worse.

Although a fascist state like Spain, Portugal is a member of the North Atlantic Pact, organized to "defend the freedom of the western world." But neither is a member of the United Nations. When the U.N. was organized in 1945, the Council on African Affairs urged that the colonies of Spain and Portugal nevertheless be brought under the jurisdiction of the world organization. What on earth can be the justification for the continued exemption of these colonies from United Nations supervision?

U. N. BREEDS STRIFE BY RETURNING SOMALILAND TO ITALIAN CONTROL

The British cruiser *Birmingham* arrived off the port of Mogadishu, Italian Somaliland, recently and has remained stationed there. The Italian government is planning to move a military police force of 16,000 men including 900 airmen into Somaliland as soon as possible. From these and other developments it is clear that the British and Italian governments are taking the Somali people at their word when they declare that they would rather face "complete extermination" than submit to the return of "the oppressive and hated Italian rule." And the Somalis have millions of African sympathizers.

Nevertheless, on November 21 the members of the United Nations, with only Ethiopia dissenting and nine other countries abstaining (Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, France, New Zealand, Poland, the Soviet Union, Sweden, the Ukraine, and Yugoslavia), closed their eyes to the grave consequences of their decisions, turned a deaf ear to the fervent appeals of the Ethiopian and Somali representatives and their supporters, and voted to return former Italian Somaliland to Italy's control under U.N. trusteeship for ten years. After that, if they survive, the Somali people are to get their independence.

The General Assembly also voted that Libya should become independent within two years, a U.N. Commissioner and a ten-member International Council in the meantime being charged with "helping" to establish the new government. The majority of the Assembly, led by Britain and the United States, defeated proposals to limit the waiting period to one year instead of two, to secure immediate withdrawal of foreign military forces and bases in Libya, and to place Czechoslovakia on the International Advisory Council (the Soviet Union and the eastern European democracies were all barred from participation in this and all other special agencies having to do with the future of Libya, Eritrea, and Somaliland).

Eritrea stays on the agenda of unfinished business. It remains under British occupation pending the report of a U.N. Commission to be brought back to the next Assembly session. The selection of South Africa(!), along with Burma, Guatemala, Norway, and Pakistan, to serve on the commission to visit Eritrea and ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants is perhaps no more unreasonable and surprising than other features of the General Assembly's decisions on this whole question of the ex-Italian colonies.

Don't You Know Three Friends
who would like to
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with a
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23 West 26th Street, New York 10, N. Y.

COLONIAL POWERS DEFY U. N. AS SUPERVISION IS EXTENDED

Each session of the U.N. General Assembly finds the imperialist powers more and more hard-pressed to defend their colonial regimes and to prevent the Trusteeship Council and the United Nations from assuming a larger measure of responsibility toward fulfilment of the Charter's provisions concerning safeguarding the welfare of colonial peoples and their advancement toward independence.

At the Assembly meeting just closed the representatives of Britain, France, and Belgium, finding it impossible to secure the defeat of certain recommendations, openly declared their intention of defying them. They were successful, however, with the support of the U.S. delegation, in blocking two of the most useful and far-reaching proposals.

One of these was the recommendation that governments holding trust territories should, within one year, submit concrete and detailed plans as to how and when the colonial peoples under their jurisdiction in the trust territories of Africa and the Pacific, numbering 15 million all together, are to achieve independence.

When this resolution came before the Plenary Session it failed to secure the necessary two-thirds majority of the Assembly, the vote being 29 for, 21 against, 7 abstentions.

The second key proposal defeated in the Assembly by a margin of only one vote (29 for, 15 against, including the U.S., and 8 abstentions), although approved in committee by an overwhelming majority of 38 to 9, had to do with trust territories which have in effect been annexed to adjoining colonies.

Colonial Mergers Under Fire

If the measure had passed, the Trusteeship Council would have won the right to investigate and report on conditions in the colonies (Gold Coast, Nigeria, Kenya, Uganda, French Equatorial Africa, and the Belgian Congo) with which the trust territories have been merged, unless "clear and precise separate financial, statistical and other data" relating to the trust territories themselves were furnished to the U.N. This was the most important of several U.N. proposals designed to block and discourage the tendency toward outright annexation of trust territories.

Measures approved relating to trust territories called upon the administering authorities to provide annual reports concerning measures taken to advance self-government in these territories (passed unanimously, but Britain and Belgium abstained); recommended that the flag of the United Nations be flown side-by-side with national flags in the trust areas (Britain's delegate declared that his country would not obey this recommendation because it "would make for divided loyalty"); and recommended adoption of "strong and effective measures to abolish immediately the corporal punishment of whipping" where still practiced (Britain cast the lone negative vote).

The Assembly also recommended that the inhabitants of trust territories be given a greater share in the profits and management of colonial resources, enterprises, and trade (only Britain voted no); better provision for bringing petitions and grievances before the Trusteeship Council; protection from child marriages and discriminatory laws, and improved educational facilities including special instruction in the U.N. and its trusteeship system.

200 Million Colonial People

Regarding the 200,000,000 inhabitants of other non-trust colonies the U.N. adopted ten resolutions. It extended for three years the special committee to examine reports of colonial powers concerning their colonies and urged the colonial powers to include information on political status in their reports.

Britain, France, and Belgium bitterly opposed the requirement of political information and announced their refusal to provide it. The U.S., although at present voluntarily reporting political progress in its colonies, also voted against this requirement.

Resolutions were also adopted providing for coordinated programs to reduce illiteracy in the colonies, to foster the use of native languages, to secure non-discrimination and better facilities in education for the indigenous people, and to intensify the work carried on in colonial areas by agencies having to do with economic development, soil erosion, health, labor, social welfare, and housing.

WEST INDIAN FEDERATION FOR WHOSE BENEFIT?

The Conference of Governors of the British West Indies held at Bridgetown, Barbados, last month was mainly preoccupied with the subject of hard times in the islands.

On the agenda, however, was the long-awaited report of the Closer Association Committee, product of two years' work outlining the plan for federation of Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad, British Honduras, and the Leeward and Windward Islands — British Guiana so far is not included.

The report, not yet publicly released, is said to provide for internal self-government but retains control of defense, foreign affairs and finance in the hands of the British. Lord Wistowel, Minister of Colonies, speaks of "eventual dominion status" for the West Indies.

One appraisal of the federation scheme by Richard B. Moore, Secretary of the United American Caribbean Council, makes the logical observation that "There can be no such thing as federation without complete self-government. Unless sovereignty of the Carribbean people is recognized by the British government, it is not a plan of federation but a plan of bringing together the colonies so that they may more directly be governed."

Dear Dr. Du Bois —

I turn this letter over to you for reply as you may see fit.

The library on the first floor is open from 10 A M to 4:30 P M except Sat + Sunday. I would suggest that if permission is granted to use your library, the persons report to your office to get the materials, use them in the library downstairs, and return them to your office before leaving the building.

I suggest this in order (1) to avoid congestion in your office and (2) to prevent strangers from being there on occasions when no one else is present.

W A. Hunton

24-23-1

↓ or Hunton

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26 STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-7622

Dear Dr. DuBois –

I think that if responses are not received today it would be well if you could telephone or write a brief note to:

Rabbi Wise

Henry A. Wallace

Rev. Guy Emery Shipler

I am writing a note today on behalf of Paul to Mr. Wallace re Mrs Blaine but will not mention the Aid Comm. If you are in touch with him it would be good to discuss Mrs Blaine's possible support of the long-range program of the Council – assuming the short-range support is secured.

W. A. H.

24-23-5

(INCOMPLETE)

23-41-43

I know that you recognize the urgent need for mass distribution of pamphlets like the enclosed in order to inform the American people as to the key importance of Africa and the African people in today's world -- in the global struggle of the forces of peace and freedom against the forces of war and slavery.

If the Council on African Affairs cannot carry on this educational job, who in the United States will? Must the American people know about Africa only what the supporters and apologists of imperialism -- or "colonial development" as it is now sometimes called -- want them to know?

The Council has materials for two vitally important pamphlets on Africa, one of them by Paul Robeson, the Council's Chairman, ready in manuscript and waiting to go to the printer. Other pamphlets, one by myself, are in preparation as part of an expanded educational program planned for 1950. But the organization cannot print anything, cannot function in any way, without some immediate financial assistance.

You are probably among those who have responded loyally again and again to the Council's appeals in the past. The difficulty is that this circle of supporters has been and remains too small, too limited in radius. The Council must and intends to reach out and carry its information and program to many new thousands. This will give new importance to its work at the same time that it widens the base of support.

In the meantime, however, it is necessary to rely on some of the Council's old friends to help the organization out of its desperate plight <u>right now</u>. And so this letter goes to you and about twenty others. One hundred dollars now - or pledged in the near future - from each recipient will enable the Council to rush its new pamphlets to press and get on with other work. The alternative? There isn't any.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

P.S. Checks may be made out to me or to the Council on African Affairs.

23-41-44

Miss Louise Burman, 50 West 11th Street, New York, N. Y.

Mr. John Hammond, Jr., 86McDougall St., New York, N. Y.

Mr. T. O. Thackrey, 300 Central Park West, New York, N. Y.

Mr. Reuben Gordon, 1282 Union St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dr. R. C. Hunt, 167 W. 145th St., New York, N. Y.

Mr. John T. LaTouche, 49 Park Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

Dr. Cecil Marquez, 457 W. 143rd St. , New York, N. Y.

Mrs. John F. Moors, 150 Fisher Ave., Brookline, Mass.

Hon. J. Finley Wilson, 1813 Vernon St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

Dr. Phillips Brooks, 649 St. Marks Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dr. Morris Levine, 1165 E. 24th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr; Simon Federman, 6250 Ocean Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dr. Harry Parmet, 1862 E. 14th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dr. Stanford Roman, 2163 Eighth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Dr. Maurice Savaine, 2170 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.

Dr. Emily Pearson, 107 Main St., Cromwell, Conn.

Mr. Bernard Reswick, 145 Columbia Heights, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mrs. Harry Ragozin, 305 Riverside Drive, Apt. 8B, New York, N. Y.

Mr. Charles Chaplin, 1085 Summit Drive, Beverly Hills, Calif.

Mr. Clifford Odets, Oliver CromwellHotel, 12 W. 72nd St., New York, N. Y.

Mr. Dan Gilmore,

Mr. Alfred Stern, 115 Central Park West, New York, N. Y.

Judge Hubert T. Delany, 617 W. 145th St., New York, N. Y.

Mrs. Elinor S. Gimbel, 163 E. 78th St., New York, N. Y.

Mr. Albert Maltz, 6526 Lindenhurst Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.

Dr. Charles A. Petioni, 114 W. 131st St., New York, N. Y.

Mr. Alex Munsell, 217 W. 18th St., P.O. Box 85, New York 11, N. Y.

Mr. Max Steinberg, 22 East 17th St., New York, N. Y.

Mr. Josiah W. Gitt, 31 E. King St., York, Penna.

23-41-45

Mr. Alfred Bloch, 358 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.

Mr. Paul J. Kern, 140 E. 92nd St., New York, N. Y

Mr. Donald Ogden Stewart, 8 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.

Hunton or Council on African Affairs [Council on African Affairs]

INFORMATION ON R. E. G. ARMATTOE

He is a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries--Scotland

Educated in England and France

Sometime member of French Civil Service

Resident in French West Africa

Member of the Lomeshie Research Center for Anthropology and Race biology Londonerry , North Ireland

Author of Swiss Contribution to Western Civilization with a forward by Julian Huxley

Author of "The Golden Age of West African Civilization" with a forward by the Nobel Prize winner--Professor --Dr. E. Schroedinger

29-23-12

Dear Miss Wood:

This is all that I could find on Mr. Armattoe. I hope it will be of some use to you.

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

23-11-27

[CRAWFORD]

Crawford or 409

Dear cousin William:

Just a line to acknowledge your notice of change of business address. I do hope that you will be very happy, successful and prosperous there.

Please plan to come to dinner on, or near your birthday. Come

anytime it is convenient for you. Practically any day, except Sat afternoon, will be alright with us. Fred gets home about four & when I'm working I'm home by 5.30

I am house bound for awhile. I was hurt in a bus enroute to Boston Jan. 16th. & will probably be unable to get out for some time yet. I'm getting along alright thank God.

Lots of love and best wishes Alice

[CROCKETT]

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 25, 1949

Attorney George W. Crockett, Jr.
3220 Barlum Tower
Detroit 26, Michigan

My dear Mr. Crockett:

I have thought over carefully your proposal that I appear as a witness in your case, and talked to friends. I regret to say that I do not see that my testimony on the presence of Negroes in Harlem would be of importance. There are ten thousand other persons who could give the same testimony.. I have great appreciation of what you are doing and am sorry not to be able to co-operate with you in this instance.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lr

OFFICE OF DEFENSE COUNSEL

ROOM 1602
401 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 13, N. Y.

WALKER 5-2010

March 4, 1949

23-11-28

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Your letter of February 25th was sent to my Detroit office and was received by me only a day or two ago.

I appreciate your position with reference to my request.

My congratulations to you upon the excellence of your address to the Guild Convention which I heard with considerable interest.

Cordially,

George W. Crockett, Jr.

GWC:jg

Copy for Info

Conover - Kronshage
University of Wisconsin
Madison 6, Wisconsin
May 18, 1949

Dr. W.E. Burghardt DuBois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore 14, Maryland

Dear Dr. DuBois:

23-7-30

In conjunction with my graduate work in history here at the University of Wisconsin, I am doing a study of Marcus Garvey and his remarkable Back-to-Africa movement. As you are doubtless aware, the problem of research is complicated by the fact that much of the Garvey material is no longer extant. Even the files of his newspaper, the Negro World, are scattered and incomplete. It is fortunate, however, that many persons who knew Garvey or who followed his rise and fall are still able to give their impressions of him and his philosophy.

I am writing to ask your help in answering some of the questions that have arisen in connection with my work. One of the most interesting aspects of Garveyism was the attempt to create a Negro religion through the worship of a God reflecting the Negro's physical characteristics. The concept of a black God was not new with Garvey; nor was it inconsistent with his nationalism. I find it difficult, however, to explain the opposition to this idea on the part of the bulk of the Negro clergy, particularly in the South. Did the clergy fear a loss of power if they supported Garvey or were they fearful of losing white support? Was their opposition conditioned by a general distrust of Garvey and his autocratic methods? How successful was Garvey in the spread of his racial religion in the North and the South?

I would be interested in your comments as to Garvey's influence, if any, on the Negro Renaissance of the 1920's. Did his efforts to provoke a race consciousness among the masses help to stimulate the artistic and literary efforts of the period? How extensive was his influence during the twenties and in what way has he affected the Negro leadership of today?

I shall appreciate your comments on these questions and you may be sure that any other suggestions or reflections you have on any aspect of Garveyism will be most welcome.

Yours sincerely,

Edmund D. Cronon

Edmund D. Cronon

October 28, 1949

Mr. Edmund D. Cronon
Conover--Kronshage
University of Wisconsin
Madison 6, Wisconsin

23-2-31

My dear Sir:

Your letter of May 18, has been unanswered because I have been out of the country several times for considerable periods.

I think that you are over-estimating the Garvey Movement. It was interesting as the attempted revolt of a peasantry against oppression and an attempt to use commercial enterprise as the way out. Everything else was incidental and unimportant. The mention of a black God, for instance was of no particular significance nor have I ever heard of any opposition to it on the part of Negroes; except of course that the more intelligent Negroes regarded all this as unimportant fanfare.

You will find in the files of the CRISIS Magazine, four articles which state my attitude toward Garvey and my estimate of his work. The CRISIS will probably be found on file either in your library or in the public library of Chicago.

Garvey had no influence on the so-called Negro Renaissance of the twenties so far as I know, nor did he stimulate in any way the artistic and literary efforts of the period.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

23-7-29

340 Eleventh Street S.E.
Washington 3, D.C.
November 16, 1949

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I wish to thank you very much for your letter of October 28, 1949, in reply to my earlier query about the significance of Marcus Garvey and his movement.

It is my intention eventually to publish a study of Garvey and his work and I appreciate your interest and comments. If you have any further thought on the subject I shall welcome it, as well as any suggestions for my work.

I shall be in Washington most of this year doing research work at the Library of Congress and it is my hope that I may be able to come to New York at some time in the future to explore further the wealth of material on Garvey that exists there. I shall eagerly welcome the opportunity of talking with you on the subject at that time, if at all possible.

Again I thank you for your interest.

Yours most sincerely,

Edmund D. Cronon

Edmund D. Cronon

Walter Falder

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PAUL DRAPER
W. E. B. DU BOIS
BARROWS DUNHAM
ARNAUD D'USSEAU

(over)

Dear Dr. DuBois:

You will remember that when I discussed the program of the Conference with you in your office recently, I spoke about the paper to be given in the Plenary Session of the "Independence Movements in Africa". We were hopeful at that time that someone might be coming from Africa or that an African residing in England might be attending the Conference and would speak on this subject. Unfortunately to date we have not had any acceptances from the people we invited.

I know you must be as disappointed as we are not to have at least ~~some~~ one nation in Africa represented at the Conference. But certainly, the independence movements in Africa must be treated in our full plenary session. Therefore, I am asking you if you will do it at this session which takes place at the Waldorf Astoria Ballroom, Sunday afternoon, March 27, 1:30 - 5:30 P.M. Although this is late notice I know you will understand. I might as well confess right now that I should be dreadfully disappointed if for some reason you cannot do it, for there is no one in the United States who can speak on this subject with your authority and tremendous background of knowledge.

24-9-14

It is with considerable embarrassment, knowing the scope of the field, that I must add that the paper, because we are so pressed for time in this session, must be limited to 10 minutes. This is asking the impossible, I know.

I shall call you at your office tomorrow for your answer, which I hope will be "yes".

Sincerely,

Maxine Wood

MW:rl

Maxine Wood
Director

I will talk 10 minutes March 27 on independence movements in Africa

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Ira Wolfert
Maxine Wood
William Wyler
Dr. Edward L. Young

(list incomplete)

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 11, 1949

Miss Maxine Wood, Director
Cultural and Scientific Conference
for World Peace
49 West 44th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Miss Wood:

Answering your letter of March 9, may I say that I will talk ten minutes, March 27, on Independence Movements in Africa.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-6-15

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 31, 1949

Mrs. Mabel Byrd Curtis
4459 Enright Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri

My dear Mabel:

You will perhaps have heard of the tremendous meetings that we have had here in New York, under the auspices of the Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions for World Peace. A number of the Delegates are going to make a trip over the country and hold rallies for Peace. Among the places they are going to visit is St. Louis and I have written saying that perhaps they might find some difficulty there in hotel accommodations for Dr. Raphel Armattoe who at my invitation came to the New York Conference.

23-11-19

He is a black West African, born on the Gold Coast, educated in France, Germany and England and resident in North Ireland, his wife is a blond Swiss woman. He is a man of perfect manners and speaks the best of English. If he finds any difficulty in accommodations in St. Louis, I am writing to ask if you will take care of him or see that he is taken care of, and also let him meet the best people of Colored St. Louis.

I know you will do anything you can.

My best regards to your husband and the children.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

P.S. Since writing this I have heard that the State Department cancelled the visas so that the Foreign guests cannot travel. So forget the above----but note the good effort.

Russian peace Congress

[CZECHOSLOVAKIA — MINISTRY OF INFORMATION]

23-40-53

September 21, 1949

Dr. Vaclav Navratil
Ministry of Information
Treiste 9
Prague, Czechoslovakia

My dear Mr. Navratil:

I reached New York, September 16, at noon, and I hasten to tell you how much I enjoyed my stay in Prague.

I want to thank you for your hospitality and care. It was a great opportunity and I deeply appreciate it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[CZECHOSLOVAKIA]

Czech a

October 7, 1949

The Counsel General of
Czechoslovakia
6 East 67th Street
New York, New York

Sir:

In a recent visit to Prague, I was the recipient of many courtesies from Dr. Navratil, of the Ministry of Information and particularly from Miss Ruzena Mrstikovia, who acted as interpretator and guide.

As an expression of my gratitude I should like to send her the following articles:

Two pounds of coffee
Two pounds of tea
Two pounds of chocolate
Six pairs of nylon stockings

I write to ask if such a package could be sent to Czechoslovakia and if there are any rules which should be observed.

I should be glad of any information which you can give me.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-52-14

Mrs. Fields

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 9, 1949

Mr. W. P. Dabney
Dabney Publishing Company
238 East Fourth Street
Cincinnati, Ohio

My dear Dabney:

Sunday I was in Cleveland and met Wilda Gunn. We had a little meeting together with some friends and tried to get you on the phone; but it was too late. You had evidently gone to bed. I am going to get to Cincinnati sometime this Spring, and I will look you up. I have been planning to do this for a long time.

I hope this will find you very well.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-52-13

1949

MEMO

Date 3/14

to Sir Du Bois

from the desk of WENDELL P. DABNEY

"Most patent grave and reverend
Seigniors" - The arrival of my mail
one morn last week, convinced me
that, "God still performs miracles."
Your letter brought resurrection
of the golden past.
Engendered by a friendship,
That should ever last.

I a Virginian bred and born,
With ambitions ever soaring,
Hopes never forlorn.
You a New Englander,
Rich in learning and lore
With succeeding years,
ever adding to that Store.

Best wishes Dabney

P.S. Sorry you & Wilda could not reach me,
Kindly let me know in advance when
you contemplate coming here.

IDEAL IN LAW PRINTING
THE SCHAEFER PRINTING CO.
DELAWARE 7171

Date January 21 '49

MEMO to Dr. W. E. Pilkington

from the desk of **WENDELL P. DABNEY**

23-52-9

Dear Doctor -

You can use my name as a sponsor in that great African Charitable Enterprise. However I shall not be able to render much personal service apart from some publication as I am now nearly 84 - working 12 hours a day on my "one man newspaper" - no help. Best wishes day may the Lord, but not walter ettitis bless you. Yastly

Wendell P. Dabney

FORMS IN LAW PRINTING
THE SCHEFFER PRINTING CO.
DELAWARE 7171

August 18, 1949

Mr. Wendell P. Dabney
238 East 4th Street
Cincinnati, Ohio

My dear Dabney:

Enclosed is an invitation which I have received. Consequently I am flying for Russia on Saturday.

Cheerio!

W. E. B. Du Bois

23-52-16

WEBD:lm

23-52-12

Dabney Publishing Company
AND.
Office of The Union
Phone Main 5168
238 EAST FOURTH STREET
Cincinnati, Ohio

African Aid Com — Aug 18, 49

Have received copy of the Du Bois speech before House Com. on foreign relations — Aug. 8, 49. A splendid exposition of racial national affairs. It is too long however for reproduction in my publication. It should be put in pamphlet form for general distribution. Yours very truly

W. F. Dabney

P.S. Expect to publish an excerpt of it.

[DABNEY COMMITTEE]

You are cordially invited to attend a

Testimonial Dinner

and

Birthday Party

on the eighty-fourth anniversary of
the birth of

Wendell Phillips Dabney

Thursday evening, November third,
nineteen hundred and forty-nine
eight o'clock
Manse Hotel Ballroom

Informal

R. S. V. P. card enclosed

230-58

Wendell Phillips Dabney Testimonial Committee

Mr. John H. Allen
Mrs. Charles Andrews
Mr. Garland Andrews
Mr. William Bates
Mr. Herschel Bayless
Mrs. Vivian Beamon
Mr. Theodore M. Berry
Mr. Lewis Biggers
Mr. Edward A. Billups
Mr. Owen K. Blythe
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Dr. Ray E. Clarke
Mr. Luke Craig
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Rev. B. B. Evans
Mr. Morton Francis
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Mr. Harry Trotter
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Mr. Willis C. Weatherly
Mr. Willard S. Whitley
Mr. James T. Whitney
Capt. Jay W. Wilkins
Mr. Harry S. Williams, Jr.
Rev. W. H. Williams
Mr. Bartow Wilson
Mr. Charles H. Woode
Mr. John W. Wrenn, Jr.
Rev. Wallace M. Wright
Mr. Major Zeigler

[DABNEY COMMITTEE...]

October 28, 1949

28-52-7

The Wendell Phillips Dabney
Testimonial Committee
Manse Hotel
1004 Chapel Street
Cincinnati 6, Ohio

Gentlemen:

I wish very much that I could be present on Dabney's birthday and I have toyed with the idea, but as the date comes nearer, it seems more and more impossible for me to leave my work and engagements.

You will, I am sure, express to him and his friends my very great pleasure at being invited and my appreciation of the fine character of the man, his humor, his honesty and his ability to keep living and working in an all too difficult world. Give him my wishes for many happy returns of the day.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

July 11, 1949

The Daily Compass
164 Duane Street
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Enclosed is my check for one dollar.

For which will you please send me 10 copies

of The Sunday Compass of July 10, 1949.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

The Worker

25th Anniversary of the Daily Worker

50 EAST 13th STREET • New York 3, N. Y.

ALgonquin 4-7954

23-41-1

July 7, 1949

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26 Street
New York City

Dear Doctor DuBois:

In view of the current plans of the United States Government and the leaders of U.S. finance capital to exploit Africa as an economic and strategic reserve for world imperialism, the editors of The Worker desire to offer our readers as much pertinent information concerning Africa as is possible.

Accordingly, we have a project of a number of articles to begin this program. The list, together with the name of the proposed writer, is as follows:

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois:-General Survey of the Significance of Africa in World Affairs.
Dr. Alphaeus Hunton:Economic and Strategic Policies of the Imperialist Powers in Africa.
Mr. Desmond Buckle:Political and Labor Movements of the African People -- in Kenya, Tanganyika and the Rhodesias.
Mr. Gabriel d'Arboussier: The RDA Movement in French Africa
Mrs. Essie Goode Robeson: Struggle of the People of the Belgian Congo.
C. Frederick Taylor:U.S. Imperialism in Liberia.
Mr. M. Kotane:-----Struggle of the African Peoples of the Union of South Africa.
Mr. K. Nkrumah:----The African Liberation Movement in British West Africa.
Mr. Art Shields:---U.S. Capital Invades Africa.

Could we have your cooperation in this project?

If you are able to do the article suggested above, we would like to have it by August 10. The maximum wordage should be 1200.

In addition, we would appreciate any suggestion for additional articles and writers who might be willing do them for us. You will

The Worker

25th Anniversary of the Daily Worker

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23-41-2

notice that several aspects -- regional as well as topical-- have been omitted. We were unable to think of anyone we could ask to discuss them. For instance, Ethiopia; Madagascar; the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Egypt.

Hoping you are able to help us, and that we can expect your contribution, I am

Sincerely yours,

John Pittman

John Pittman
For the Editorial Board

JP:br
ang/cio/nyc

[DAILY WORKER]

August 5, 1949

23-41-3

Mr. John Pittman
Editorial Board
The Worker
50 East 13th Street
New York 3, New York

My dear Mr. Pittman:

I am very sorry to have delayed so long in answering your letter. It was due to my long absence in Paris and the consequent piling up of correspondance.

I regret to say that I cannot promise any articles I am writing a book and must put every moment into it. I am sorry.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

November 14, 1949

The Editor
DAILY WORKER
50 East 13th Street
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

Have y u mentioned in your paper the incident of Edith S. Sampson? She was one of the speakers who went around the world with Town Meetion on the Air and talked on the Negro in India and elsewhere. On returning, at a dinner scheduled in Washington, (I believe it was the Carlton Hotel,) the hotel refused to serve her and the dinner had to be moved elsewhere.

23-2-7

If you have published anything on the matter, will you please send me a copy with bill? I shall be much obliged.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Newspaper

Daily Worker

25 Years of Service to the Working Class

50 EAST 13th STREET • New York 3, N. Y.

ALgonquin 4-7954

November 16, 1949

23-1-42

Mr. W. E. B.Du Bois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Thank you for your letter of November 14th.

In our October 20th edition, we ran a small item about Mrs. Edith Sampson's being refused service by the Carlton Hotel in Washington. We are mailing you copies of that issue under separate cover and also our issue of Sept. 16th which contained a column by Bob Lauter which deals with one of Mrs. Sampson's speeches in New Delhi and in which you may be interested.

Sincerely yours,

Tracy Hartwell

Tracy Hartwell
Editorial Office

ang/cio-ny

Letters of Appreciation

THE DALTON SCHOOLS
108-114 EAST 89TH STREET
NEW YORK 28, N. Y.

SACRAMENTO 2-5160

CHARLOTTE ANNE DURHAM
HEADMISTRESS

December 21, 1949

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I want to thank you personally on behalf of my students for the great illumination you gave us in your magnificant speech on the modern background and foreground of the African problem today.

In my students' reports on their week's experiences the privilege of hearing you and the mention of many of the significant ideas which you wove into such a tremendous whole were again and again mentioned. It was a privilege which we will cherish for a long time. Many thanks.

With holiday greetings to you,

Very sincerely yours,

F. Theodore Smith

Department of Social Studies

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York City

23-44-10

[Daniels]

108-43, 171 Place
Jamaica, N.Y.
Dec 1st 1949

24-33-6

W.E.B Du Bois.

Sir, I recieved your letters, very sorry that you had to write me about them, I have been suffering from Hemritis Arthritis Sciatica and rheumatism which has kept me from traveling around to solisit donation. I wanted to be able to give my own donation Am returning the

the booklet.

Very sincerely
Rosa F. Daniels

[DAVIDSON]

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NA 358 PD=WASHINGTON DC 8 630P=

:DR W E B DUBOIS=

:409 EDGECOMB AVE=

1949 JUL 8 PM 6 39

:MOTHER DIED THIS MORNING=

OPHELIA AND EUGENE=

23-52-1

Corres. D. Mrs. Davidson in Washington

SCW 43

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 10, 1949

Mrs. Shelby Davidson
1333 R Street Northwest
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Davidson:

I am going to be in town February 12, I hope you can find a place for me to stay.

My love to you and the family.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

33-52-16

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 3, 1949

Mrs. Shelby Davidson
1333 F Street Northwest
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Davidson:

May I stop over night March 14?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBDB/ lm

Ben Davis

23-49-24

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 6, 1949

Councilman Benjamin J. Davis
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York

Dear Councilman Davis:

Thank you very much for the article which you published in the WORKER. I appreciate it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Councilman Benjamin J. Davis

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

42-13-22

W. E. B. DuBOIS
409 EDGECOMBE AVENUE
NEW YORK 32, NEW YORK

July 29, 1949

Dear Friend:

The essence of democratic freedom and efficiency is the recognition of public service on the part of a public official, no matter what his party, race or religion.

Few persons can deny that Ben Davis has been a good member of the New York City Council. He has faithfully attended to his duties; he has voted for every worthy proposal; he has been courageous and unpurchasable. For these reasons he ought to be re-elected and I am glad to associate myself with those who are working to that end.

There will be, naturally, those in New York who will try to divide the natural supporters of Ben Davis -- by intimidation and by purchase. I am glad to note that at least two persons thus approached have refused to run against him. One, I understand, has consented and is willing to oppose Davis although himself without experience or any known qualifications.

I suppose me must expect this, but I hope that no American Negro and no other true American will be induced to cast his vote for any person willing to sell his soul or prostitute his talents at the beck of known enemies of decency and democracy, even though they are rich and ruthless.

Very sincerely yours,

W E B Du Bois

WEBD:lm

W. E. B. Du Bois

ISSUED BY THE OFFICE OF COUNCILMAN BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, 200 W. 135 ST., N.Y.C.

September 26, 1949

23-49-20

I can conceive of no triumph which intelligence, gratitude or decency could achieve which would equal the re-election of Benjamin Davis to the City Council of the City of New York.

W. E. B. DU BOIS

Miss Sigrid
Room 118
200 West 125th Street
c/o Councilman Benjamin Davis
New York City

November 14, 1949

Mr. Benjamin J. Davis
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York

My dear Mr. Davis:

May I congratulate you upon the good fight which you put up in the last election. I trust you will not lose courage. In the long run, you will be vindicated.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-4-19

Com

THE COUNCIL
OF
THE CITY OF NEW YORK
CITY HALL

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.
COUNCILMAN, BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN
200 WEST 135 STREET
NEW YORK 30, N.Y.

November 22, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26 Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

It was a great privilege to receive a letter from you expressing your confidence in the ultimate victory of the cause of democracy, freedom and peace over the forces of imperialism and reaction. My campaign for re-election was only one tiny segment of that fierce battle which is going on all over the world and I considered it a honor to have been a spokesman of the peoples cause in that struggle.

I am one of the thousands who have been greatly inspired by the contributions which you have made over a long and fruitful career to the cause of human freedom and dignity, and I am looking forward to your continued contributions which history will place high upon mankind's honor roll.

None of us can even think of losing courage. Even in the last election there were signs in Harlem that the Negro people are beginning to break with the two parties of economic greed and political reaction. As the struggle develops in the immediate future there will be even more decisive breaks, not only among the Negro people, but among the workers and democratic forces, irrespective of races, creeds, colors and political affiliations. You have been working skillfully and uncompromisingly for the victory that is surely to going to come. I salute you and send you my warm personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin J. Davis

Benjamin J. Davis
Councilman

BJD/bm

241-4-20

A MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF HARLEM

From Negro Leaders throughout the Nation

42/10/33

We urge the people of Harlem to re-elect Benjamin J. Davis, Jr. to the Council of the City of New York -- in the interests of Negro Americans everywhere.

Our fight against Jim Crow oppression and Ku Klux Klan Lynch-terror is one fight -- whether in Birmingham, on the plantations of Mississippi, in Detroit, in Los Angeles, or on Southside Chicago. It is an integral part of your struggle against Peekskill terror, against Stuyvesant Town Jim Crow, and against police brutality in New York.

Moreover, what the half-million Negroes in New York do to beat back the growing attacks against our people has much influence upon the country as a whole. Your struggles for democratic rights in Harlem, including the current election campaign, are of major national importance.

We have come to look upon your Councilman Ben Davis as a courageous fighter for the rights of our people everywhere. He is not merely a Harlem leader; he is an outstanding national leader of Negro Americans, and of our friends in the progressive labor movement.

That is why anti-Negro politicians in the old-line parties have now joined together in a desperate effort to oust him from the City Council. And that is why it is more important than ever for you to guarantee his re-election for a third term.

We live in many different parts of the country, and hence cannot vote for Councilman Davis ourselves. It is you who must do the job for us all.

Your overwhelming vote for Councilman Ben Davis on November 8th will be a slap in the face for Ku Klux Klan terror and police brutality everywhere.

It will strengthen our fight for the right to vote in the South.

It will advance our struggle for equal job opportunities.

It will strengthen the fight for peace, and for the civil rights of all Americans.

It will help establish the right of fearless, unpurchasable Negroes to hold public office -- in New York and everywhere else.

In the interests of all the Negro people and the entire nation, we call upon you to guarantee that Ben Davis continues his good fight for democratic government in the Council of the City of New York.

SIGNED:

[1949]

File Harry Davis

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your very kind note. I have amost important letter for Dr. Edwin R. Embree, whose address I do not presently have. Would you be so kind as to forward the letter for me ?

Russell sends regards. I am deeply grateful for this favor.

Sincerely yours,
Claire Davis
Claire Davis

28-52-4

Sent to Mr. Embree
by Scott

[Davis]

Ohio Senate
Columbus

HARRY E. DAVIS
TWENTY-FIFTH DISTRICT
202 ENGINEERS BLDG.
CLEVELAND

COMMITTEES:
BANKS AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS
PUBLIC HEALTH
PUBLIC UTILITIES
PUBLIC WORKS AND STATE BUILDINGS

February 21, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Pent House
23 W. 26th St.
New York 10, New York

23-44-1

Dear Doctor:

I understand you are speaking in Cleveland at the Forum on Sunday, March 6th. If you have not made any other arrangements I would be glad to have you at 1050 East 98th Street, as usual. Please let me know your expected time of arrival.

Very truly yours,

Harry E. Davis

hed:jm

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 1, 1949

23-44-1

Mr. Harry E. Davis
Twenty-Fifth District
202 Engineers Bldg.
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Mr. Davis:

Thank you for your offer of hospitality. I shall arrive Saturday night, March 5, at 8:40 p.m. and leave Sunday, March 6, at 11:45 P.M.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Harry Daws

Sent by telephone---March 4, 1949---11:45 A. M

202 Engineers Building
Cleveland, Ohio

I HAVE TICKET AND UPPER BERTH --clevELAND TO NEW YORK-- 11:45 Sunday Night. Try to change this to lower berth or romette on this or on eight o'clock train.

20C-52

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 7, 1949

Mr. Harry E. Davis
202 Engineers Building
Cleveland, Ohio

23-52-5

Dear Mr. Davis:

Thank you and your sister so much for your hospitality. I think I left in the bedroom some sheets of paper on which I had been scribbling; they are notes on the book. If you run accross them, kindly mail them to me.

I had a good trip back.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE

INSTITUTE, W. VA.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

28 January 1949

JOHN W. DAVIS
PRESIDENT

23-2-13

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am pleased to have your new address. I feel more and more the need of your counsel and advice.

I hope that your connection with the Council on African Affairs on matters affecting the Negro peoples will be a rewarding one for you.

Mrs. Davis joins me in kindest regards to you.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. DAVIS
President

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

CUSTOM SAWING — ALL KINDS DRESSED LUMBER

LUMBER
POLES
AND
PILING
SAW-DUST

WARREN H. DAVIS

11 ROSSETER STREET

TELEPHONE 795

MILLS AT HILLSDALE, NEW YORK

KINDLING
TIES
CORD WOOD
AND
FENCE POSTS
LOOSE SHAVINGS

Great Barrington, Mass., Oct 17, 1949 194

Dr W E B DuBois
409 Edgecombe Ave
New York, N Y

23-10-3

Dear Sir

If you ever make up your mind that you want to sell your lot on the Egremont Road, I would like to come down to New York and talk with you.

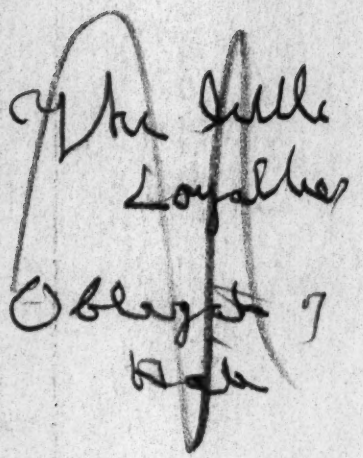
Very truly yours,

Warren H Davis

WHD/MG

M.G.

65-7131



October 28, 1949

Mr. Warren H. Davis
11 Rosseter Street
Great Barrington, Massachusetts

2-B-10-4

My dear Mr. Davis:

I have no intention of selling my lot on the Egremont Road.

On the other hand, I would like to have it put into sightly condition and perhaps have some of the original beams tarred and buried so that I could use them, when I or some of my descendants might want to rebuild. The present structure, of course, there is no chance of saving, and perhaps even the chimney ought to be torn down.

I should be glad if you have any sugestions, but there is no chance at all of my selling the house.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Articll on Bunche

P. O. Box 146
New York 31, N. Y.
March 6, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
NAACP
20 West 40 Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

To-day you appeared on WNBC's radio program featuring Dr. Ralph Bunche. If you desire a recording of the program, or parts of the program, please contact me by writing to the MAY-DE RECORDING STUDIO at the above address or phoning WAdsworth 6-7796 in the evenings.

I am including a circular which you may have use for in the near future.

Yours truly,

Burrell B. DeHaven

Burrell B. DeHaven

45-3-91

8-3
PRINTED IN U.S.A.

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS

Dictaphone
REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.

DICTATING MACHINES AND ACCESSORIES

420 LEXINGTON AVE. NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

23C-50

No 35916

CUSTOMER'S ORDER NO. & DATE

REQUISITION NO.

CONTRACT NO.

SHIPPED TO

INVOICE NO. 35916

INVOICE DATE New York

SALESMAN

ACCOUNT AT 1-7-49

SOLD TO

W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

DATE SHIPPED

TERMS NET 30 DAYS

HOW SHIPPED

FROM

PREPAID OR COLLECT

F. O. B.

FOR CUSTOMER'S USE ONLY

REGISTER NO. | VOUCHER NO.

F. O. B. CHECKED

TERMS APPROVED | PRICE APPROVED

CALCULATIONS CHECKED

TRANSPORTATION

FREIGHT BILL NO. | AMOUNT

MATERIAL RECEIVED

_____ 19 _____ _____

DATE | SIGNATURE | TITLE

SATISFACTORY AND APPROVED

ADJUSTMENTS

ACCOUNTING DISTRIBUTION

AUDITED | FINAL APPROVAL

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
	Maintenance from Dec. 1, 1948 to Dec. 1, 1949.	
	2 Acoustic Machines @ $ 13.00 ea. A6-6325, B10X-5060	
	1 Shaving Machine @ $ 13.00 ea. S7-1400	$ 39.00
	SECOND ANNUAL BILLING	

MAIL CHECK TO DICTAPHONE CORPORATION, 375 HOWARD AVENUE, BRIDGEPORT 5, CONN.

230-50

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** REG. U.S. PAT. OFF. DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

420 LEXINGTON AVE. NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK

CUSTOMER'S ORDER NO. & DATE
REQUISITION NO.
CONTRACT NO.
SHIPPED TO

CREDIT **No 175015**
CREDIT DATE 175015
SALESMAN New York
ACCOUNT AT 1-7-49

W.E.B. DuBois
20 West 40th St.
N.Y. 18, N.Y.

DATE SHIPPED
TERMS NET 30 DAYS

HOW SHIPPED
FROM

PREPAID OR COLLECT
F. O. B.

FORM B-4 PRINTED IN U.S.A.

FOR CUSTOMER'S USE ONLY

REGISTER NO. | VOUCHER NO.

F.O.B. CHECKED

TERMS APPROVED | PRICE APPROVED

CALCULATIONS CHECKED

TRANSPORTATION
FREIGHT BILL NO. | AMOUNT

MATERIAL RECEIVED
_____ 19 _____ _____
DATE SIGNATURE TITLE
SATISFACTORY AND APPROVED

ADJUSTMENTS

ACCOUNTING DISTRIBUTION

AUDITED | FINAL APPROVAL

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
	CREDIT MEMORANDUM	
	To cancel Inv. # 17305, dated Dec. 1, 1948. Maintenance from Dec. 1, 1948 to Dec. 1, 1949.	
2	Acoustic Machines @ $ 13.00 ea. A6-6325	
1	Shaving Machine @ $ 13.00 ea. S7-1400	$ 39.00

Machines to be rebilled to: W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

- Copy -

FORM D-3-1
REV 6-47
PRINTED IN U.S.A.

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** REG. U.S. PAT. OFF. DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

INVOICE # 35916
N.Y.

CUSTOMER'S ORDER NO. & DATE	REQUISITION NO.	DATE ORDER REC'D	SHIPPED FROM	DATE SHIPPED	INVOICE DATE	BILLING DISTRICT
					1-7-49	
SALESMAN	ACCOUNT AT				VIA	

23C-52

SOLD TO
W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

SHIPPED TO

TERMS
NET 30 DAYS

QUANTITY	DICTAPHONE EQUIPMENT	MODEL	SERIAL NO.	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	Maintenance from Dec. 1, 1948 to Dec. 1, 1949.				
2	Acoustic Machines @ $ 13.00 ea.	A6-6325, B10X-5060			
1	Shaving Machine @ $ 13.00 ea.	S7-1400			$ 39.00

SECOND ANNUAL BILLING

CUSTOMER'S COPY

FORM B461 REV. 3-48
PRINTED IN U. S. A.

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

PREPAID MAINTENANCE AGREEMENT WORK TICKET

DIST.	BR.	CUSTOMER NO.
17	0	284000

W E B DUBOIS
20 WEST 40TH ST
NEW YORK 18 N Y

MO. 19 YR. 12 01 12

SERVICE MAN Hoffmann DATE 11/24/49

TYPE AND MODEL	SERIAL NO.	SERV. CODE
A 6	006325	✓
B 10 X	005060	✓
S 7	001400 3	✓

23 W 26 St

QTY.	PART NO.	PART NAME USED ON ACOUSTIC MACHINES	
1	14232	Dou. Wh. + Spg.	
1	17287	Wall and Clip	

QTY.	PART NO.	PART NAME USED ON ELECTRONIC MACHINES	HOURS WORKED

PLEASE REFER TO THIS TICKET NO. 104363

☐ CUSTOMER APPROVAL W E B DuBois

- Copy -

FORM B-3-1
REV 6-47
PRINTED IN U.S.A.

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** REG. U.S. PAT. OFF. DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

INVOICE # 71138
N.Y.

CUSTOMER'S ORDER NO. & DATE	REQUISITION NO.	DATE ORDER REC'D	SHIPPED FROM	DATE SHIPPED	INVOICE DATE	BILLING DISTRICT
					4-14-49	
SALESMAN	ACCOUNT AT				VIA	

23C-52

SOLD TO
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 Sest 26th Street
New York, N.Y.

SHIPPED TO

TERMS
NET 30 DAYS

QUANTITY	DICTAPHONE EQUIPMENT	MODEL	SERIAL NO.	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
	Maintenance from March 28, 1949 to Dec. 1, 1949.				
1	Electronic Machine @ $ 14.67 ea. AE-570635 (charged for 8 months maintenance.)				$ 14.67
	Machine added to maintenance.				

S-3
PRINTED IN U.S.A.

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS

Dictaphone
REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.

DICTATING MACHINES AND ACCESSORIES

420 LEXINGTON AVE. NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

CUSTOMER'S ORDER NO. & DATE

REQUISITION NO.

CONTRACT NO.

SHIPPED TO

INVOICE NO. No 71138

INVOICE DATE 71138

SALESMAN N.Y.

ACCOUNT AT 4-14-49

SOLD TO

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N.Y.

22-30

DATE SHIPPED

TERMS NET 30 DAYS

HOW SHIPPED

FROM

PREPAID OR COLLECT

F. O. B.

FOR CUSTOMER'S USE ONLY

REGISTER NO. | VOUCHER NO.

F. O. B. CHECKED

TERMS APPROVED | PRICE APPROVED

CALCULATIONS CHECKED

TRANSPORTATION

FREIGHT BILL NO. AMOUNT

MATERIAL RECEIVED

_____ 19 _____ _____
DATE SIGNATURE TITLE

SATISFACTORY AND APPROVED

ADJUSTMENTS

ACCOUNTING DISTRIBUTION

AUDITED | FINAL APPROVAL

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
	Maintenance from March 28, 1949 to Dec. 1, 1949.	
1	Electronic Machine @ $ 14.67 ea. AE-570635 (charged for 8 months maintenance.)	$ 14.67
	Machine added to maintenance.	

MAIL CHECK TO DICTAPHONE CORPORATION, 375 HOWARD AVENUE, BRIDGEPORT 5, CONN.

May 2, 1949

Dictaphone Corporation
420 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, New York

Gentlemen:

It seems quite impossible for me to get any cooperation out of your company. Your bill is still sent to 20 W. 40th Street, when for four months I have been at 23 West 26th Street. Your bill still covers three instruments, when as a matter of fact, I have four.

I will not try to have your service on the fourth machine I would like to have it on the three machines and I am sending $40.67 to cover maintaince on the electronic A-E 57-0653 and the transcriber and shaving machine.

If you can possibly get the persons in your bookkeeping department to send my bills to the right place and to bill me for the correct three machines, I shall be under obligation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure--Check $40.67

STATEMENT

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

375 HOWARD AVENUE, BRIDGEPORT 5, CONN.

23C-50

. W.E. B. Dubois

. 23 West 26th Street

. New York 10, N. Y.

TERMS NET 30 DAYS

DATE MAY 31 1949

PLEASE DETACH AND RETURN THIS STUB WITH PAYMENT

DATE	INVOICE OR CREDIT NO.	CHARGES	CREDITS	BALANCE
JAN 17	35916	39.00		
MAY 4			40.67	1.67
APR 14	71138	14.67		13.00 *

IF THE ITEMS ABOVE HAVE BEEN PAID PLEASE DISREGARD THIS STATEMENT

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

B-163 REV. 12-48 □

June 14, 1949

Dictaphone Corporation
420 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Will you please send to my office someone to e plain this bill. It is utterly impossible for me after repeated attempts to get any satisfaction out of you office by writing.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23C-52

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** REG U.S. PAT. OFF. DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

420 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17 • TELEPHONE: LEXINGTON 2-3700
CAROL LYTTLE, DISTRICT MANAGER

June 20, 1949

W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Attention: Dr. DuBois

Dear Dr. DuBois:

This is to acknowledge your letter of June 14th, and to confirm our telephone conversation of this date.

We sincerely regret the confusion caused in the past by our Maintenance billing, but believe we are now in a position to satisfactorily explain the statement you recently received, which showed a balance due us of $13.00.

We originally billed you for Maintenance on 3 of your machines on December 1, 1948 to December 1, 1949, as outlined on the attached copy of our invoice #35916, dated 1/7/49. The machines outlined on this invoice are A6-6325, B1OX-5060, and shaving machine, S7-1400. The yearly rate on this type of equipment is $13.00, and you will note that the attached invoice was in a total amount of $39.00.

During our inspection of March 28th, we added to Maintenance Service your Electronic dictating machine, AE-570635. The additional billing necessary on this machine is outlined on the attached copy of our invoice #71138, dated 4/14/49. You will note this is in the amount of $14.67, for the period March 28th, 1949 to December 1st, 1949. We have pro-rated our annual charges of $22.00 on this type of equipment.

Our Accounts Receivable Department received your check number #1191 dated May 1st, 1949, in the amount of $40.67. This was applied to our original invoice for $39.00, and represented an over-payment of $1.67 against this particular invoice. At the same time, they had shown the latter invoice, #71138, open as billed in the amount of $14.67. This left a balance due us of $13.00.

We again sincerely regret the confusion caused by our former billing, but wish to give you are assurance that this is not our usual standard of performance.

We trust this note, and the attached copies of our Maintenance billing, can satisfactorily explain how our Accounts Receivable Department arrived at the balance due of $13.00, but if there is any further manner in which we might be of assistance to you, we shall be pleased to write again.

Very truly yours,

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

Austin Keane

Austin Keane
Cashier

AK/ldb

230-52

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** REG U.S. PAT. OFF. DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

BRIDGEPORT 5, CONNECTICUT

August 2, 1949
Dict. 8/1/49

Pd. August 3 by check
L. murphy

22-5-37

W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26 Street
New York City

Attention: Dr. DuBois

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Our Mr. A. J. Keane's letter of June 20, 1949, directed to your attention, outlined charges which have resulted in a $13.00 balance on your account which remains unpaid.

Have you been able to reconcile Mr. Keane's statements so that your records will concur that the $13.00 charge is due and payable to us?

If there is anything that we can do to further to assist you in reconciling this balance please advise.

If you have reconciled the item we feel sure that your remittance to us will be in the mail to us within the very near future.

Yours very truly,

V. Graham

Credit Department

VGraham/cb

CUSTOMER'S COPY

FORM B461 REV. 1-49
PRINTED IN U. S. A.

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

PREPAID MAINTENANCE AGREEMENT WORK TICKET

DIST.	BR.	CUSTOMER NO.
170		284000

W E B DUBOIS
23 W 26 ST
NEW YORK 18 N Y

099 120512

SERVICE MAN KODITEK DATE 9/30/49 MO. YR.

TYPE AND MODEL	SERIAL NO.	SERV. CODE
24-19-53		
A6	006325	✓
B10X	005060	✓
S7	001400	✓
AE	570635 4	✓

QTY.	PART NO.	PART NAME USED ON ACOUSTIC MACHINES

QTY.	PART NO.	PART NAME USED ON ELECTRONIC MACHINES

TICKET NUMBER 45295

CUSTOMER APPROVAL L. Mursky

HOURS WORKED

PATENTED-MOORE BUSINESS FORMS, INC., NIAGARA FALLS, N.Y.

CUSTOMER'S COPY ↓

FORM 8461 REV. 3-48
PRINTED IN U. S. A.

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

PREPAID MAINTENANCE AGREEMENT WORK TICKET

DIST.	BR.	CUSTOMER NO.
170		284000
119		120512

W E B DUBOIS
23 W 26 ST
NEW YORK .18 N Y

SERVICE MAN Hoffmann DATE 11/30/49 MO. YR.

TYPE AND MODEL	SERIAL NO.	SERV. CODE
A6	006325	✓
B10X	005060	✓
S7	001400	✓
AE	570635 4	✓

23C-50

QTY.	PART NO.	PART NAME USED ON ACOUSTIC MACHINES

QTY.	PART NO.	PART NAME USED ON ELECTRONIC MACHINES

TICKET NUMBER
57941

CUSTOMER APPROVAL
L. Murphy

HOURS WORKED

PATENTED-MOORE BUSINESS FORMS, INC. NIAGARA FALLS, N. Y.

23C-50

CUSTOMER'S COPY

FORM B-3 MR
PRINTED IN U.S.A.

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

THIS INVOICE COVERS MAINTENANCE AGREEMENT BILLING FOR THE MACHINES LISTED AND FOR THE PERIOD INDICATED BELOW.

INVOICE NO. 17305

CUSTOMER'S ORDER NO. AND DATE.

REQUISITION NUMBER

SOLD TO
W E B DUBOIS
20 WEST 40TH ST
NEW YORK 18 N Y

BILL TO

NUMBER OF MONTHS	FROM MO.	FROM DAY	FROM YR.	TO MO.	TO DAY	TO YR.	INVOICE DATE MO.	INVOICE DATE DAY	INVOICE DATE YR.
12	12	01	48	12	1	49	12	01	48

DIST.	BR.		CUSTOMER NO.
170			284000

E. O.

TYPE AND MODEL	SERIAL NUMBER	UNIT CHARGE	AMOUNT
A6	006325	13 00	
B10X	005060	13 00	
S7	001400	13 00	
			39 00

23C-50

NOTICE

The increased cost of rendering maintenance service since December 1945 (when the present rates were established) has finally necessitated an increase in our rates.

This invoice covering the next maintenance period bills you at new rates which are $2.28 higher per year for Acoustic models and $3.80 higher per year for Electronic models (in commercial areas). An additional 50% per year has been added.

Thanks for support of our continued desire to render maximum service at the lowest cost of the necessary parts and maintenance with ease of operation.

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

Form 1447-B-M

☐ TERMS: NET 30 DAYS — PLEASE MAIL CHECK TO DICTAPHONE CORPORATION, 375 HOWARD AVE., BRIDGEPORT 5, CONN.

[E.J. Digby]

Tuesday a.m.
4 January 1949

My dear Webb:

Here is a copy of a letter which came during the holidays. I forgot to tell you that following your suggestion I had written to several companies. How shall I answer?

Believe it or not nothing was done by the President during my absence — My room was just as I left it.

Am too busy to write more but would like to answer the Prentice-Hall letter as soon as possible. If you like I can send you a "bare" outline of what I have in mind.

Brooklyn College has asked me to fill in an application so things are moving on.

With much love, Nella

23-24-78

[Enc.]

PRENTICE-HALL, INC.

70 Fifth Avenue, New York 11

Executive Offices

December 17, 1948

Miss Irene Diggs
Department of Sociology
Morgan State College
Baltimore 12, Maryland

23-24-71

Dear Miss Diggs:

Thank you very much for your letter of December 15, which has been referred to me as Editor in charge of Sociology texts. We are very much interested in the book on "The Negro in the United States Today" which you and Dr. Du Bois propose to write and would welcome an opportunity to examine your outline for this project work. May we expect to hear from you soon - or better still, to receive your materials?

Sincerely yours,

/S/ William A. Pullin
Associate Editor

[DIGGS]

D L 49

Baltimore
6 January 1949

Dear WEBD:

Here is another letter - how shall I answer it?

23-41-M

Well the hearing on my case has been set for January 15. You will be interested to know that the professor from Goucher refused to serve on the committee because (so I heard from reliable sources) he is a member of the AAUP and "the President may be wrong". Various changes have been made: the meeting is to be held in the office of the president; Judge Soper, chairman of the board is to preside, Carl Murphy has been made a member of the committee to replace the Goucher professor and Mr. Carter is to be present. Attorney Henry who is a member of the Trustee Board and a member of the committee asked me to come into his office yesterday and he advised me to have legal counsel present at the hearing. He has suggested a white lawyer who is president of the Lawyer's Guild and is getting in touch with him in my behalf - so that is that.

With much love, as ever,

Nella

Copy for Dr. Du Bois

[Encl.]

D. C. HEATH AND COMPANY

180 Varick Street

New York 14, New York

3 January 1949

23-41-15

Professor Irene Diggs
Department of Sociology
Morgan State College
Baltimore 12, Maryland

My dear Dr. Diggs:

Please accept my regrets for the considerable delay in getting off this reply to your interesting letter of December 8th. After talking with you in Baltimore, I did not return to our New York office for over a week. Consequently, I did not see your letter for that length of time. Then, I decided that I had better consult our editors before giving you any sort of reply. Our editorial offices are in Boston, and the past month happened to be an exceptionally busy one for the college department of the company, so that a further delay was thus occasioned.

Just last week, however, I received a reply to my inquiry regarding your project. From our editors' viewpoint, there appear to be two chief stumbling blocks. These are: (1) Are there enough courses in "The Negro in the United States Today" to justify a book dealing exclusively with this subject? As you are doubtless aware, book manufacturing costs have sky-rocketed during the past few years. Currently, a sale of about 5,000 copies of a book is necessary in order to cover merely the cost of manufacture. (2) D. C. Heath is this month publishing a minority groups book, "These Our People", by Richard A. Schermerhorn, of Western Reserve University. Lacking detailed information as to the precise nature of the material which your proposed text would cover, our editorial staff is somewhat fearful that the Schermerhorn book, and yours, would overlap to a considerable extent.

The above objections are, as I have said, the principal ones voiced by our college editors. They are not, naturally, insuperable objections. There assuredly is not, as you have pointed out, an adequate textbook for the course in question. Furthermore, the reputation of Dr. Du Bois is uncontestable. And you yourself are, as I am in a position to know, held in considerable esteem by your colleagues at Morgan State.

23-41-16

Since I work in a relatively limited area of the country, I do not feel adequately prepared to give adequate replies to the questions which our editors have raised. Nor am I too familiar with the content of the course in "The Negro in the United States Today". Therefore, I should like to suggest that you write to the Head of the College Department. This is Mr. John Walden, 285 Columbus Avenue, Boston 16, Massachusetts.

I am sorry that I am not in a position to give you a more definitive answer. I do, however, believe that the book which you and Dr. Du Bois propose to author has been sorely needed.

Sincerely yours,

/S/ Robb Harvey
COLLEGE DEPARTMENT

[DIGGS]

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 7, 1949

23-24-68

Dr. Ellen Irene Diggs
Department of Sociology
Morgan State College
Balti-ore 12, Maryland

My dear Nell:

I am enclosing a proposed outline of the book. Let me see the outline that you have prepared and then we will get them together in one statement and send them to the publisher. This may be an excellent opportunity.

Yours wi h love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Enc.?]

STATEMENT

The Negro in the United States

Or

("The Negro in The Americas Today?")

We propose to write a work which shall be scientifically accurate and aim as far as possible to state facts with a minimum of opinion and ethical judgments. It would cover the main sociological facts, the number and distribution of the Negro population, the rate of increase, age, sex, etc. It would stress family and gropp life, health, education, religion, crime and housing; literature and art, and the indluence of the World Wars.

23-24-69

Our object would be to make this, however, not a mere statistical report but a readable interpretation which students in secondary, high school and perhaps colleges might use.

To illustrate the point of view and method of treatment we are enclosing two statements by Dr. Du Bois, one published in the magazine section of The New York Times, which the United States Government has asked to reprint for world wide distribution; another, an abstract from the petition by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to the United Nations.

These of course represent simply the method of treatment. The book would be on a larger scale and the subjects differently emphasized and distributed. We would want append but important the bibliographical notes, which the general reader could use for following up the subjects treated and the various points of view.

[DIGGS]

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

LIBRARY

MORGAN STATE COLLEGE

BALTIMORE-12, MD.

8 January 1949

23-41-18

My dear WEBD:

I have just received your statement. I am returning it with a few suggestions. Also I am enclosing an outline of what I have in mind. Perhaps you would like to consolidate them since you are so good at it!

I agree with you that it may be an excellent opportunity . . . for me - I am thrilled!

With best love,

Nella

P. S. I hope you are happy and getting your things straightened out all right.

Du Bois, W.E.B.

[JAN. 1949]

[ENC]

Statement

The Negro in the United States

We propose to write a work which will be scientifically accurate and aim as far as possible to state facts with a minimum of opinion and ethical judgments. It would cover the main sociological facts, the number and distribution of the Negro population, therate of increase, age, sex, etc. It would stress family and group life, health, education, religion, crime and housing; literature and art, and the influence of the World Wars.

23-41-17

Our object would be to make this, however, not a mere statistical report but a readable interpretation which students in high school and college might use.

I think we should state that we propose to meet the requirements of high school and college students. (yes - D)

To illustrate the point of view and method of treatment we are enclosing two statements by Dr. Du Bois, one published in the magazine section of the New York Times, which the United States Government has asked to reprint for world-wide distribution; another, an abstract from the petition by the National Association for the advancement of colored People to the United Nations.

These of course represent simply the method of treatment. The book would be on a larger scale and the subjects differently emphasized and distributed. We would want to append important bibliographical notes which the general reader could use for following up the subjects treated and the various points of view.

I have the article from the Times. By abstract from the petition I assume you mean your section?

Diggs, Irene

[ENC]

[1949]

Outline for
THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES

Is the American Negro a "race" and what is a "race"

I. ~~The concept of race~~
Survey of contemporary scientific conclusions

23-41-19

II. The Negro in the United States (factual and interpretative)
Number, distribution and trends
Present status from the point of view of economics, health (physical and mental), education, religion, politics, crime, etc.
The Negro family
Negro ghettos
caste
Stratification of Negro society and culture
Negro migration to urban and northern areas
The Negro immigrant

III. Psycho-social analysis of the Negro
Problems of personality development among Negro children and adolescents
Impact of segregation and prejudice on Negro personality
Social clubs and associations
Tension and overt conflict (lynchings, race riots, etc.)
Two World Wars and the Negro

IV. Protest and Action
How the Negro feels and what he wants
Organizations and movements

V. Literature and art of the Negro
Negro personalities and their work
The Negro newspaper

VI. "The Shape of Things to Come"
Comparative description of Negro in Africa and Negro in the New world with Negro in United States
Race, color and World Peace

With bibliography of supplementary readings for each chapter

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 14, 1949

23-41-14

Dr. Ellen Irene Diggs
Morgan State College
Baltimore 12, Maryland

Dear Nell:

I think your outline is very good, and could be combined with mine or appended to it. I am sending you the U. N. statement referred to. With regard to D. C. Heath and Company, I should say this to the points made:

(1) There are not today a great many colleges that give courses on the Negro in the United States, but there are a goodly number and the number is increasing. Moreover, many colleges, while they do not have a distinct course, do take up the matter as part of other courses and need books on the subject for reference in considerable quantity.

(2) We do not think that a general book covering minority problems would cover the field which we have in mind. It is neither logical nor effective to lump into one treatment problems as diverse as that of the Jews, the Catholic Church, the Foreign Born and the American Negro. The Negro has a continuous history of social problems which calls for unique and careful treatment and should occupy more than a chapter in a book.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[D1665]

24 January 1949

23-41-20

My dear Mr. Pullin:

Enclosed is our outline for the projected book "The Negro in the United States". We propose to write a work which shall be scientifically accurate and aim as far as possible to state facts with a minimum of opinion and ethical judgments. It would cover the main sociological facts: the transplanting of the Negro, the present number and distribution of the Negro population, the rate of increase, age, sex, etc. It would stress family and group life, health, education, religion, politics, crime and housing; literature and art, and the influence of the World Wars.

Our object would be to make this, however, not a mere statistical report but a readable interpretation which students in high school and college might use.

To illustrate the point of view and method of treatment we are enclosing two statements by Dr. Du Bois, one published in the magazine section of the New York Times, which the United States Government has asked to reprint for world-wide distribution; another, an abstract from the petition by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to the United Nations.

These of course represent simply the method of treatment. The book would be on a larger scale and the subjects differently emphasized and distributed. We would want to append important bibliographical notes which the general reader could use for following up the subjects treated and the various points of view.

Very sincerely yours,

Irene Diggs

Mr. William A. Pullin, Associate Editor
Prentice-Hall, Inc.
70 Fifth Avenue
New Yorkll

Outline

THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES

23-41-32

I. The concept of race as applied to the Negro in the United States
Survey of contemporary scientific conclusions

II. The transplanting of the Negro
Present number, distribution and trends
Present status from the point of view of economics, health and education; age, sex, and family groupings

Migration and immigration
Ghettos
Social stratification (social clubs and associations)

III. Psycho-social analysis of the Negro
Caste
Personality (problems of personality development among Negro children and adolescents; impact of segregation and prejudice on Negro personality)
Tension and overt conflict (lynchings, race riots)
Religion, politics and crime
Two World Wars and the Negro

IV. Protest and Action
Organizations and movements
Relation to Africa and other colored groups

V. Biographies, literature and art
Newspapers and periodicals

VI. The Future
Race, color and World Peace

With bibliography of supplementary readings for each chapter

24 January 1949

My dear Mr. Walden:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter from Mr. Robb Harvey of the D. C. Heath and Company, College Department. In answer may I say there are not today a great many colleges that give courses on the Negro in the United States, but there are a goodly number and the number is increasing. Moreover, many colleges, while they do not have a distinct course, do take up the matter as part of other courses and need books on the subject for reference, in considerable quantity.

Secondly, we do not think that a general book covering minority problems would cover the field which we have in mind. It is neither logical nor effective to lump into one treatment, problems as diverse as that of the Jews, the Catholic Church, the Foreign Born and the American Negro. The Negro has a continuous history of social problems which calls for unique and careful treatment and should occupy more than a chapter in a book.

We propose to write a work (enclosed is an outline for the projected book) which shall be scientifically accurate and aim as far as possible to state facts with a minimum of opinion and ethical judgments. It would cover the main sociological facts: the transplanting of the Negro, the present number and distribution of the Negro population, the rate of increase, age, sex, etc. It would stress family and group life, health, education, religion, politics, crime and housing; literature and art, and the influence of the World Wars.

Our object would be to make this, however, not a mere statistical report but a readable interpretation which students in high school and college might use and we would want to append important bibliographical notes which the general reader could use for following up the subjects treated and the various points of view.

Very sincerely yours,

Irene Diggs

Mr. John Walden
285 Columbus Avenue
Boston 16, Massachusetts

23-41-31

[DIGGS]

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY LIBRARY

MORGAN STATE COLLEGE

BALTIMORE-12, MD.

7 February 1949

23-41-27

My dear WEBD:

Here is a copy of a letter I have just received from Pentice-Hall.

I ought to be angry with you but I shall not be provided you let me know in a reasonable time whether or not the Chicago affair has come through. I also wish to be put at ease!

I should like to answer the Nation article, which I read over the weekend, in the tone that just as the writer now evaluates your earlier work as "premature" so may a writer ten or more years from now. However I should need help.

All goes well here. Mrs. Maxwell is trying to make me comfortable. So far everything is all right except she is more than saving on the heat!

With best love, as always,

Ted

P.S. Believe it or not I am now an heroine on the campus!! However we have something new. There is an investigation being made to ascertain the correlation between training and what one is teaching. Name Rumor says Dr. Monroe is teaching biology - degree in Health Education. Teacher of Hygiene education - trained in Psychiatry (also no training in Phys. Ed.) " " Psychology - ~~Degree~~ in Health Education. One "Ph. D." from a school which doesn't award them My! My!!

c o p y

[ENC.]

Prentice-Hall, Inc.

70 Fifth Avenue, New York 11

February 4 1949

23-41-28

Dear Miss Diggs:

Many thanks for sending us the outline for your projected text on "The Negro in the United States", and please forgive our delay in acknowledging it. Mr. Pullin has been occupied during the last two or three weeks with preparations for an extended trip through the South and Mid-West which he is soon to undertake, and I am afraid his correspondence has been somewhat neglected.

He has asked me to tell you that at first glance your outline appears very promising. We have sent a copy to our Editorial Adviser in Sociology for his comment, and as soon as we receive his reactions and have completed a brief survey of the market for such a book as you propose, we shall be in touch with you again.

Cordially yours,

Gladys Susman
Secretary to Mr. Pullin

P. S. We have also sent the clippings to our adviser, with the request that he return those as soon as possible so that we may send them back to you.

23-41-29

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 11, 1949

Dr. Ellen Irene Diggs
Morgan State College
Baltimore 12, Maryland

Dear Nell:

Your letter must have crossed mine. I forgot in mine to say how much I enjoyed that visit Monday night and your guests. I had planned to see you before you left. As I have said a jam of speeches for Negro History Week was too much.

I am glad to see the letter from the publisher and hope something will develope. Also I trust you will not freeze.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-41-37

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 25, 1949

Dr. Irene Diggs
Morgan State College
Baltimore, Maryland

My dear Nell:

I have your two letters and have not had time to fix the problem out carefully, but will write you again next week. I have just returned from the Lawyers Guild at Detroit. I should say provisionally we could have one or two chapters ready by May 1. I think that the book should be about 300 pages, suitable for textbook use; and there should be charts, maps and illustrations. This, as I have said, is my first reaction. I will think it over more carefully next week and write you.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 9, 1949

Dr. Ellen Irene Diggs
Morgan State College
Baltimore, Maryland

My dear Nell:

Enclosed is an outline of the proposed book. I am not sure it corresponds with what we have said previously to the various publishers. Will you look up our correspondance and compare? But this, at any rate, is a present proposal which occurs to me. I am not set upon it and if I think further I may have changes; and I want you certainly to suggest anything.

What I now have in mind is a book which could be used in secondary schools and colleges. It would be based upon the assumption that the time has now come when this deeply controversal question can be treated in an impartial and scientific manner; and at the same time recognize that there are still widely divergent views. We want in this book to state the view which we think is reasonable and just, and on the other hand to give references or even to quote opposing views.

I suggest an introduction and then nine chapters.

Chapter one, the Advent or immigration from 1619 to 1860; covering the matter of slave trade and discovery, the immigration to South America , the West Indies and to the United States.

Chapter two, Distribution--the present ecology of American Negroes, North, South and West; in city and country; the history of the changes in distribution from the earliest figures down to 1940.

Chapter three,--Health and Physique, vital statistics, miscegnation, growth in numbers, age and sex.

Chapter four, The Family and Group Life: outlining group life, marriage, children, etc.

Chapter five, Occupations; following the development in slavery and the various occupations since; the relations to the whites, to labor unions etc.

Chapter six, Civil Rights and Legal status: the slave codes; the history of abolition; the war amendments.

Chapter seven, Political Rights, Reconstruction and political developments since; together with court decisions.

Chapter eight; Culture, religion, education, art and literature.

Chapter Nine, the Future.

We might do these chapters separately; that is I would do the introduction and the future, and chapters six, seven and eight; while you would do chapters one, two, three, four and five. Or we could do them on the basis of your making a collection of facts and my interpreting them.

This is just a proposal, which I have been thinking over. You think further, make some counter-proposals, and then we will get together and talk sometime late this month.

I hope you are all right.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 18, 1949

Dr. Ellen Irene Diggs
Morgan State College
Baltimore, Maryland

23-50-2

My dear Nell:

The Week-end of March 25-26-27, is the date of the World Peace Conference. We could confer Monday the 28th or the following week-end.

You must be having an interesting time down there.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 18, 1949

Dr. Ellen Irene Diggs
Morgan State College
Baltimore, Maryland

B-3-50-1

My dear Nell:

I have your letter of March 15. I suggest that we devote Saturday, March 26, to working out the two outlines which we have.

You must be having an interesting time down there.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

File

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 21, 1949

Dr. Ellen Irene Diggs
Department of Sociology
Morgan State College
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Nell:

I am afraid this week-end will not do for our conference. I find that I am going to be busy officially from Friday afternoon , March 25, through Monday night March 28. Even if I did find Monday morning free, I am afraid I would be too tired from the Sunday night meeting to think straight.

Could you put this trip off until the next week-end?

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

21 April 1949

My dear Mr. Pullin:

Enclosed is the form which we have finally decided upon for the book. Dr. Du Bois will be in Europe for the next two weeks but on or before June fifteenth we will have prepared the introduction and chapters one and two.

You will note that a change has been made in the title but even this may not be final.

Very sincerely yours,

Irene Diggs

Mr. William A. Pullin, Associate Editor
Prentice-Hall, Inc.
70 Fifth Avenue
New York 11

35-3-38

45-3-50

Foundation 8-1569

16 June 1949

My dear Mr. Pullin:

Enclosed are two chapters and the introduction of the proposed book on the Sociology of the Negro. Naturally these chapters are still capable of some improvement and re-arrangement but in general they show the plan which we have in mind. The other chapters are shown by the enclosed table of contents.

We will be glad to know how this specimen of the work strikes you and whether or not you are disposed to enter into contract for finishing the book.

Very sincerely yours,

45-3-49

Mr. William A. Pullin, Associate Editor
Prentice-Hall, Inc.
70 Fifth Avenue
New York 11

c
o
p
y

Prentice - Hall

70 Fifth Avenue, New York 11

Executive Offices

June 17, 1949

35-3-240

Miss Irene Diggs
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, New York

Dear Miss Diggs:

Many thanks for sending us two chapters and the introduction of your proposed text on the Sociology of the Negro. We realize of course that your materials are still in rough form, and will read them with that in mind. As soon as we have had an opportunity to thoroughly examine your work we shall be in touch with you again.

45-3-54
8/7

Cordially yours,

William A. Pullin
Assistant Vice President

23-41-34

Jill

September 27, 1949

Dr. Irene Diggs
Morgan State College
Baltimore, Maryland

My dear Nell:

I have finally come back from my long trip. I was two weeks in Russia and a week in Poland and Czechoslovakia, I had nearly a week in Paris. It was a tremendously interesting trip and I enjoyed every bit of it. I saw one or two heads in the Louvre which I should like to have bought, but it was simply impossible to add to my luggage. I had to pay $17.00 excess weight as it was because of the excellent photographs and books which they gave me in Russia. I did not dare to undertake anything further.

I assume that there has been no communication from the publisher or at least nothing different from what I expected. I hope your work is getting on well.

By the way, I am trying to make a record of the various trip which I have made by air, I am sure that you can correct this or add to it in some respects. I am enclosing a list which I have. With best wishes.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

Prentice-Hall, Inc.

70 Fifth Avenue, New York 11
September 22, 1949

Dear Miss Diggs:

I am shipping your manuscript, SOCIOLOGY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO, by insured express. The criticism will be sent in a day or two. I am sorry if the delay in sending this material has caused you any inconvenience. Sincerely,

Roberta L. Brophy
Secretary to Mr. Pullin

September 27, 1949

Dear Miss Diggs:

The only criticism we have received of your SOCIOLOGY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO, from two authorities, have not been either very specific or very reassuring. Both suggest that the materials seem to consist largely of a restatement of Dr. Du Bois' earlier works and therefore make no particular contribution to a field for which there is, in any case, a decidedly limited market.

Under the circumstances, we regret that we can see no likelihood of our undertaking publication unless a very substantial revision of the materials could substantially change the opinions of our reviewers. Thank you again for the privilege of seeing your materials.

Sincerely yours,

William A. Pullin
Assistant Vice President

[DIGGS]

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

LIBRARY

MORGAN STATE COLLEGE

BALTIMORE-12, MD.

4 October 1949

My dear WEBD:

That big question mark really jolted me although I have planned each day for days to write you. I enclose the "travel by air" with notations and communications from Prentice-Hall. Have you suggestions for a next step?

I am just beginning to get settled and adjusted; the Faculty Workshop running all day and night is over and the first hectic week of classes is a thing of the past. All my classes are larger than ever before. To the surprise of the administration not to mention mine, sixty-six students registered for my class in Social Institutions, an elective! It is being divided into two sections and one of my other classes was discontinued so I have but fifteen hours (too much) which is the usual teaching load here. However, regardless, I believe the year will be less strenous from the point of view of classes because after two years I am beginning to get the material better organized, etc. and I am somewhat more than a day ahead of the students.

23-50-5

I am ever so anxious to see and talk with you about your marvelous trip - according to present plans I will, probably, be in New York this week end, that is October eighth and ninth - now don't write me you will be in Baltimore - and of course I have a short report to make about my Caribbean journey and the last two weeks in New York which were a bang-up ending of my summer.

(No comments)

We will discussed, face to face, those "one or two heads" you left in the Lourve!!!!!

All is apparently quiet on the Presidential Front: I understand in his talk to the new teachers he specifically designated me as an example of courage and academic freedom - guess he was talking about my joining with a group of John Hopkins professors as party plaintiffs in an action against the Ober Bill. I AM STILL UNIMPRESSED AND OF THE SAME OPINION WITH REGARDS TO HIM!!!!!

The new half million dollar dining hall is open and very lovely indeed but A. U.'s still has something that "it ain't got".

Have had a couple of long talks with Yolande, have seen Du Bois and will try and call on Mrs. Du Bois before I come to New York. I was stunned and grieved to hear of Dr. Virginia.

With love and looking forward to seeing you this weekend,

as always

Nella

23-41-33

November 14, 1949

Dr. Ellen Irene Diggs
Morgan State College
Baltimore, Maryland

My dear Nell:

I have been rather busy with my book and some election activities. I do not think that it would be worth while to answer the publishers' last letter. Evidently he has more in his mind than he has said.

Of course it might not be a bad thing for you to have a personal interview with him. It is possible that he would offer you a chance to do the book alone and if so, accept. I should be very glad to help. They are afraid of the effect which my name might have on Southern sales, not to say others.

I should be so glad to talk with you when you come up sometime. I hope to be in Baltimore for Thanksgiving, but I am not sure, otherwise so far as I know I shall be Saturday the 19th.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Dover

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
April 6, 1949

23-2-16

Mr. Cedric Dover
The New School
66 West 12th Street
New York, New York

My dear Mr. Dover:

Thank you so much for the letter which you sent me and the kind words which you have said about me and my work.

I have just been out to Chicago for some conferences and returned last night.

I want you and Mrs. Dover to have breakfast with me soon, but it lo ks as though I will be attending the Paris Peace Conference, April 20, altho gh it is not yet settled. If I go, I must postpone the breakfast until I return.

Also probably I will not be teaching at the New School next fall. The Dean, Mr. Ferguson, has insisted that I should give the course on a contingent basis taking fifty per cent of the fees. I am insisting that I must be guaranteed at least $600 for the fifteen lectures. I am afraid that there is no chance of our getting together. I shall be sorry.

My best regards to you and Mrs. Dover.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

W. E. B.D.

23-52-8

1806 - Eleventh St. N.W.
Washington 1, D.C.
January 12, 1949.

My dear Dr. DuBois:-

A letter from the Virgin Islands mailed on the 20th is received on the 22nd a letter from New York mailed on the 23rd is received on the 28th! You figure it out.

It was nice to hear from you again - and am sorry that I couldn't let you know that I was here December 26 & 27. A year ago you promised to stop by on your return from the mid-west! Was this the date?

I have had my little granddaughter with me since June. Due to the polio epidemic in Los Angeles her return has been delayed until now. She is in the first grade doing remarkably well - and I should

like to keep her until June but Grandmother Washington thinks the Washington D.C. winters are too severe! So she is leaving next week with friends who are coming to the Inaugural Ceremonies.

I shall miss her very much but as always I have to become readjusted.

Let me know when you are in these parts again.

Hope you and all are well,

Sincerely

Fannie Howard Douglass

24-4-14

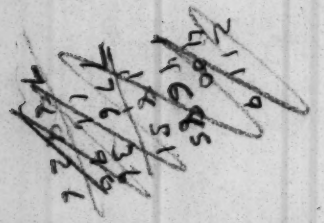
LOUISVILLE MUNICIPAL COLLEGE

SEVENTH AND KENTUCKY STREETS
LOUISVILLE 3, KENTUCKY

August 23, 1949

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

Dr. W.E.B. Dubois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, New York



My dear Dr. Dubois:

Here is such information as I have been able to recall concerning my father, Henry Sebastian Doyle, Sr. I do not know what assistance this will be in your investigation, or if there is any other information that I can give.

Cordially yours,

Bertram W. Doyle

Bertram W. Doyle

BWD:lmb

[DOYLE]

September 7, 1949

Mr. Bertram W. Doyle
Louisville Municipal College
Seventh and Kentucky Streets
Louisville 3, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Doyle:

Your letter with its attachment of August 23, to Dr. Du Bois has been received.

Dr. Du Bois is at present abroad in Russia. I am sure he will be delighted with this information. Your letter will be brought to his attention immediately upon his return.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

file

1949

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 21, 1949

Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

23-52-1

My dear Nina:

I have not written you regularly because I was afraid it would disturb you more than help you. But since you have reminded me of the matter, I shall try to write each week and tell you what I have been doing.

I left Monday after visiting with you, for Washington and stayed as usual with Mrs. Davidson. She always inquires after you. I attended, Tuesday, all day, the meeting of 70 representatives from 14 states, clergymen and other leaders, interested in Peace. We had a very interesting meeting. I did not volunteer to speak but they asked me to say a few words just before the meeting adjourned. There were a good many ministers and leaders there, who appeared a little scared, but on the whole I think we did some go d. We had lunch there and then I returned to Mrs. Davidsons' for dinner.

I left Washington, Wednesday m rning and came back to New York, where I am now getting ready to participate in the Peace Conference of the Council of Arts and Sciences that will take place this week-end at the Waldorf Astoria. I shall send you a program and some of the things that may happen. I talked to Mrs. Bell over the phone the other day and was proposing to go over there for dinner Sunday, but she and the children are going to be away, so I shall have to visit her at some later time. I hope this will find you comfortable.

My best regards to Mrs. Matthews and the family.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 30, 1949

Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

My dear Nina:

This is a report of this week. I have been almost too busy to think. You know that there has been meeting, in New York, a Conference on Peace held by the Council of Arts, Science and Professions. I am a member of that Council and serve on its board of directors. I also helped to plan this program.

Well in the first place, we invited artists, musicians and scientists from all over the world and got an astonishing response. Then the Department of State stepped in and refused at least half of them visas; but they did allow representatives to come from Russia, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Poland, one from England and one a West African Negro from North Ireland. He was invited at my request.

The papers tried to do everyting they could to smear the meeting and there were counter demonstrations and picket lines; but it has been an astonishing conference. Last night, I opened the meeting at Madison Square Garden. There were 20,000 people there crowded to the rafters and two or more thousand people could not get in. It was a magnificent demonstration.

I spoke of the general results of the Conference and introduced the presiding officer, Harlow Shapley of Boston. Shostakovich, the great Russian composer played and there were speeches from a half dozen different countries. It was a marvelous occasion.

Before that in Carnegie Hall we had a meeting, with the whole edifice packed; also we had a dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria, where all of the guests and some of the sponsors, including myself, sat at three high tables. Various speeches were made. The audience paid $10 a place for their dinner and in addition to that gave $19,000 for the cause. The work is going on. The visitors are going to travel across the whole country appearing in a dozen different cities, including Baltimore, Los Angeles, St. Louis, Cleveland, Chicago and Philadelphia. I have just been to a meeting of the Action Committee.

You will not, of course, see many reports and probably no honest reports of these meetings in the Baltimore papers, but don't mind that. It was an epoch making effort to stop war.

I hope that you are getting on well. Although I have been working hard and am tired, I am not too tired and am going to

rest this week; except that tomorrow, I fly to Chicago in order to have an interview with a person who is very much interested in my work.

With love to all.

Yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

COPY

24-4-7

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
April 6, 1949

Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

My dear Nina:

I returned last night from a trip to Chicago. I left Wednesday; it was a beautiful sunshiney day; but the worst of cloudy and rainy weather when we reached Chicago. We had to cruise around in the air a little before landing. Coming back, however, the weather was perfect the whole way and it took only three hours between Chicago and New York.

23-52-3

I went there to have an interview with some influential persons and they have assured me of the continuance of my regular salary as long as I am able to work; so that seems to do away with that anxiety. I saw Mildred Bryant-Jones and of course she sent her best love to you and hoped for your well-being. I came back here to find a number of invitations to speak and visit, only a few of which I can take.

However, there is one trip that I amy take for a week. There is going to be a great Peace Congress in Paris about the middle of this month. Representatives of some four hundred million people have already accepted, so that there will be probably four or five thousand delegates in attendance. I have been asked to make one of the principal speeches. It is not yet settled, but I may go. I should like to see Paris again in the Spring.

The weather is very nice here now and I have put on my Spring over-coat. Also my office is getting into good shape.

This will have to be a short letter as I have just returned and must answer a lot of letters and attend several meetings.

I hope this will find you as comfortable as possible. My love to all.

Yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
April 11, 1949

Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Maryland

My dear Nina:

I trust this will find you in good spirits. I have been working this week on my book and on the speech that I am going to deliver in Paris, if I go. As now planned I shall fly Easter morning. I had thought that I would not leave until two days later, but they want me to come early. This will make it impossible for me to come to Baltimore before I go, as I had planned. However, I will only be away a week or two, and will come down as soon as I return.

23-40-22

I presume you are having the same fine Spring weather in Baltimore as we are having here, only probably more beautiful.

My trip to Chicago and the good food there increased my weight about five pounds, so that I am eating very lightly just now and have already removed two pounds.

The circus is in town and I had planned to go and see it, but I am afraid I will not have time now, which will be a great disappointment!

I talked with Dr. Beekman over the phone this morning and he asked for you, as he always does.

I will write you as soon as I reach Paris; if by any chance my plans should be changed, I will let you know immediately. I hope you are resting well and if there is anything you need, let me know.

My best regards to the family and to Mrs. Matthews.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[DUBOIS]

2302 Montebello Ter.
Balto. 14, Md.

Dear Will: Thanks for your nic letter from Green Wood Lake. I am glad you had a few days by the sea, you love it so. I have so much 23-51-2 certificate I was born in Quincy Ill. I was 76 years old this 4th. of July I first attended school in Cedar Rapids Iowa. Perhaps you can find my wedding certificate when you come you know Yolande has no time for looking up such things. I am about as I was when you were here, Yours with love Nina.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I can imagine You are a little surprised to find Mrs DuBois's hand writing on the front. She is doing fine, and doesn't seem to mind the heat at all. I trust You are well. You asked me when I wanted my Vacation. I would like to have the third week in Aug. I am asking if it is Alright with You if I may have an extra day. That is when I Come off the 13th of Aug. I will return here the 22nd. Will You please let Me know if that is Alright with You?

Thank You very much.

Elsie Matthews

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 18, 1949

My dear Miss Dudman:

You can depend absolutely upon the quality of Mr. Grahams' work and the honesty of his dealings.

I have seen what he has done and I know him and his family. I will be glad to assume any risk of his not doing the work properly.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Dudman ?]

fed

INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRACY

Twenty-three West Twenty-Sixth Street · New York 10, N. Y.

MARY TUVIM
Activities Director
•
MUrray Hill 4-3457

Sept. 19, 1949

Dear Dr. DuBois,

On behalf of the tenants throughout the building, I wish to thank you for your willingness to speak tomorrow afternoon at 4 o'clock.

Everyone is very enthusiastic; consequently, I believe we should plan to use the Library.

I shall be glad to assist Lillian in carrying downstairs any things you may wish to display.

Thankyou again,

Joan Dudman
(Library)

23-9-29

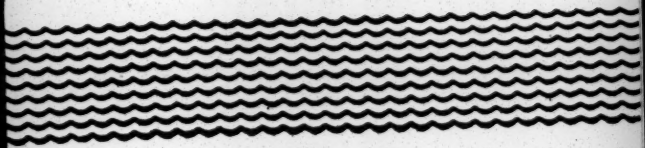
Christmas
Greetings

Isadora Duncan
Margaret Thomas
— Philadelphia
~~Christmas~~ 1919

[1949]
[Economic Cooperation Administration]

information

ON THE MARSHALL PLAN FOR AMERICANS GOING ABROAD



THE MARSHALL PLAN

30-30L-20

INFORMATION FOR AMERICANS GOING ABROAD

SO your're taking that European trip you've planned for so long? Good!

Sooner or later in your personal foreign relations with Europeans the conversation may turn to "Le Plan Marshall," or "Het Marshall Plan," or "Der Marshall Plan," or "Il Piano Marshall," or "Den Marshall Plan," or just plain "the Marshall Plan," which is very much of a subject for daily thought and conversation in Western Europe. And if you were a European you too would be thinking and talking about the Marshall Plan—the European Recovery Program.

The reason is that for a European the Marshall Plan means the restoration of war-bombed harbors. It means ships and goods coming into these harbors. It means seeds and tractors and crops on farms which otherwise might be growing only weeds. It means steel and timber to build factories and raw materials to manufacture into goods. It means jobs and pay envelopes. It means food and clothing in store windows. Not least of all, it means to the European man and woman you will meet a growing confidence that political freedom and economic security is the foundation on which it is possible to build a decent, happy life. And that means, of course, a dwindling

of the destructive forces that add up to totalitarianism and, like other infectious diseases, thrive on poverty, misery and despair.

All of this adds up to the fact that the chances for enduring peace in Europe are brighter. People with jobs, the guarantees of security and the hopes of a better economic future, shy away from suggestions that they kick over their democratic governments.

A firm peace in Europe is a pretty fair guarantee of peace for the United States.

What Ailed Europe?

When World War II ended, the people of Western Europe were exhausted, disillusioned and hungry. Much of the industrial plant of the continent had been destroyed. The delicate machinery of trade, credit and exchange had been stalled. Europe could not find all of the strength within itself to rebuild and it did not have the hard cash with which to buy help from the only possible outside sources—the United States and the Western Hemisphere.

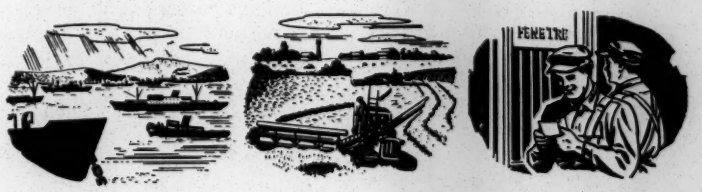
Before the war, Western Europe earned the hard cash she needed from investments in the Americas, from the sale of products to the Western Hemisphere and other world markets, from operations of cargo ships and from tourist visitors. During the war most of her overseas investments were sold to buy things needed to keep on fighting; she could produce very little to sell to the U. S. market; a great number of Europe's freighters were sunk. There weren't any tourists. Immediately after the war all of the dollars that were left went for

such essentials as food and clothing and medicine to keep Europe's peoples alive.

Europe not only lacked hard cash, but temporarily at least had lost the means of earning it.

Before Europe could start again on the road to economic recovery it required food, coal, seeds, raw materials of almost every sort. It also needed machinery for factories, mines, transportation and other industries. Most of these things could be gotten only in the United States and other areas outside of Europe, areas which required dollars in payment. Europe could not produce goods to earn dollars until she had dollars to buy the goods needed to start production. It was a vicious circle.

Then there was the terrible cold winter of 1946-47 and the even more disastrous drought the next summer. The situation became even worse than it had been. The survival of Western Europe's free political institutions and the personal liberty of its citizens was threatened. When there are jobless, hungry and hopeless men whose wives and children are cold, underfed and miserable, there are desperate men. Desperate men take desperate actions. That is a climate for war, not peace.



How the Marshall Plan Started

Following the suggestion of Secretary of State Marshall, the American Congress in 1948, after long study, created the Economic Cooperation Administration as the agency to help promote European Economic Recovery. More than five billion dollars were appropriated for the first year. America literally rolled up its sleeves and went to work to assist the nations of Western Europe to get back on their economic feet. All countries of Europe were invited to join in this tremendous undertaking, but Russia and her satellite nations refused.

Did the United States make available the tremendous material assistance of the Marshall Plan without expecting anything in return?

The answer, bluntly, is *NO*. The United States *does* expect something; and it is a big "something." First—and less important—there are the economic benefits which the United States, and all other countries as well, will share from increased European production and expansion of world trade. If economic conditions in Europe had continued to deteriorate, all American business would have suffered. Much more important, the United States expects that the people of the European nations working with our assistance to establish healthy economic conditions will strengthen their political freedom and establish closer cooperation among peoples and governments. Without this real peace cannot be achieved. The Marshall Plan can rightly be called America's design for peace.

Which Are the Marshall Plan Countries?

The 19 national units of the ERP which have grouped themselves into the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) are: Austria, Belgium, Bizone Germany (the Anglo-American zone), Denmark, French zone of Germany, France, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, Territory of Trieste, Turkey and the United Kingdom.

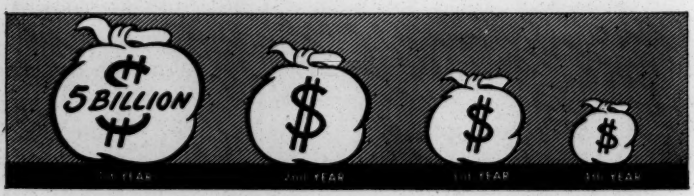
All of these, like us, have a strong sense of national pride and resent being thought of as charity cases which, of course, they aren't. They're all cooperating and doing the large share of the work in getting Western Europe back on its economic feet. Our assistance, important as it is, is only about 5% of the over-all job. The products of the industries, farms, mines and working efforts of 270,000,000 people make up the other 95%.

Furthermore, these 270,000,000 people put up their own money to match every dollar given to their government by the United States. *Mr. European Citizen himself receives no outright gifts of goods or services.* When he gets a good American dump truck, he pays for it out of his own pocket and at the regular retail price. He knows the truck wouldn't have been there to buy if it weren't for the Marshall Plan, and he knows that the money he paid for it goes back to his government, ringing the cash registers of the retailer, the wholesaler and the importer on the way. He knows that his government, instead of giving his money to the United States, turns it back into his country's economy, thereby giving Mr. Citizen himself a hand in his own welfare. But he also knows that he paid his

own money for the dump truck. So it's not quite correct to tell Mr. Citizen that the United States gave him a truck.

Even on a national level it is difficult and only partially correct to tell several of the European Recovery Program nations that they are receiving Marshall Plan "gifts" from the United States. Ireland, for instance, has received a large loan but has received no grant. Sweden and Turkey also have received loans, but no grants. Some nations have received both loans and grants.

In terms of money, the United States, during the first year of the Marshall Plan, put more than five billion dollars into aiding Western Europe. This year we'll contribute a somewhat smaller amount, for it is planned to reduce assistance progressively over a four-year period. Our annual contribution amounts to more than $100 in taxes for every American family. For the average American Marshall Plan aid to Europe is equal to about two weeks of his year's work. For the American taxpayer Marshall Plan assistance means the contribution of European aid of about 13% of all the tax money he pays to the Federal Government. It's expensive and burdensome but fire insurance in a high risk area never is cheap.



You Will Hear Propaganda

There are some people who, wittingly or unwittingly, have been listening to Communist gobbledygook and have swallowed it. If you get to talking with them probably they'll tell you things you never knew about the Marshall Plan. You never knew these things because they're just plain lies. The United States will be described as vile, war-mongering and imperialistic.

Of course, you will recognize the main theme of the propaganda offensive which the Cominform has launched to misrepresent the Marshall Plan. Somehow, the Cominform and the Communists still seem to have faith in Hitler's theory that the bigger the *lie* the easier it is to spread, and if you repeat it often enough everyone will believe it. So they've been prattling endlessly, and they've even got some gullible non-Communists to repeat that the chief purpose of the Marshall Plan is to enslave Europe or, to make it subject to American dominance and control. Just look at the facts and you will find that the truthful story is the exact reverse: the chief purpose of the Marshall Plan is to enable Europe to stand on

its own economic feet, free from the need of special outside assistance.

As simple proof of that the United States has solemnly warned the participating nations that Marshall Plan aid will come to an end in four years—in June 1952.

This Is the Communist Line

Here are a few Marshall Plan whoppers which the Communists and their stooges are circulating:

1. *They say The Marshall Plan is a scheme to start a war.* The answer, of course, is exactly the opposite. Some wars are bred when people are so needy, desperate and hopeless that they are willing to reach out and grab the lands and goods of their neighbors. Other wars come about when aggressors feel that people in lands they want to conquer are so weak in spirit and in economic standing that they are easy prey. The Marshall Plan, in boosting production in industry and agriculture in Western Europe, builds toward a better standard of living, strengthens hope and faith in democratic governments, and fortifies ability and will to resist aggressors from within and without.

2. *They say The Marshall Plan is aimed at "colonizing" or enslaving Europe.* What the Communists mean by this is that the United States is trying to reduce Europe to a state where it will be subject to our dictation, where we can exploit its labor and loot its resources and where it will have no choice but to absorb our finished products at the prices we demand. Again, the exact opposite is true. We are helping Europe build up its own production—in many instances building up

ultimate competitors to American business—and thus end its dependence on special help from us. The sole goal of the program is to make Europe self-supporting.

3. *They say The Marshall Plan was launched to prevent an American economic collapse.* The Marshall Plan was launched to promote economic recovery and establish a firm peace in Western Europe, which is vital to world peace. Of course, economic chaos in Western Europe would damage our own economic prosperity, just as the restoration of healthy economic conditions in Western Europe will strengthen our own economy and increase our welfare. But the primary purpose of the program is to build the foundations of peace.

4. *They say The Marshall Plan is a means of imposing the American economic system on Europe.* It is the policy of our government that planning and action for an economically stable Europe is the responsibility and concern of the Europeans themselves. Any change in the economic institutions within the participating nations is a matter to be decided by the free peoples of those nations.

5. *They say The Marshall Plan is a device for dumping our surpluses on Europe.* Much of the material we have sent to Europe has been in scarce supply at home and was exported at

some sacrifice to us. The rest is goods which the European nations *themselves* requested, to further their goals of economic recovery. The United States does not dictate to Europe what it should import. It sends, if it has it, what the Europeans themselves ask for.

6. *They say The Marshall Plan is a device of the United States for looting and stockpiling Western Europe's strategic materials.* In aiding Western Europe we are drawing heavily on America's own resources of strategic materials—such as lead, aluminum, copper, steel and coal—in spite of the fact that such materials are in great demand in the United States. In order to build up our diminished stocks, we are negotiating agreements to obtain a fair share, on reasonable terms and in reasonable quantities, of scarce raw materials which may exist within the boundaries of the nations of Western Europe and in their dependent overseas territories.

Finally, Communist-inspired malice and misinformation may attempt to make you feel guilty about the food and drink you consume or the quarters you rent or the articles you buy while abroad. Don't fall for that, either.

The Western European nations, in this particular, have enough to meet their needs and your needs. They've got the quarters and resort areas for you, and they're hoping you'll like and buy the goods which they produce. As a matter of fact, they're banking on your eating well, staying as long as you like, and buying to your heart's content. The money spent by you will enable them to replace anything you use up and, most important, payment will be in dollars which they so much

need—dollars that will permit them to buy in the "dollar area" many of the things they must have to restore their economies.

If you are invited to dinner in a European home, the meal and hospitality will be in best European tradition, but remember that the family is probably sacrificing a good portion of its meat ration to make the meal possible. You will also dine on occasion in Europe's fine restaurants, but remember that many of these restaurants are permitted to serve such meals only because they attract tourists and thus are important dollar earners. The average European never can afford to enter their doors. In no country will you be able to judge the diet and the circumstances of life of the average person—worker, shop clerk or school child—in the kind of restaurant you are likely to visit. Do not judge the average diet of Europeans by the handsome meal which your European friends will be eager to serve you but at a sacrifice to their diet for days or weeks to come.

You can help the Marshall Plan succeed, you can help the United States and Europe, by helping your European friends understand the program, the way it works and the purposes it seeks to accomplish.

Additional Information

Americans in Europe may obtain additional information on the Marshall Plan at the office of the U. S. Special Representative in Europe, Hotel Tallyrand, 2 Rue St. Florentin, Paris, France and at the offices of the following ECA Country Missions:

ECA Mission to Austria
American Legation
Vienna, Austria

ECA Mission to Belgium-Luxembourg
American Embassy
Brussels, Belgium

ECA Mission to Denmark
American Embassy
Copenhagen, Denmark

ECA Mission to France
American Embassy
Paris, France

ECA Mission to the Bizone
c/o U.S. Political Advisor
Frankfurt, Germany

ECA Mission to Greece
American Embassy
Athens, Greece

ECA Mission to Iceland
American Legation
Reykjavik, Iceland

ECA Mission to Ireland
7 Fitzwilliam Place
Dublin, Ireland

ECA Mission to Italy
62 Via Veneto
Rome, Italy

ECA Mission to the Netherlands
American Embassy
The Hague, The Netherlands

ECA Mission to Norway
American Embassy
Oslo, Norway

ECA Mission to Portugal
American Embassy
Lisbon, Portugal

ECA Mission to Sweden
American Embassy
Stockholm, Sweden

ECA Mission to Trieste
c/o U.S. Political Advisor
Free Territory of Trieste

ECA Mission to Turkey
American Embassy
Ankara, Turkey

ECA Mission to the United Kingdom
American Embassy
London, England

Prepared by

The Office of Information

Economic Cooperation Administration

Washington 25, D. C.

June 1, 1949

Cover-7

University Post Office
Station Box 152
Syracuse 10, New York

July 9,1949

Dr. Wm. E.B.DuBois
226 W. 150th. Street,
New York City New York.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

The EGBE OMO ODUDUWA is a newly created non-political, non-profit national organization, determingly formed to further a new Educational system, Character, Democratic Unity, and the understanding of Human Rights among the Yoruba nation and other ethnic groups throughout Nigeria.

In the Yorubaland, Southern and Western Nigeria alone, this national group is over ten and one half million strong, headed by Sir Adeyemo Alakija LL.B, K.B.E., and the patronage of Lord Milverton of Lagos,the Oni of Ife, Ademola II, C.M.G., C.B.E.of all the Egbaland, Nigeria, and many more; and include as members all Yorubas or the decendants at home and abroad, students in the United Kingdom, and Ireland, with the few now studying in the United States, and Canada.

We, in the North America, feel that it will be a great contribution to the ODUDUWA in including you on the ADVISORY BOARD,and also on the BOARD OF DIRECTORY as the permanent "Chairman",for the United States and Canada Branch. The inauguration will be staged in New York City in the summer of 1950.

You will be posted with general information directly from West Afrika in the near future, along with the list of the Board of Officers in the United States, Canada, United Kingdom and Ireland.

Very sincerely yours,

Olatunji A. Fabiyi

Olatunji A. Fabiyi
ACTING ORGANIZING SEC., U.S.Branch.

27-23-16

July 19, 1949

Mr. Olatunji A. Fabiyi
University Post Office
Station Box 152
Syracuse 10, New York

My dear Mr. Fabiyi:

Answering your letter of July 9, I beg to say that I am in sympathy with your organization, if I understand it. I know something of the history of the Yoruba nation, and I think it would be an excellent thing for an organization to help in the progress of these people.

On the other hand, I am wondering if there would be any opposition between your group and, for instance, the Ibo? And again, how far you would be interested in combining your efforts for the Yoruba and Ibo with efforts for the Muslem people of the North, the Hausa, Fulani and Kanuri and Nupe? Of course, I realize that all of these peoples are widely separated with different backgrounds and different religions. Nevertheless, the future of Africa depends upon the union of its various tribes in efforts for self rule and freedom from white over-lordship.

Insofar, therefore, as particular groups are uniting for the progress of their people and at the same time for cooperation and union with other tribes, I am in very distinct sympathy. If that is the object of your organization, I shall be glad to take part in it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-23-17

University Post Office
Station Box 152,
Syracuse 10, New York
U. S. A.

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Cable Address: "ODUDUWA"

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"Education For Character Development, Understanding of Human Rights, and for Democratic Unity."

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These Men and Women, Specialists in Their Fields of Life, are Large Enough to Lead and Serve Afrika; and Small Enough to Know and Help Afrika.

28-50-19

September 2, 1949

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Please do not misinterpret the delay of this letter as a want of courtesy. I have been extremely busy during the school's summer sessions, and at the same time, expediting several dozens of correspondences of our organization.

I am taking this opportunity to thank you for your reply to the ODUDUWA'S invitation of July 9,1949,and I am personally congratulating you on behalf of all our people to whom this greater organization is dedicated - and I will say again that the world of the entire West Afrikan people will be overwhelmingly broaden by your critical experiences, and your intellectual leadership.

I am sure that Nigeria's inevitable freedom through this EGBE (organization)'S new idealistic projects,will, undoubtedly spell "larger unity, and cooperation of all the Sudan"; and leads us to a self-rule, completely away from the white overlordships.

Sir, frankly you do not know how much it meant to me in having you as the "Supreme Leader",a Chancellor of this organization which is only a year old in its total philosophy for the progress of all the Sudan,first today, being engineered by the Yorubas uniting all over the world to build a powerful Republic of Nigeria on a sound regulated democracy,and later, to lay the philosophy of freedom throughout the colonies of West Afrika. Sir, this was the vow of all critical thinking Yorubas throughout the continent of Afrika, one year ago when a "Five-pronged lamp" was lit at our famous Historical Shrine at ILE-IFE,creating the EGBE OMO ODUDUWA'S motto: "Unity, CHARITY, FREEDOM,and PROSPERITY FOR ALL".

I have made the report of your association with the Oduduwa to King Ademola of Abeokuta, The Oni of IFE,Sir Adeyemo Alakija,K.B.E the National President,and the London Branch headed by Dr.J.O.-Akerele, M.D.

Regarding our plans and the general educational programs, funds,etc. are few of the things that I hope to discuss with you, but I will not be able to do this any time before the Christmas school vacation due to the point that I have left Syracuse Univ.,and I am now taking a special study (a combination of political and Social Engineering, which will be completed by May of 1950), and I hope to return to Syracuse University to complete my work in Geology.

However, it may be possible for me to meet you during in December; and I also hope to contact our Legal Advisors together around this time. Any further suggestions will be heartily welcomed.

I have the honor to remain,

Most respectfully yours,

Olatunji A. Fabiyi

Olatunji A. Fabiyi
ORGANIZING DIRECTOR,N.Amer. Br.

Dr. Wm. E.B.Du Bois
23 West 26th Street,
New York City 10, New York.

September 7, 1949

Mr. Olatunji A. Fabiyi, Org. Dir.
N. American Branch
Egbe Oma Oduduwa
University Post Office, Station Box 152
Syracuse 10, New York

Dear Mr. Fabiyi:

Your letter of September 2, to Dr. Du Bois has been received.

Dr. Du Bois is at present abroad in Russia. Your letter will be brought to his attention immediately upon his return to his office.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

230 - 30

[EINSTEIN]

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

POST OFFICE BOX No. 124

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please confirm

May 3, 1949

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Four years ago, the United Nations was founded as the basis for a stable and enduring peace. Today mankind is threatened with the catastrophe of atomic war.

The diplomats sign the Atlantic Pact in the name of "peace" and in the guise of "strengthening" the United Nations. But the Wall Street Journal far more realistically and accurately describes the pact as "the triumph of jungle law over international cooperation."

23-43-28

We who send you this letter are not willing to believe that brute force is a substitute for human reason. We are not willing to replace the One World of the United Nations with the two worlds of the Atlantic Pact. We are not willing to stake America's security solely upon military power.

We know that you - and men and women of influence like you throughout the nation - are deeply concerned lest our government take a false step that may cost us our freedom and plunge our country into a catastrophe which it is still possible to avoid. We believe you share with us the desire to do everything possible to safeguard the American people from the terrible indictment that, through our government's action, we might become responsible for the destruction of civilized man. We are certain you would welcome an opportunity to meet with others like yourself to discuss the war danger, to make your opposition to the Pact manifest and to decide upon constructive alternative proposals for peace. With Americans everywhere sensing the dangers of our current foreign policy, it is surely our obligation to make articulate this opinion.

We therefore invite you to join with us the week-end of May 20th and 21st - in Washington, D.C., in a non-delegated meeting of leaders of civic, church, labor and community organizations. No responsibility seems as urgent as the need for all of us to find common ground upon which to make our stand for real and lasting peace.

The enclosed card is for your convenience. We look forward to seeing you in Washington on May 13th.

Sincerely yours,

Emily Greene Balch
Emily Balch

Edwin T. Dahlberg
Rev. Edwin Dahlberg

A. Einstein
Dr. Albert Einstein

Thomas Mann
Thomas Mann

C B Walls
Bishop W. J. Walls

[ENC]

Emily Green Balch Thomas Mann Rev. Edwin Dahlberg
Dr. Albert Einstein Bishop W. J. Walls

( ) You may include my name among those supporting the purposes of the conference in Washington outlined in your letter.

( ) I intend to attend conference in Washington May 20th and 21st.

( ) I am sorry not to be able to attend.

23C-43

....
Signature Address

uopwa #16-2 .....

EINSTEIN

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JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1299

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NEWYORK NY MAY 5 1949

Civil Rights

DR W E B DUBOIS

409 EDGECOMBE AVE NYK

PROFOUNDLY DISTURBED DANGEROUS DIRECTION AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY INVOLVED IN NORTH ATLANTIC PACT. CONVINCED PUBLIC OPINION OPPOSED TO WAR MOVES. GROUP INCLUDING REVEREND EDWIN DAHLBERG, FORMER PRESIDENT NORTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION, THOMAS MANN AND OURSELVES HAVE ISSUED CALL TO LEADERS CIVIC, CHURCH, LABOR, COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS THROUGHOUT NATION TO ASSEMBLE IN NON-DELEGATED CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON, D. C. MAY 20 AND 21 TO MAKE MANIFEST OUR OPPOSITION ATLANTIC PACT AND DECIDE UPON CONSTRUCTIVE ALTERNATIVE PEACE PROPOSALS.

ESSENTIAL, HOWEVER, SMALL GROUP MEET TO DISCUSS CONFERENCE PLANS AND MOST EFFECTIVE WAY TO STIMULATE AMERICAN PEOPLE. IN EMERGENCY WE ASK YOU TO MEET WITH US AND OTHER SELECTED LEADERS IN PINE ROOM, CAPITOL HOTEL, 8TH AVENUE AND 51ST STREET, SATURDAY, MAY 7, 2:00 P.M., TO DISCUSS CONFERENCE AND OUR TOTAL RESPONSIBILITY IN PRESENT CRISIS. PLEASE RESPOND IMMEDIATELY TELEGRAM TO MISS NEWMAN, PINE ROOM, CAPITOL HOTEL

ALBERT EINSTEIN
EMILY GREENE BALCH
BISHOP W J WALLS

1055P

20-19-38

[EINSTEIN]

May 10, 1949

Princeton, New Jersey
Post Office Box No. 124

Gentlemen:

23-43-29

Answering your letter of May 8, may I say that Dr. Du Bois is still abroad in France. He is expected to return sometime between the 15th and the 21st. However, I am afraid that he will not be in time to take part in your meeting.

I will bring your letter to his attention immediately upon his arrival.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

[ELKS]

Office of
Dr. J. Finley Wilson
1915 Fourteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

23-42-46

January 24, 1949

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am writing to thank you for joining with us in sponsoring the Legislative Assembly and Rally for Civil Rights to be held in Washington D.C. on February 11, and 12, 1949. Only the united efforts of such representative leaders as you will insure that the Congress will act upon the mandate of the recent election and enact a civil rights program to wipe out the shame of the segregation and discrimination practiced against our minority groups.

I am enclosing the printed Call to the Legislative Assembly and Rally, upon which your name appears as a sponsor. The Call is being mailed to the leaders of every group we feel is concerned for the realization of every American citizen's right to equal protection of the laws, regardless of race or color.

I hope earnestly that as one of the sponsors you will make every effort to join with us in Washington. The credential form on the reverse side of the Call is for your convenience. If you represent an organization, will you please indicate how many delegates of your organization will be in attendance both at the Legislative Assembly and Rally on Friday, February 11th, and the Conference on Saturday, February 12th.

Very sincerely yours,

Dr. J. Finley Wilson
Grand Exalted Ruler
Improved Benevolent &
Protective Order of Elks
of the World

CALL

to a Legislative Assembly and Rally TO END SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION

Washington, D.C.
February 11-12, 1949

The right of every American citizen to equal protection of the laws regardless of race or color, long a cherished part of our American system, has been systematically denied in practice to millions of citizens. Segregation and discrimination is their lot from birth to death.

Discrimination has been denounced by such spokesmen for the conscience of our own nation and the world as the President and his Committee on Civil Rights, the United Nations in its Declaration of Human Rights, and the World Council of Churches at its recent Amsterdam Conference. Yet the practice persists.

For years the Congress has had before it legislation to ensure to every American the right to vote, the right to equality of economic opportunity, the right to equal protection of the laws. A determined and powerful minority of Congressmen has blocked such legislation year after year.

In November, 1948 the platforms of all three political parties were united on this issue and the American voters gave their mandate for the passage of this legislation.

The time has come to end once and for all the denial to our own citizens of the rights we proclaim throughout the world. We cannot permit any minority of Congressmen to block such a program.

We are therefore calling together representative leaders and organizations of the American people to a Rally and Legislative Assembly for Civil Rights to be held in Washington the weekend of February 11th and 12th, as a demonstration of the united will of Americans to bring to an end now the practices of discrimination and segregation. The Rally and Assembly will carry forward and commemorate the birthday of the Great Emancipator.

The Legislative Assembly will concern itself with the principal legislation before the Congress: The Fair Employment Practices Bill, the Anti-Poll Tax Bill, the Anti-Lynch Bill, Federal Aid to Education. It will press the demand for effective measures to wipe out discrimination in Federal employment. It will insistently call for an end to the flagrant segregation practices in the nation's capital which are a living rebuke to our professions of democracy.

We feel that such a united Rally, demonstration and Legislative Assembly will have a decisive effect on Congress and the other agencies which have it in their power to put an end to segregation and discrimination *now.*

We invite you to join with us as an individual or to appoint delegates from your organization to attend both the Assembly and the Conference. The credential form on the reverse side is for your convenience. Will you please indicate how many delegates of your organization will be in attendance both at the Legislative Assembly and Rally on Friday, February 11th and the Conference on Saturday, February 12th.

PROGRAM

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 11th, 1949

10:00 A.M. Preliminary meeting of Legislative Assembly at Metropolitan Baptist Church, 1225 R St., N.W., Washington, D. C.

Chairman: Dr. J. Finley Wilson.

Outline of status of Civil Rights legislation before Congress.

Appointment of delegations to visit Congressional leaders, heads of Executive Departments, and officials and civil organizations in the District of Columbia.

1–4:00 P.M. Visits by delegations to present demands for action.

4:30 P.M. Assembly will reconvene at Metropolitan Avenue Baptist Church to hear reports from delegations.

7:30 P.M. Rally on Civil Rights at Metropolitan Baptist Church, 1225 R St., N.W., Washington, D. C.

(*Speakers to be announced*)

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 12th, 1949

Conference on Civil Rights. Metropolitan Avenue Baptist Church, 1225 R St., N.W., Washington, D. C.

10:00 A.M. to 12 Noon Panel meetings.

Congressional Legislation.

Discrimination and Segregation in Federal Employment and the Armed Forces.

Elimination of Discrimination and Segregation in the District of Columbia.

(*Chairmen of panels to be announced*)

1:30 P.M. Reassembl, of full conference.

Report of Panel Chairmen.

Discussion.

Adoption of Program of Action.

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New York City

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University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minn.

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Chairman
Progressive Party
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Physicians Forum
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Committee on Social Progress, Northern Baptist Convention
New York City

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Hotel & Club Employees Union, AFL
New York City

MARC CONNELLY
New York City

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Executive Secretary
Federation of Churches
St. Louis, Missouri

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President
Actors Equity
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United Public Workers, CIO
New York City

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Garrett Biblical Institute
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Philadelphia, Pa.

DR. E. B. HENDERSON
Falls Church, Va.

MRS. VELMA HOPKINS
Food & Tobacco Workers Union, CIO
Winston Salem, N. Carolina

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Greensboro, North Carolina

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Ithaca, New York

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Chicago, Illinois

ESTELLE M. OSBORNE
New York City

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON
Executive Secretary
Civil Rights Congress
New York City

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California Institute of Technology
Pasadena, California

JENNINGS PERRY
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Church of God in Union Assembly
Dalton, Georgia

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Director, Civil Liberties
I.B.P.O.E. of W.
Philadelphia, Pa.

THOMAS RICHARDSON
United Public Workers, CIO
Washington, D. C.

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Enfield, Conn.

PAUL ROBESON
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HAZEL SCOTT
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REV. GUY EMERY SHIPLER
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The Churchman
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Wilberforce State College
Wilberforce, Ohio

JAMES WATERMAN WISE
Director, Council Against Intolerance
New York City

ALEXANDER WRIGHT
Stone & Allied Products Workers of America, C.I.O.
Pittsburgh, Pa.

COLEMAN YOUNG
United Public Workers, CIO
Detroit, Mich.

(Organizations listed for identification only)

TO: DR. J. FINLEY WILSON
1915 Fourteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

CREDENTIAL FORM

We are happy to accept the invitation to join with you and the other sponsors in the Legislative Assembly and Rally to End Discrimination and Segregation, to be held in Washington, D. C. on February 11th and 12th, 1949. Our organization will send ..... delegates to the Assembly and Rally on Friday, February 11th and ..... delegates to the Legislative Conference on Saturday, February 12th.

..... *Name of Individual or Organization*

..... *Address*

..... *City and State*

..... *Names of delegates or observers (for organizations)*

Registration fee $1.00 — includes admission to all sessions and mass meeting.

85

ELKS

[ELKS, I.B.P.O.

Office of
DR. J. FINLEY WILSON
Grand Exalted Ruler, Improved, Benevolent and Protective
Order of the Elks of the World
1915 Fourteenth St. N.W.
Washington, D. C.

March 4, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The success of the Legislative Assembly and Rally to End Discrimination and Segregation in Washington, February 11-12, can be measured by the fact that 1200 delegates from 30 states and the District of Columbia attended the two day meeting and also by the quality of the resolutions adopted. You will receive a report of the work of the Conference in the next issue of the official newspaper of the Elks, The Eagle.

I was inspired by the enthusiasm and determination of the delegates in approaching this challenging task of ending Discrimination and Segregation now.

On behalf of the delegates as well as myself I wish to thank you for your sponsorship of this Conference. The Conference adopted a resolution to continue the work of the Legislative Assembly and Rally. I hope we may count on your continued interest and activity in behalf of this great crusade for justice.

Sincerely yours,

J. Finley Wilson, Chairman
Legislative Assembly and Rally
to End Discrimination and Segregation

23-40-36

[ELKS]

Office of
DR. J. FINLEY WILSON
Grand Exalted Ruler, Improved, Benevolent and Protective
Order of the Elks of the World
1915 Fourteenth St. N.W.
Washington, D. C.

March 9, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Ave.
New York, New York

23-9-32

Dear Dr. DuBois:

On behalf of the delegates to the Legislative Assembly and Rally to End Discrimination and Segregation as well as myself I wish to express my appreciation and thanks to you for your participation in the leadership of the Conference. The success of the Conference resulted from the enthusiastic contribution of time and energy of yourself and the other leaders and workers who value so highly our crusade for justice.

I hope to receive from you suggestions for continuing the work of the Conference as well as any comments on the Conference itself. I trust we may count on you to press forward in the fight for Civil Rights legislation and action now, and to work closely together in the future work of our Conference.

With warm regards,

Sincerely yours,

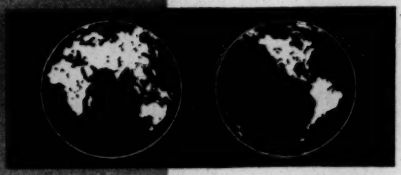
J. Finley Wilson, Chairman
Legislative Assembly and Rally
to End Discrimination and Segregation

uopwa #16

China [1949?]

FAR EAST SPOTLIGHT

A monthly report on U.S. Policy and internal events in China, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Southeast Asia and India.



80 EAST 11th STREET, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.
ORegon 3-7560

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York City

Dear Doctor DuBois:

The questions of friendship, trade and recognition of the new government of China are major topics of discussion in our country today. Far East Spotlight, an influential and authoritative monthly on the Far East, wishes to take this opportunity to hear frank opinions on this subject from outstanding and representative Americans.

We would be grateful if you would fill in the enclosed questionnaire. The answers may be as brief or extensive as you care to make them.

Finally, may we request that you favor us with an early reply.

With many thanks for your cooperation,

Sincerely,
Susan M. Warren
Susan M. Warren
Associate Editor

28-4-4

Cur. 7

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
April 4, 1949

Mrs. Audrey Farr
814 11th Street N. E.
Washington, D. C.

My dear Audrey:

It was very kind of you to come down to the train as I left Washington. You looked very nice and desirable. Also I was pleased to find when I came back the document signed and sealed.

If you find later, on reading the manuscript that the terms are too onerous, you may destroy it, and I shall forget your obligations, but not you.

I hope to hear from you soon.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-23-30

[HOWARD FAST]

Fast

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 7, 1949

Mr. Howard Fast
43 West 94th Street
New York, New York

My dear Mr. Fast:

I have just written Mr. Herbert Aptheker about the plates of THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK, published in 1903. They have been offered to me for $100 and I am buying them. I am wondering just how they could be used?

I suggested to Aptheker that possibly a jubilee edition might be gotten out, with some addition from my TIMES article, or the Petition to the United Nations. I told him you were thinking of the matter. Let me hear from you at your convenience.

With best regards.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Fast]

HOWARD FAST
315 CENTRAL PARK WEST
NEW YORK CITY

24-23, 40

Bette and Howard Fast invite
you to attend a reception in honor
of Tung-Pi-Wu, Chinese delegate
to the San Francisco Conference
Wednesday, August 29 5-7 P.M

OCT 1

ROOM 2

A.M.

Reply to Spivey

Cleveland Chapter

THE FEDERAL EMPLOYEES DEFENSE COMMITTEE

1284 EAST 105th STREET
CLEVELAND 8, OHIO
SW. 4718

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C. M. SMART
Treasurer

April 7, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
409 Edgecomb Ave.,
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

More than a year ago you received a copy of "A Statement on Civil Rights" by the National Alliance of Postal Employes which contained a section entitled "The President's Loyalty Order- Executive Order 9835". We trust that you still recall the nature of the statement that sounded a warning of the abuses and misuse to be expected from the operation of the Federal Employes Loyalty Program.

Subsequent events have proved that perspective to have been accurate. Therefore, you will find enclosed material indicating what is being done to combat the dire consequences of the Loyalty Program.

The Federal Employees Defense Committee has retained the firm of Rogge, Fabricant, Gordon and Goldman to challenge the Constitutionality of the Loyalty Order in the Federal Courts. To that end a law-suit was filed in the District of Columbia on March 7, 1949. In addition, the F.E.D.C. is carrying on an educational campaign to aquaint the public with the tragic effects of the Loyalty Program which apparently singles out Negroes and Jews as the subjects for charges of disloyalty.

In such times as these when many persons of standin g and influence prefer to remain silent, it is believed that you possess the courage of your convictions. For this reason you are invited to serve as a member of a National Citizens Committee under the Chairmanship of Dr. J. Finley Wilson in support of the Federal Employees Defense Committee.

"The greatest dangers to liberty lurk in insidious encroachment by men of zeal, well-meaning, but without understanding."
—Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis

The National Committee would be expected to lend prestige to the movement, furnish names and to otherwise open channels to organizations which could be prevailed upon to extend moral and financial support to the cause. Knowing of your limited time and responsibilities, we would of course have others to assume the brunt of the actual work.

Will you indicate your acceptance in writing today? We will be grateful for as much or as little of your time as you care to devote.

Sincerely yours,

Bertram A. Washington

Bertram A. Washington, Chairman
Nat'l. Federal Employees Defense Committee

I will be glad to join the General Committee proposed in your letter of April 7, 1949

233-8

April 12, 1949

Mr. Bertram A. Washington, Chairman
Nat'l. Federal Employees Defense Committee
1284 East 105th Street
Cleveland 8, Ohio

Dear Mr. Washington:

I will be glad to join the general committee proposed in your letter of April 7, 1949.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

(Fisher)

March 5, 1949.

Dear B.

It was a great relief to get your note some little-time ago that your plans had really materialized and that financial worries would not arise.

Tell me what is the Council on African Affairs and who is on it. And what do they do?

Do they give you a secretary and are you writing another book?

24-9-26

The librarian called me in the other day to tell me that plans for my return to Europe were receiving completion and he said it meant a more extended — both as to countries and work — plan than we had engaged in before. That is all I know though I see accumulating reports from time to time about it from time to time.

If you haven't read Nathaniel Hawthorne's biography by Randall Stewart I think you would

enjoy it. -

You promised to ask Ridgely Torrence if he ever received the letter I wrote him about his book on John Hope.

If and when I go away I expect to come up to New York for a week in which I expect all my true friends to devote themselves to the task of entertaining me. I shall give you fair warning. - Do you travel much now?

Locke comes over in April. He has been very ill pneumonia and is not yet entirely well.

How Dr Bois decided about college yet?

As always,

Ruth Anna

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 21, 1949

Miss Ruth Anna Fisher
654 Girard Street Northwest
Apartment 409
Washington, D. C.

My dear Ruth Anna:

I was in town just for a day, to attend that conference at the Willard Hotel, but I did not get a chance to look you up. I received the news that you may return to England with mixed reactions. I do not think that under the circumstances you are really going to be very comfortable there. Of course, if they ask you, you will have to go, if it is only for a year or two; but your future, I am sure, is here in the United States.

The Council on African Affairs was established several years ago, by Paul Robeson, Max Yergen and others. I was not, at the time, invited to join, chiefly I think because of Yergen. Finally when Yergen got in trouble on account of his leftist views and turned a somersault into the right-wing camp, I was asked in, and I have accepted the vice-chairmanship. Also I have a very pleasant office in the building where the Council is located. The program of the organization is simple; they want to help Africans with contributions; they want to understand what is taking place in Africa and let the forward-looking people of the United States know. They publish a little bulletin, monthly, called, NEW AFRICA. We hope really to accomplish something when once we get re-established.

Yes, I have a secretary, and I am writing "another book;" it is that novel which I have long planned. I have not yet really gotten in my stride in writing, but I think I am going to finish it one of these days. I am writing Ridgley Torrence by this mail.

When you come up to New York on your way to England, I shall certainly do all I can to give you a send-off. You must, however, give me plenty of notice. I am glad to hear of Laski coming and hope I may get a chance to see him.

DuBois has decided that she probably will go to Fisk in 1950. Thank you for your letter.

Yours with love,

24-9-27

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March30 , 1949

Miss Ruth Anna Fisher
654 Girard Street, Northwest
Apartment 409
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ruth Anna:

I wrote him and here is his answer. Probably you have already heard.

We had a magnificent meeting of the Conference for World Peace.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-9-24

Apt. 409
654 Quincy St. N.W.
Washington 11, D.C. May 5, 1949.

(Fisher)

Dear B.

This is a hearty note to welcome you back home and to let you know I leave for England the end of this month, and for an indefinite stay.

What would you advise me to do about my apartment? I hate to think of coming back to no home at all as I did in 1940.

I'm writing you more shortly, but the apartment is a problem.

As always,

Ruth Anna

24-23-37

[Fisher]

May 9, 1949

Miss Ruth Anna Fisher
654 Girard Street, N. W.
Apartment 409
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Miss Fisher:

Your letter of May 5, to Dr. Du Bois has been received. I am writing this to inform you that Dr. Du Bois is still abroad in Paris and is not expected to return until the end of this month.

I will bring your letter to his attention immediately upon his return to this office.

Sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

84-83,42

Later

care American Embassy,
1 Grosvenor Square,
London, W. 1,
England,
June 29, 1949.

Dear B,

As far as personal relations are concerned it is as if I had never left England. It is as if I have never been away. And I am thoroughly enjoying my heart warming welcome. So hasty was my departure that I haven't had time to let some of my friends know of my return. Of the people you know I've seen Joyce, Marian and the Lawtons.

The officials at both the Public Record Office and British Museum are both gracious and kind and I'm glad to be back for a

24-23-35

few weeks. I'm looking for a flat which is as possible of achievement as finding a needle in a hay stack. And, as you know, the food is impossible and deathly. But more about London later on.

I'm sorry to have missed you in New York, but I'm glad you enjoyed yourself so much in France.

Take care of yourself and think of me sometime.

As always,

Ruth Anna

October 28, 1949

Miss Ruth Anna Fisher
c/o American Embassy
1 Grosneuvor Square
London, W. 1
England

My dear Ruth Anna:

It has been ages since I have heard from you, but of course that is partly my fault since I have been waltzing considerably about the world. However, I expect to stay put now for a few months.

I have laid aside temporarily the novel which I am writing and am writing a short book on Russia, comparing my three trips in 1926, 1936 and 1949. I hope I may get a publisher to take it.

I am in good health and as cheerful spirits as one can be at this particular epoch of the world.

Please write and tell me how you are getting on. I suppose the United States is seeing that you do not starve, but I am afraid that otherwise you may be having a rather pinched existence.

But let me hear from you.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

L-4-23-36

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

c/o American Embassy,
London, W. 1
Nov. 6, 1947.

1 Grosvenor Square

Dear B,

I was glad to have yours and to know that you have returned safely from your many wanderings. While you were in Europe a letter came from you asking me to write you at the National Hotel, but not giving the city, and stating you were probably on your way home even when I got your letter, considerably delayed because it was wrongly addressed to 4 Connecticut Rd., so that there was nothing I could do but wait for you to write when you got home.

I seem to have missed you all around. But I had not made adequate modification of my leaving. -

I'm enjoying my friends here and my work is much more interesting than in Washington at the Library itself - you don't make time for the sake of making time and the weather up to now, with two days of bad fog and rain and cold to break it, have been really wonderful - a hot American kind of summer without the sticky humidity.

24-23-31

But when Dive said that D think D have said everything in its favour. Dim still obliged to live in an hotel, not too uncomfortably, for after five months here Dim still looking for a flat. Dim most anxious to have a flat because then Dim going to ask friends at home to send me food as of course, D can't cook here. D fare less badly than most people here because D can have my meals at the Embassy cafeteria which is all American. But those who can't are in a bad way.

Europe seems to me to be settling down into third rate nations, if England is an example, where a foreigner wouldn't live from choice. Personally, D am becoming more and more opposed to any totalitarian government. There are some things but even by the state, D suppose, such as education and health services though D think even with them if people want to pay for private schools and doctors they should be allowed to. What D object to is the egalitarian aspect of totalitarianism. If there isn't enough even one, treating us what upon will, for every body no one should have any. The fact that some people are not alike we want

AM-23-34

common on that other people may not like the things they do interest and embarrass have nothing to do with it. It is literally a question of existing what's ever before upon. One must certain modern just what kind of a government I want to live, but it must be one which has the least possible interference with one's private life and that will not be any totalitarian government. Though I must admit it is difficult to see how to combine state planning with the tremendous size of states now both as regards territory and population.

I heard recently that Yolande & upon, too, of course had sold upon Baltimore home. Why? And how is Alice. Du Bois never, and did Du Bois go to Paris?

I hope to stay here for the rest of this year and then see more during which time I should probably go on the continent a few months and then to come home and stay put. And please write to it - that upon live that long, too. The daughter of my friend in Louisiana where I always stayed died a month or so ago — she was 50, and the mother in her eighties, so that I'm assuming she will have to go to live with her other children in Michigan so that I shall not be going back to Louisiana any more. It is sad to have these friends dropping out of upon life. And I

24-23-33

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

ful, wot and, but a bit wistful to know I shall not live to see the outcome of this world revolution.

Since I'm here where austerity is the key note of life I have no hesitancy in asking my friends to send me things occasionally. You can from time to time send me a pound of six bars of bath size Lux soap. No soap we examine here are made of pure ingredients; and I hesitate to use them. When you want to worry the pound you can send chocolates. The sweets here are dreadful and nothing is plentiful. If you will have to remit three pounds G.I. ft or else there is a powerful duty. This isn't an unreasonable request, is it?

Do take care of yourself and let me hear from you sometimes frequently.

I hope you've seen the ballet from here. There is also here much very good music and some wonderful plays magnificently acted. It's a strange world.

Does Walter White still stay with the N A A C P?

As always

Ruth Anna

24-23-34

24-23-39

[FISK Club, Chicago

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

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Ship Radiogram

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Fisk 1949 JAN 11 AM 7 07

DR W E B DUBOIS=

409 EDGECOMBE AVE=

CHICAGO FISK CLUB IS PLANNING TO HONOR YOU IN A PROGRAM FEBRUARY OR MARCH UNDERSTAND YOU MAY BE HERE FEBRUARY COULD YOU BE PRESENT NAME DATE=

MARIAN HADLEY 6332 STLAWRENCE=

6332=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 14, 1949

Miss Marian Hadley
6332 St. Lawrence Street
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Miss Hadley:

I appreciate the honor which the Chicago Fisk Club is planning for me, but I regret to say that I have no plans to be in Chicago in February or March, and I could hardly afford to come simply for this interesting program.

If my plans change, and they may, I will be very glad to let you know.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

21-33-40

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 18, 1949

President Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

My dear President Johnson:

I had hoped to see you in Washington at the recent conference, but you were not there.

DuBois, my granddaughter, thinks that perhaps she would prefer to go to Fisk University after high school graduation. She is seventeen, a junior and will graduate in 1950. I am therefore making tantative application and asking if she could be accepted and what chances there would be for any scholarships. She is not an outstanding scholar, but has good brains, good health and is in the Douglass High School in Baltimore. She did part of her work at Northfield School for Girls, in Massachusetts; but did not seem to get on well there. She preferred the Douglass and seems to be doing good work. She will, herself, write you. I shall be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-33-42

Fisk

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

March 24, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are all greatly pleased that your granddaughter, DuBois, is indicating a preference for Fisk University, and that the choice seems to have your approval and support.

I have noted that we have some twenty-five or thirty students representing the third generation of the family at Fisk.

DuBois will probably be interested in some of the recent printed material about the school, and this will be sent to her. I anticipate no difficulty on the matter of acceptance, and she will have an almost certain chance for at least a tuition scholarship, which amounts to two hundred and fifty dollars.

Sincerely yours,

rd

Charles S. Johnson

24-23-41

[FISK]

1

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

March 31, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

President Johnson believes your granddaughter might like to have an illustrated bulletin about Fisk. We should be glad to send one along if we can have her full name and address. Perhaps you would like just to jot down the name and address on the back of the enclosed post card and return it to me.

With the thought that you may like to see this new bulletin, I am forwarding a copy to you.

I think you and your granddaughter already know that applications for the fall of 1950 will be considered about a year from now. DuBois ought to fill out the regular application form and get it to the Registrar's office at Fisk in March 1950.

Yours sincerely,

George St. John Jr.

GCstJ/lnh
Enclosure

24-23,44

Fisk University Library,

Nashville 8, Tennessee

April 7, 1949

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the gift mentioned below and I beg you to accept our sincere thanks.

23-41-8

Faithfully yours,

Arna Bontemps, *Librarian*

The following manuscripts:

For the Guardian
Address for Ethical Culture Society,
February 7, 1949
The Negro Progressives
Article for Mr. Hunton
Mirror for Man, Book Review
Liberty Book Club
The African Roots of Peace
Africa Today
The United Nations and Colonies
Eritrea
Most of the World, Book Review
Independence Movements in Africa
Africa and the World
The Thirteenth, Fourteenth and
Fifteenth Amendments
Two untitled manuscripts

To

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

June 7, 1949

Cover 7

Mrs. Donald C. FitzRoy
176 Smith Street
Perth Amboy, New Jersey

Dear Tommy:

Here is a job for you to keep you from being bored. DuBois, my granddaughter, age 17 wants a job for the Summer.

She is a high school senior and expects to go to college next year. She has good executive ability and gets on with children. Have you any suggestions or ideas?

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
April 8, 1949

Mr. Clark Forman
1620 22nd Street N.W.
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Forman:

Some weeks ago, I had a letter from Madame Sun Yat Sen, asking me to act upon a committee for the continuation of American contributions to Chinese Welfare. I accepted gladly and have cooperated in starting the Chinese Welfare Fund in such ways as I could. Recently however it has come to my knowledge that the Chinese Aid Committee, who under the United States Government had been distributing funds in China, is going to have a dinner at which you are going to speak. I am venturing to write you because I wonder if you realize just what is at stake in this effort.

The Chinese Aid Committee, using funds furnished by the United States military authorities and State Department, have without any question, discriminated against the peasantry represented by Madame Sun Yat Sen. They have given something, but they have not given what they ought to have given, and much of the money which they tried to distribute has gone into the hands of the Bureaucracy, represented by Chaing Kai Shek and his dishonest office-holders. This, together with out military interference has helped to give the Chinese peasants the idea that the American people are against them and are furnishing the guns and ammunitions which have been oppressing them for years.

If now, the United States Government continues to furnish funds and supplies to the enemies of the Chinese people, andto discriminate against the masses whom Madame Sun Yat Sen represents, this will be unfortunate for peace and for our relations with China and all Aisa.

I am wondering therefore, if you realise that your advocacy of the proposals of the organisation which pepresents this sort of reactionary government aid, will further confuse and divide the liberal friends who really want to help the Chinese people.

I hope you will consider this matter very carefully before you consent to loan your voice and aid to what seems to me a program comprable to Stassen's proposal for us to put billions of dollars behind the Chaing Kai Shek regime in South China.

I trust you will pardon the proffer of this advice which I have felt it my duty to give you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

1620, 22nd Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 8
April 12, 1949

My dear Dr. Du Bois,

Your letter of April 8th was very welcome indeed. As you surmise I do not want to do anything that will help the reactionary forces of China but on the contrary want to give all possible help to the great people's movement in that country.

The facts about the organizations in this country attempting to help the Chinese people do not seem to me to gibe with the information which has been given to you. As I understand it the China Aid Council still feels that it can command broader support and more funds than the China Appeal, but is nevertheless willing to give all encouragement and cooperation to the Appeal.

23-49-2

Before I knew of the organization of the Appeal I had agreed to speak for the China Aid Council, not at a dinner but at a mass meeting which is now scheduled for May. I believe that all the money raised at this meeting will go to help the causes which have been supported by Madame Sun Yat Sen with the exception of that which helps the orphan school in Canton. It is quite likely that by the time of the dinner all China will be under the control of the Communist forces or a satisfactory coalition. In that case all the money that can be sent to China would be helpful, and in any event I can not see that the little money that goes to the orphans in Canton will help the reactionary bureaucracy.

If I am wrong in my understanding of the facts, I will be very glad for you to straigten me out.

Yours sincerely,

Clark Foreman

Clark Foreman

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Lec. Corres [The Forum]

OFFICE PHONE
RITTENHOUSE 6-3939

HOME PHONE
MAJESTIC 5-1586

DR. SIDNEY S. BLOOM
DENTIST
609 MEDICAL ARTS BUILDING
16TH AND WALNUT STREETS
PHILADELPHIA 2, PA.

March 7, 1949

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We meet this Saturday evening March 12 at 8:30 P.M. We'd like you to speak on the state of the fight for Negro rights in America. The Forum is held in the Academy of Music Foyer at Broad and Locust Sts.

23-44-69

We'd like very much to have dinner with you before the lecture. If you can, you should take the 5 o'clock train out of Penn Station and we'll meet you at Broad st.(end of line). If you can't take the 5 then the 6 o'clock will get you in in good time for the Forum. We'll meet you then at 7:42.

Enclosed find a card. Please mail it telling me when and where I can meet you.

Yours sincerely,

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 10, 1949

28-44-60

Dr. Sidney S. Bloom
609 Medical Arts Bldg.
16th and Walnut Streets
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Dear Dr. Bloom:

I shall meet you at Broad Street Station at 6:42 p.m. Saturday March 12. I shall have with me as my guest, Dr. Virginia Alexander. We will be glad to dine with you if that is agreeable to you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

FOUNDATION FOR WORLD GOVERNMENT
FIFTY-EIGHT PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 16

CABLE: LAWLEARN

STRINGFELLOW BARR
PRESIDENT

TELEPHONE:
ORegon 9-4936

July 22, 1949

23-50-33

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Palmer Weber and I were discussing a few days ago your appeal to the United Nations on behalf of American negroes. Is it possible for me to secure from you, or elsewhere, a copy of the appeal?

I wonder if you would do me the honor of lunching with me on some mutually convenient date, preferably after I have had time to study the document I am requesting of you?

Sincerely yours,

Barr

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

August 5, 1949

23-50-34

Mr. Stringfellow Barr, President
Foundation for World Government
58 Park Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Barr:

Enclosed in the Petition which you asked for in your letter of July 22.

I shall be only too glad to lunch with you almost any day during the next two weeks. Perhaps you will call me sometime before 10:00 A.M. at my residence:

409 Edgecombe Avenue
Apartment 13-H
New York 32, New York
WAdsworth 6-9837

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBB:lm

FOUNDATION FOR WORLD GOVERNMENT
FIFTY-EIGHT PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 16

CABLE: LAWLEARN

STRINGFELLOW BARR
PRESIDENT

TELEPHONE:
OREGON 9-4936

August 10, 1949

23-50-32

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

On my return from a trip I find your kind note of August 5 enclosing the "Appeal to the World!" I am very grateful to you.

I am delighted that you will lunch with me. As to the date, I now find myself desperately preparing to board a ship for Sweden. I shall take the liberty of begging you on my return to set a time that both of us can meet.

Cordially yours,

Barr

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Fraternal Outlook

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER
80 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y. • ALgonquin 4-7733

Reg for Interview

January 7, 1949

23-40-15

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26 Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Fraternal Outlook and the IWO traditionally observe Negro History Week and prepare specific material for this important occasion.

This year we are concentrating not on historical material alone, but above all on the present problems and needs of the fight for Negro rights.

We could think of no better way to do this than to interview you for your views on the meaning of Negro History Week and the central questions of the fight today.

I would appreciate it greatly if you would consent to give me an interview, and designate a time within the next ten days when I can interview you.

Sincerely yours,

Abraham Chapman

Abraham Chapman
Editor

AC/jc
uopwa

ROCKWELL KENT, *General President* • JOHN E. MIDDLETON, VITO MARCANTONIO, RUBIN SALTZMAN, LOUISE THOMPSON PATTERSON, *Vice Presidents* •
PETER SHIPKA, *General Secretary-Treasurer* DAVE GREENE, *General Recording Secretary* SAM MILGROM, *General Executive Secretary* ABRAHAM CHAPMAN, *Editor*

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 14, 1949

23-40-16

Mr. Abraham Chapman, Editor
FRATERNAL OUTLOOK
80 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, New York

My dear Sir:

I shall be very glad to have you interview me almost any day when I am in the office. Usually I can be found here between 12 noon and 4:00 p.m. You might call up and make an appointment with my secretary.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Advance text, Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, Professor of Sociology, Howard University (1949)

For release 8:30 p.m., Thursday, October 13.

We have a Negro problem in the United States today because of a colossal lie, one part of which states that the Negro is different from other people and the other part that he does not want the same things or does not have the same aspirations as other people. This colossal lie was invented at first to justify the exploitation of the Negro during slavery and later to justify the exploitation of the Negro freedman, to justify his exclusion from employment according to his ability, his segregation in slums, and the contempt and lynch law of which he has been the object. In no other part of the Western Hemisphere has so little regard been shown for the Negro as a human being as in the United States especially in the southern states. This colossal lie that the Negro was different from other people has been justified by religion, pseudo-science, and philanthropy despite the millions of dollars which were disbursed through this channel for his benefit. For over fifty years what the Negro received for education and welfare and what little protection was afforded him by the law were regarded not as a right of a citizen but as a favor from his white overlords.

The changes which have occurred in the treatment of the Negro have not been due so much to changes within the country as to the changed relation of the United States to the outside world. When a war was fought to save the world for democracy, the Negro was forced to fight and die for a country that Jim Crowed him and tried to make other nations and peoples treat him with similar contempt and inhumanity. But during the first World War the empires which were built upon the sweat and blood of the darker races began to totter. A second world war sounded the death knell for the colonial system. Reluctantly, the white man has been forced to give up his "burden" of exploiting the colored peoples of the world. Despite the fact that the United States wasted over a billion dollars in an effort to maintain a feudal regime and an upstart bourgeoisie in China, the Chinese peasants and workers are nearing their goal of a free and United China.

The American Negro who was forced to fight in a Jim Crow army has gradually acquired a greater understanding of world events and his relation to the changes in the world. As the result of the

30-11d-12

broader contacts afforded by over twenty-five years in the North and military experience in Europe, Asia, and Afrida, the American Negro is no longer deceived by the lying propaganda that he is different from other people and therefore should not participate freely in American life. He can see through the sham democracy that shuts him up in slums in the Nation's Capital, denies him an opportunity for employment and makes him the victim of Jim Crow practices. The Negro is not deceived by the use of such sociological jargon as mores and caste and class to justify separate schools and his exclusion from places of public accommodation.

For those who would invoke sociology and anthropology to bring understanding to the Negro problem let me remind you that in the American culture the Negro male has never been permitted to play a masculine role. There has always been a restriction upon his role as husband and father. He has been supposed to dance and sing or preach the Christian virtues of himility and forgiveness. This is partly why white America has become incensed at Paul Robeson. Mr. Robeson represents the Negro man in the masculine role as a fearless and independent thinker. There is also another reason why white America has become so incensed against Mr. Robeson. He represents the new understanding on the part of the American Negro that his battle for freedom and equality is a part of the battle of colored colonial peoples in Asia and Africa and the battle of the serfs in Eastern Europe against feudalism.

I want to close on that note. Throughout his history in America the American Negro has made progress toward freedom and equality during periods of crisis when his own cause became a part of a larger cause. Today in our battle for freedom and equality - economic, political, and social (I emphasize social in order that there will be no misunderstanding) - we are not along. We have the support of the colored colonial peoples of the world and that part of the white world which is interested in the creation of a world free from economic exploitation.

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 7, 1949

Dr. Buell G. Gallagher
2616 College Avenue
Berkeley 4, California

My dear Mr. Gallagher:

I am anxious to know how things are with you and how the election came out and what you are doing now.

I, myself, as you have doubtless heard have been through the mill and am finally separated entirely from the NAACP. I found it quite impossible to get on with the administration, and they evidently could not get on with me. The basic trouble is unfortunate organization, the utter lack of democratic method and the concentration of authority in the hands of the Secretary.

I am going hereafter to devote myself to writing and to act as advisor to The Council on African Affairs. I am not just certain as to how I shall support myself but I have good hopes.

My best regards to you, Mrs. Gallagher and the family. I shall be glad to hear from you at your leisure.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-23-57

[Gallagher]

2616 College Avenue,
Berkeley, California,
January 15, 1949.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

If you drop by a public library, the December 22nd issue of the Christian Century will give you my story of the election in the California seventh district. I'm sorry not to have reprints of the article, but the price was prohibitive.

The man whom Pacific School of Religion had engaged to take my place had a heart attack, so that I am back at the School. My present commitment runs through the winter Quarter, to the end of March. After that, the future is wide open. It is good to be back on a payroll, even for this temporary moment. It is also somewhat disconcerting not to know just what the future may bring--an experience which we evidently share.

It is good to hearfrom you. Mrs. Gallagher joins me in our best wishes to you.

Cordially,

Buell Gallagher.

Corr. A

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
April 6, 1949

Mr. William Gardiner
Trusteeship Council
United Nations
Lake Success, New York

My dear Mr. Gardiner:

I am so sorry not to have been able to see you before this but I had to make a flying trip to Chicago and have just returned. If you will call me up sometime this week, I shall be glad to make an appointment. I think I maybe coming out to the United Nations and perhaps we would be able to see each other there.

At any rate let me hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-23-2

Curious Letter

[1949?]

Dear Sir,

I understand that the best way to get ahead in ones field is to find the very best teacher. When I am older I wish to go into politics, that is the reason for this letter.

I consider you the best in your field, which I wish to go into some-day, and this is true even though I am a white boy of 14. Your books happen to be the best I've read on your important subject.

The only things I lack are 1. influence 2. experience and 3rd Money although I have a very small sum of it, if I find enough money to do it with I am buying a transmitter that cost $100 but formerly $1800. I think you know how this will help you and your cause.

I am really serious about it (I hope I may put it this way) your cause. Will you please send me all pamphlets, information of any kind and your own letters, you

23-50-7

time to. I wish to get as Per-
-sonal with you because I know
you are the man, who supports
the people who need this world
most. I intend to give you
my utmost attention for I in-
-tend to help to carry out what
you write about today and I'll
write to morrow. Please give
me your attention because you
hold part of my future in your
hands.

Yours truly
Kenneth Gates
409 School Place
Johnstown, Pa

Postscript: I have a plan that
will prove my desire to you.
I will tell you about it in
my next reply to your next
letter.

23-50-8

Important

If Mr. Dubois has retired from this office will you give me his real Address

Kenneth Gates
409 School St.
Johnstown, Pa.

May 12, 1949

Mr. Kenneth Gates
409 School Place
Johnstown, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Gates:

Answering your recent undated letter to Dr. Du Bois, may I say that the Doctor is still abroad in Paris.

He is expected to return about the end of this month. I am sure he appreciates your interest and thanks you for your kind words.

I will bring your letter to his attention when he returns to his office.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

Feck Read

Glenville AREA COMMUNITY COUNCIL

660 Parkwood Dr. ★ GLenville 9773 ★ Cleveland 8, Ohio

Dr. W. E. Du Bois
The Council on African Affairs, Inc.
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

November 21, 1949

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

23-44-49

On Sunday, February 12th, 1950, the East 105th Neighborhood Committee of the Glenville Area Community Council is sponsoring a meeting on F.E.P.C. We are planning around this meeting a mass city-wide campaign for F.E.P.C.: by asking for: an endorsement of the Jaffee-Carr city ordinance, an endorsement of our meeting, a financial contribution toward the campaign, support of our campaign for the hiring of minority groups in the city's department stores; - from church, civic, fraternal, cultural, Negro, labor, women and youth organizations throughout the city. We want to involve our whole community through the organizations, schools and small business people.

We hope that such a meeting can be the culmination of a successful F.E.P.C. campaign and a further stimulus toward the goal of fair employment in our city.

We want to ask that you be a speaker at this meeting. We are asking Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland and former State Representative Lody Huml of Cleveland to speak. We feel that you as a leader of the Negro people personify the aspirations of the Negro people and through you we can involve all sections of the Negro people in this campaign.

We would appreciate a reply from you at your very earliest convenience. If it is impossible for you to be in Cleveland on February 12th, we hope you can be here on February 5th or 19th.

Very sincerely yours,

Frances Williams

(Mrs.) Frances Williams, chairman
East 105th Neighborhood Committee

23-44-50

November 25, 1949

Mrs. Frances Williams
Glenville Area Community Council
660 Parkwood Drive
Cleveland 8, Ohio

My dear Mrs. Williams:

I regret to say that on February 12, 1950, I am speaking at the Community Church in Boston and cannot therefore accept your kind invitation of November 21.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

1949 NOV 28 PM 5 59

1114 BROADWAY NY
MU-3-5295

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

:(28)..

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

.. NA614 PD=CLEVELAND OH10 28 308P=

NOV 28 PM 3 32

W E B DUBOIS=

:23 WEST 26 ST=

:COULD YOU SPEAK IN CLEVELAND FEBRUARY 19TH OR 5TH PLEASE WIRE REPLY COLLECT:

=MRS FRANCES WILLIAMS GLENVILLE AREA COMMUNITY COUNCIL 660 PARKWOOD DRIVE=

23-44-48.

Can speak February 5th 5th 4th Stat fee and expenses

#150

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

1949 DEC 6 PM 5 53

WESTERN UNION

1201

(130)

[GLENVILLE]

BROADWAY NY
MU-3-5295

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
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NA788 PD=CLEVELAND OH10 6 433P=

=DR W E DUBOIS, COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS INC= DEC 6 PM 5P

23 WEST 26 ST=

23-44-417

=GLAD YOU CAN SPEAK FEBRUARY 5TH FEE SATISFACTORY LETTER FOLLOWS=

MRS FRANCES WILLIAMS=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Tech Comm

Glenville AREA COMMUNITY COUNCIL

660 Parkwood Dr. ★ GLenville 9773 ★ Cleveland 8, Ohio

23-44-31

December 13, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

As stated in my wire, we are delighted that you can come to Cleveland on Sunday, February 5, 1950. We are planning to hold the FEPC rally at 3:30 in the afternoon. While final arrangements have not yet been made, we will hold the meeting either in a large church or school auditorium.

Although Rabbi Silver cannot accept our invitation to speak because of other commitments, Rabbi Rudolph M. Rosenthal has accepted in his place. Former State Representative Lody Huml has also agreed to make a short talk.

It is our understanding that the fee and expenses for your appearance will total $150.00. Would it be satisfactory to you if the sum is paid here in Cleveland?

The East 105th Neighborhood Committee which is sponsoring the FEPC rally is made up of 18 street or block groups in our community. These groups are non-partisan in nature and seek to improve their own neighborhood and the community generally. Our neighborhood committee is a unit of the Glenville Area Community Council. The Council is made up of about 50 different organizations in our community including the street organizations, some churches, PTAs, social agencies, schools and a few fraternal groups. Under separate cover I am sending you some additional information about the Community Council. As the date of our rally approaches, I will also give you more information about the campaign for a Cleveland FEPC ordinance. Meanwhile, we would appreciate receiving a glossy print or "cut" of yourself and any other material we might use in publicity.

If you will let us know your arrival time we shall be most happy to meet you. We shall also be pleased to arrange any accommodations you may need while in Cleveland.

Very sincerely yours,

Mrs. Frances Williams

Mrs. Frances Williams, Chairman
East 105th Street Neighborhood Committee

FW/jm

[ENC]

November 4, 1949

Memo

TO: Chairmen and Presidents of Clubs and Organizations

FROM: Francis Bolden, President, Glenville Area Community Council

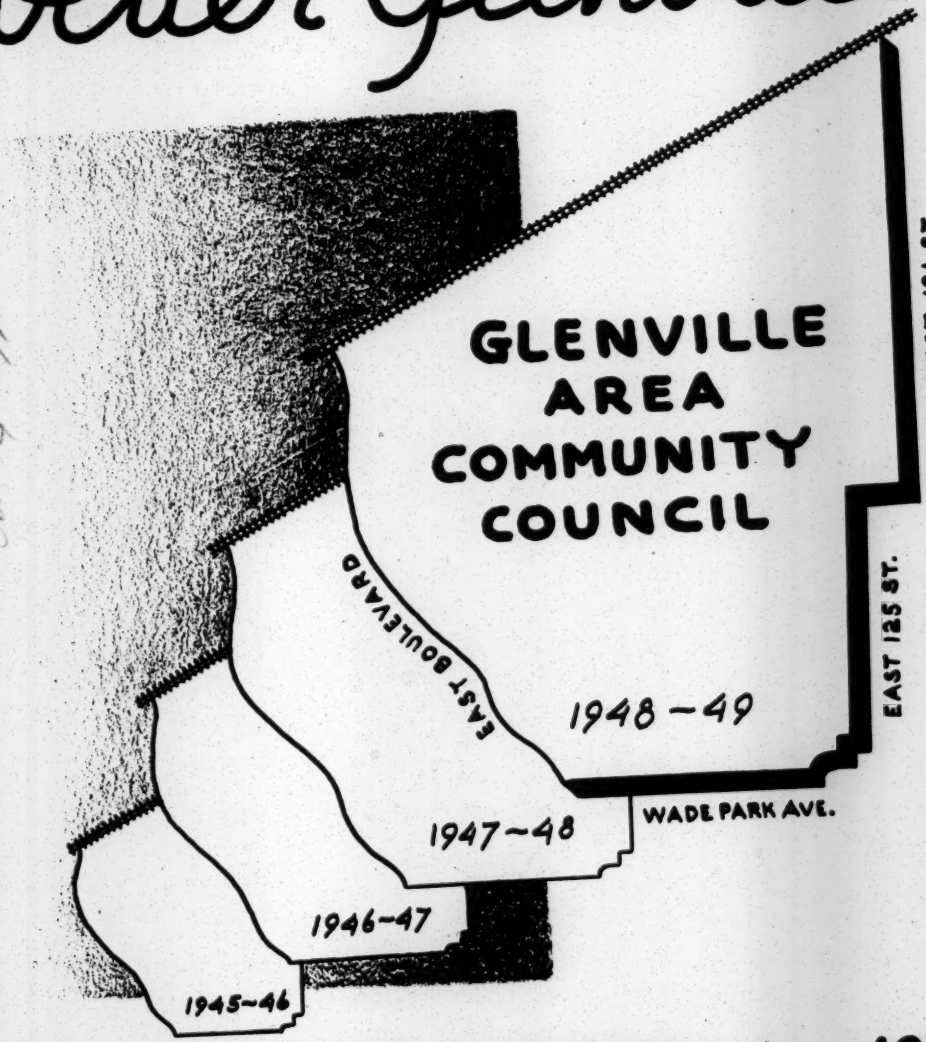
Attached is the report of the Glenville Council's Committee on Human Rights (Mrs. Lida Harm chairman). Because the problems discussed are of vital importance to you and your community, the Council Assembly asked that this report be submitted to the various organizations in the Glenville Area. The Assembly urges you to do the following in your own group meeting:

1. Read the report to the members of your group.
2. Discuss the Facts and Recommendations.
3. Write down on the forms provided whether or not your group approves each recommendation. Also add any further recommendations your group wishes to make.
4. List whatever action your group plans or has taken on the subject.
5. Turn your report forms over to your two Assembly Representatives to guide them in discussion and action for your group at the next Glenville Area Community Council Assembly, 7:45 pm, Tuesday, November 29th at 660 Parkwood Drive. (The forms should then be turned in at the close of this meeting.)

We hope through this democratic process that groups in this community can strengthen their united efforts for the preservation and realization of human rights.

Tech. Comm

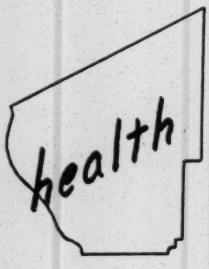
toward a better Glenville



4th ANNUAL REPORT • June 1949

Since its organization four years ago, the Glenville Area Community Council has grown from an organization of eight hundred individuals to a coordinating council of organizations and neighborhood units whose adult membership totals approximately 8,000. Churches, PTAs, schools, social agencies, block groups, fraternal and business organizations, and neighborhood associations joined together in the Council to work for the welfare of the whole community. Three territorial units -- the East Glenville Coordinating Committee, the East 105th Street and the East 123rd Street Neighborhood Units gave attention to immediate neighborhood problems and promoted area-wide programs. Conduct of Council activities was shared by 443 individuals -- four times as many as those who pioneered in the Council's first year. Of these active workers, 225 represented organizations cooperating through the Council.

Community action, in which hundreds of individuals and many affiliated organizations have shared, is an exciting story of democratic citizen effort. Active neighborhood and community leaders produce community action through the collection of facts, discussion, persuasion, and mobilization of public opinion. That such voluntary, cooperative effort brings results is demonstrated by the following summary of activity for the past year.



The Greater Cleveland Chest X-Ray Survey in this area was organized and promoted by many organizations and individuals cooperating through the Council. PTAs provided a great deal of the leadership for this vast effort in which 7,110 area residents were X-Rayed at 10 different neighborhood locations.

The Executive Committee circulated to groups and individuals in the area information on ways of reducing the nuisance and health hazard of smoke.

"Rat Control Schools" were organized by 16 street associations in the Council's East 105th Street Neighborhood Unit with the help of the City Health Department. Five street associations -- covering 12 City blocks -- carried out rat poisoning projects.

All types of organizations gathered facts about safety and law enforcement as the first step in preparing a plan for a safer community. As a second step, the Area Council Assembly, composed of representatives from fifty organizations in the area, discussed law enforcement with Inspector Massey and Captain Schoonmaker of the Sixth Police District. Leaders of PTAs, street associations, and Council neighborhood units assisted police in stopping the illegal sale of long-bladed knives to minors.

Three Council representatives -- two from a street association, one from a PTA -- supported police testimony at a hearing in Toledo before the State Liquor Control Board, resulting in the 90-day suspension of an East 105th Street tavern's liquor permit. Representatives from associations in the East 105th Neighborhood Unit met with Liquor-Control Permit and Law Enforcement Chiefs to express support for strict enforcement and to request that the Council be notified of all applications for permits in the Glenville Area. Six state bills affecting liquor control were studied and supported in cooperation with other area councils.

Need for police patrolmen in and around Forest Hill Pool was stressed by a delegation from the Council's East 123rd Street Unit in a meeting with the Mayor's Executive Assistant. A patrolman was assigned there for the summer. This Neighborhood Unit also pushed its campaign for pedestrian safety at the East 123rd-Arlington intersection. A push-button light with "Wait" signs was finally installed.

The East Glenville Coordinating Committee studied fire prevention and several of its member organizations conducted educational fire-prevention programs.

Six new street groups were added to the twenty already organized and assisted by the Council. The Council office provided 6,000 mimeographed announcements of their meetings. Planting of lawns and home improvement was stimulated by these groups. The East 105th Street Unit of the Council encouraged "Yardville"--cooperative, backyard improvement projects initiated by McCalls Magazine. Neighbors on one block of Parkwood Drive have started such a project.

The Council Assembly studied the proposal to build a City incinerator adjacent to residential property at East 105th and Leuer Avenue and encouraged member groups to support the hundreds who already had petitioned against it. The proposal was abandoned.

Neighbors on East 99th Street and representatives from Columbia PTA and several street groups appeared before the Board of Appeals, protesting, (1) opening of a dairy driveway on a residentially zoned street and (2) granting a pool hall permit closer to Columbia School than the law allows. The Board refused the pool hall permit although it has operated a year without one. The protest against the dairy driveway failed.

Encouraged by the East 105th Street Neighborhood Unit, the Ward 25 Councilman succeeded in having East 105th Street repaved between Superior and Adams Avenues.

In order to reduce damage done to yards by unleased dogs, ten street groups in this same unit distributed leaflets stating the law on the care of dogs.

The Glenville Area Recreation Service, a cooperative project of the new Neighborhood Settlement Association and the Joint Recreation Board, was established after extensive study and effort by the Council's recreation and group work service committees.

Studies and recommendations of the Council's recreation Committee encouraged the City to purchase lots for playground use on Yale Avenue and Linn Drive.

Physical improvements and higher standards of operation of Glenview and Forest Hill Swimming Pools were urged by the East 123rd Neighborhood Unit and the East Glenville Coordinating Committee. The City has undertaken a program of improvement to be completed before the pools open this summer; more extensive renovation is planned for next year.

These two neighborhood bodies have continued the campaign for better recreational facilities in Forst Hill Parkway, where a super - vised playground and three baseball diamonds will be operated this summer by the Joint Recreation Board. Additional meeting places for athletic groups, Boy and Girl Scouts, and Camp Fire Girls have been found by member organizations after a review of recreation and group programs by the East Glenville Coordinating Committee.

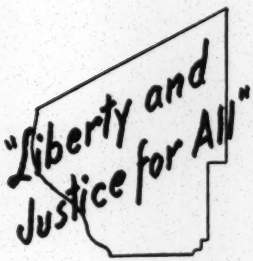
Representatives from the Glenville Community Council joined other Area Councils in emphasizing the need for more and better public recreation programs at the hearing on the City recreation budget.

Groups of "Playground Friends" were organized last summer to help playground leaders in their work and to acquaint neighbors with the playground program.

A younger children's play-lot, established through efforts of the Council's Parklawn Block Unit and the City Recreation Department, was operated last summer by volunteers from this Unit.

With the cooperation of the schools, the Council distributed publicity about Carol Nursery, Arlington Day Camp, the Glenville Area Recreation Service, the public community centers at Patrick Henry and Glenville High Schools, the summer playgrounds, and the Camp Information Center.

Cooperating with other Area Councils, representatives from Glenville protested the decision of school officials to close teen-age centers on one of their two weekly operating evenings, with the result that most centers continued to operate pending a study by school officials of their affect on participants' school performance.



Under the leadership of the Council's Committee on Fair Employment Practices Legislation, many individuals and organizations studied the problem of discrimination in employment and gave sustained support through hundreds of letters, resolutions and telegrams to enactment of City and State FEPC bills. Representatives of the Council participated in hearings and met with public officials to let them know the importance of FEPC to the people of this community.

The Executive Committee and two neighborhood units heard and discussed reports on the operation of the President's Loyalty Order. Information on the way this program had affected Cleveland postal employees was submitted to more than a hundred groups in the area. In cooperation with city-wide organizations, support was given employees unjustly accused of "subversive" activity.

Throughout the year, the Council continued to cooperate with other area councils in Metropolitan Cleveland on such matters as vandalism, public recreation, and legislation dealing with liquor control.

The Council and many of its affiliated groups actively supported the needed tax levy and bond issues in the last election.

The Executive Committee joined other Councils in recommending a slate of public-spirited citizens for the Cleveland Area Rent Control Board.

Homemakers, workers of all kinds, representatives of diverse religious and racial groups, a variety of non-partisan organizations worked together in the Council during the past year to make Glenville a safer, healthier, and more pleasant community. Through the Council, community action for city, state, and national progress was undertaken. The many problems still unsolved are a challenge to greater effort by all those persons and groups who believe the people have the power to shape their own future and their own community.

REPORT OF TREASURER-JUNE 14, 1949

BALANCE AS OF JUNE 10, 1948		$274.36
RECEIPTS --		
*Memberships	144.50	
Deposit Refunds	23.27	
Total Receipts	167.87	
		167.87
		$442.87
DISBURSEMENTS --		
Postage	114.17	
Rentals	96.00	
Office Supplies	64.08	
Contributions	32.50	
Bank Charges	2.94	
Miscellaneous	25.33	
Petty Cash On Hand	16.10	
	351.12	
		351.12
BALANCE June 14, 1949		$ 91.11

Respectfully submitted,

Tom Stevenson

Tom Stevenson, Treasurer

*General re-registration of members was commenced only recently because of the change in the membership year from October 1 to June 1.

THANKS AGAIN

To the Welfare Federation of Cleveland for providing a field office and staff--a Red Feather Service of the Community Chest of Greater Cleveland--to serve the Glenville Area and its council.

To the Cleveland Public Library for providing office space in its Glenville Branch.

To the Cleveland Foundation for bearing part of the cost of the Federation's Glenville field office.

June 1948 to June 1949

President	Francis Bolden
Vice Presidents	Mrs. Ruth White
	Rev. A. W. Meckstroth
	Miss Catherine Graves
Secretary	Mrs. Florence Klein
Assistant Secretary	Mrs. Frances Williams
Treasurer	Tom Stevenson

Chairman East 105th Street Neighborhood Unit --
Mrs. Frances Williams

Chairmen East 123rd Street Neighborhood Unit --
Mrs. Ruth White
Mrs. Dorothe Greenberg

Chairman East Glenville Coordinating Committee --
Rev. Theodore A. Kitterer
(Temporary)
William H. Corbett
(Part of Year)

Committee Chairmen

Public Relations (Part of Year)	Mrs. Martin Sutler
FEPC Legislation	Mrs. Lida Harm
Organization & Planning . .	Saul Farber
Recreation (Part of Year) .	Mrs. H.C. Jenkins
Chest X-Ray Survey	Mrs. Ben Stroll

Staff (Provided by the Welfare Federation of Cleveland)

Office Secretary	Mrs. Julia Morris
Executive Secretary	Donald E. Stier

Published by

THE GLENVILLE AREA COMMUNITY COUNCIL
660 PARKWOOD DRIVE
CLEVELAND 8, OHIO - TEL. GL. 9773

Glenville Area

INTEREST IN

FEPC

32-14-45

Report (November, 1949) of
The Human Rights Committee,
Glenville Area Community Council
660 Parkwood Drive-GL 9773

FEPC legislation

Fair Employment Practices Legislation would make it unlawful for employers and unions to discriminate because of race, religion or national background.

The Ohio Legislature defeated the FEPC Bill in its last session, and two senators from Cuyahoga County were instrumental in that defeat. They were Edwin F. Sawicki and William Boyd. The fight was a close and hot one.

The proposed city legislation, introduced by Councilmen Jaffe and Carr, is resting in the Legislative Committee of City Council, pending a second "90-day trial" of a "voluntary plan" introduced by the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce. The first "90-day trial" lasted nine months.

We regret that the Chambers of Commerce of Cleveland and Ohio have bitterly fought FEPC law. They, along with the Cleveland Plain Dealer, have taken the attitude that it is a question of "education versus force", with them on the side of education. In reality it is a question of "law and education versus unfair, undemocratic practices and we are on the side of law and education.

Glenville Council activity

Our Community Council has taken the stand from the beginning that discrimination in employment should not be left to the whims of individual employers. We have supported and worked for FEPC legislation.

Many of our affiliated groups rallied their members to distribute literature, write letters, send telegrams and representatives to Columbus. A total of $70.50 was contributed to the State campaign for FEPC. We were a part of the Greater Cleveland Council for a state FEPC.

Our own committee arranged a meeting with State Senator Bartunek to ask his support for the Bill. Senators Sawicki and Boyd refused to meet with us--Sawicki because he was against the bill, Boyd said he would vote for the Bill but he did not.

Councilmen Jaffe and Marshall, from our Area, were outstanding in their efforts in City Council for the local FEPC ordinance. Recently a "Citizens Committee for Cleveland Fair Employment Practices Legislation" has been formed with Mr. Alfred Benesch as chairman. Glenville Area Community Council has representation on this committee in keeping with our policy to date.

(continued)

recommendations

1. That we prepare for a winning fight for the proposed city FEPC legislation.

2. That we center our campaign around the slogan "We the people, are ready for FEPC legislation". We should refuse to allow the employers to continue putting all the blame for their unfair employment practices on the "employees" and the "consumers".

3. That each group go on record for city FEPC legislation and inform the Community Council office in writing of its action so that all the various groups supporting the legislation can be listed on our campaign efforts.

4. That groups and individuals collect written reports of authentic cases of employment discrimination based on race, religion or national origin.

5. That our Community Council, through its Human Rights Committee take initiative in starting a Joint Area-Councils Committee for FEPC.

6. That our Community Council send letters of appreciation to the two councilmen from our area, namely Jaffe and Marshall, for their efforts in Council for strong FEPC legislation and pledge our continued support for such legislation in Cleveland.

Discrimination in Distributive Education

AS IT AFFECTS

Glenville High School Students

32-14-43

Report (November, 1949) of
The Human Rights Committee,
Glenville Area Community Council
660 Parkwood Drive-GL 9773

distributive education

PROGRAM

To train senior high school students and other store employees in retail merchandising.

SPONSORS

Local school board and local retail stores.

FUNDS

Federal, state and local.

PLAN

Students attend classes part-time and work in stores part-time for pay.
Students are selected by Store Personnel Departments.

REASON FOR INVESTIGATION

Discrimination against Negro students.
This is what happened in our community:

The 11A students (girls) were called into the auditorium of Glenville High School last semester and were given details of the course. Those interested were asked to sign for the following term. When colored girls showed an interest they were told there was no place for Negroes in the plan. This in Cleveland not in 1860 but in 1949.

reports of investigation

(By Delegates From
The Glenville Council's Committee On Human Rights)

COMMUNITY RELATIONS BOARD STAFF

1. Program began in 1937.
2. A store agrees to hire before students are accepted.
3. Urban League attempted to get Negroes in stores in 1946.

MR. FRAKES, Bd. of Education Supervisor.

Salesmanship one term, merchandise information two terms, store operation one term.

Mr. Frakes explains course to 11As in school. Has application blanks. Students interviewed by personnel directors.

TAYLORS

1. "No prejudice" but it takes time to integrate Negroes into merchandising.
2. Will not hire Negroes for selling until all stores do.
3. Not happy over distributive education program as few students continue after graduation.

HALLES

1. Not happy over distributive education program; students are immature and require more training than other employees.
2. High turnover among students.
3. "No discrimination"--schools do selecting, but do not know of any Negro sales people.

BAILEYS

1. Use only 2 or 3 students a year because of the afternoon shift. Youth a drawback.

(cont'd)

2. 50% interested in merchandising, 50% in job to finish school.
3. "No prejudice nor discrimination", but no Negroes in selling. Will not change policy until all stores do.

CLEVELAND VOLUNTARY EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMITTEE

1. At present working with committee from Retail Merchants Board.
2. When committee asked stores to accept Negroes as sales personnel, stores said there are no trained people available.

recommendations

1. Groups and individuals should let stores and Retail Merchants Association know that they, the consumers, do not object to Negro salespeople and want to see discrimination ended.
2. Link up our efforts to end discrimination in distributive education with the fight for FEPC legislation.
3. The Community Council should send a letter to each large store involved and to the Retail Merchants Association protesting this unfair practice and urging a policy of non-discrimination in hiring of salespeople, giving sound arguments. (Please discuss this in your group and authorize your representative to vote on it at the next Assembly Meeting.
4. That our stand be a positive one toward ending discrimination rather than ending the distributive education program.

The CLEVELAND POSTAL WORKERS "LOYALTY CASES"

32-14-17

Report (November, 1949) of
The Human Rights Committee,
Glenville Area Community Council
660 Parkwood Drive-GL 9773

it happened here

Thirty-four Cleveland Postal Workers have been charged with "disloyalty". Of the 34, 28 are Negro, 4 are Jewish, 2 are white Gentiles.

Twenty of these people have been suspended from work. Of the 20, 15 are Negro, 3 are Jewish, 2 white Gentiles.

At least 9 of the 20 suspended live in the Glenville Area.

Most of those suspended have at least 20 years in the Postal Service.

Because of this long service, without experience in other fields, and because of the taint of "disloyalty", it is very difficult for these people to obtain other employment.

charges & procedures

The charges are vague and general.

Those charged have been unable to obtain any specific statement or bill of particulars as to the charges.

None of these people have ever been accused of committing any act against the government. No suspicion has been voiced that any have ever been spies or taken any papers or given out any secret information or acted for any other government.

Accusations against them may be anonymous. They are judged by "evidence" which is not part of the record or otherwise disclosed to them.

Hearings are closed; due process of law is not observed--the employee cannot face his accuser who may be motivated for purely personal reasons, because he doesn't even know the identity of the witness against him.

Appeals on the "loyalty" cases had to be made to Postmaster General Jesse M. Donnellson in Washington. (The NAACP had protested his assignment because of his past record).

Final appeal must be made to the Loyalty Review Board.

background

Discrimination had been practiced in the Cleveland Post Office and specific charges had been brought against former postmaster O'Donnell by the National Alliance of Postal Employees, which membership is mostly Negro. Although this issue was whitewashed, Mr. O'Donnell was "permitted to resign because of ill health".

The real issue is whether or not employees may fight against discriminatory practices without being persecuted.

Funds are needed to fight these unconsitutional government procedures in courts.

recommendations

1. Organizations and Neighborhood Groups are urged to hold special meetings or "affairs" at which the inside story of the Postal Workers can be given and questions answered. Such affairs may also help with funds for defense.

2. Go on record for and demand that persons in danger of losing jobs because of disloyalty charges, be given the right of court trial with opportunity to face accusers and prepare defense.

3. Urge that letters be written to Senator Taft and Representative Young in Washington asking them to bring up on the floor of Congress the unfair procedure in such loyalty cases and ask them to take steps to see that all employers suspected of disloyalty be charged and tried in accordance with civil service and legal procedure as provided by the Constitution of the United States.

Report of _____
(Name of Organization)

Action on "Discrimination in Distributive Education as it affects Glenville High School Students".

Recommendation:

1. ☐ Have sent such letters.
   ☐ Will send.
   ☐ Will not
   (Specify whether group, individual, or both)

2. ☐ Agree
   ☐ Disagree
   ☐ Suggest _____

   _____

3. ☐ Agree
   ☐ Disagree
   ☐ Suggest

4. ☐ Agree ☐ Suggest
   ☐ Disagree

_____

_____

Other suggestions, comments, or recommendations--

_____

_____

_____

_____

Date _____

_____
(Signed) Chairman or Secretary

Report of _____
Name of Organization

Action on "FEPC Legislation"

Recommendation:

1. ☐ Want to take active part in campaign for city FEPC legislation.
   ☐ Do not
   ☐ Undecided

2. ☐ Agree on general slogan
   ☐ undecided
   ☐ Suggest instead _____
   _____
   _____

3. ☐ Want on record for city FEPC legislation.
   ☐ Approved
   ☐ Undecided
   ☐ _____

4. ☐ Plan to collect written reports of authentic cases of employment discrimination.
   ☐ Do not

5. ☐ Agree
   ☐ Disagree
   ☐ Suggest _____
   _____
   _____

Other suggestions, comments, or recommendations--

_____
_____

_____
(Signed) Chairman or Secretary

Date _____

32-14-46

Report of _____
Name of Organization

Action on "The Cleveland Postal Workers Loyalty Cases".

Recommendation:

1. We are planning a special meeting or affair on
are not
the Postal Worker cases. (If you are, please indicate time and nature of meeting);

_____

_____

2. ☐ Went on record for
☐ Went on record against
☐ Took no action.
Recommended in addition or instead that

_____

_____

3. ☐ Will send suggested letters.
☐ Will not.

Other suggestions, comments, or recommendations

_____

_____

_____

Date _____

_____
(Signed) Chairman or Secretary

37-14-48

[GLENVILLE]

December 30, 1949

Mrs. Frances Williams, Chairman
East 105th Street Neighborhood Committee
660 Parkwood Drive
Cleveland 8, Ohio

My dear Mrs. Williams:

Answering your letter of December 13, may I say that I shall be glad to speak for you Sunday, February 5, at 3:30 in the afternoon.

The fee and expenses to be $150.00.

I shall let you know the time of my arrival later. I am sending a photograph herewith.

I presume you would like me to speak on "Human Rights," or "Freedom".

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:LM

Enclosure: Photograph

83-44-46

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 14, 1949

Mrs. Grace Goens
503 East 10th Street
Wilmington, Delaware

My dear Grace:

I am glad to see you are getting on as well as you are, and hope that things are quite settled by this time. I had a quiet Christmas; I went down and had Christmas dinner with the family, then went over to Washington and made a few calls and came back and spend the rest of the holiday here in my office.

I have moved my office and am arranging to have my books re-installed here. I shall want you to come and see it as soon as you can. Recently I went to Detroit and spoke at a large Civil Rights meeting. I went out by train and flew back yesterday. My new status is not yet assured but is still promising.

Let me hear from you and particularly let me know when I am going to see you. I speak at Cheney, February 7, and shall go by way of Wilmington, but do not wait until then.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-23-67

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 10, 1949

Mrs. Grace Goens
503 East 10th Street
Wilmington, Delaware

My dear Grace:

I will come to Wilmington, Thursday. We must be in Cheyney Friday afternoon, February 18, in time for dinner, which will be about six. We can come back that same night or Saturday morning. I shall have to be in New York in order to fly to Detroit by noon Sunday.

I hope you had a good trip.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

G-E-2, 1-23-49

March 30, 1949

Dear Grace Goens:

We had a magnificent series of meetings here for the Peace Conference. The Madison Square Garden meeting, where I was one of the speakers, was filled to the raftwrs with 18,600 people, it was a magnifiect sight and occasion.

I am going West tomorrow for a few days, but will be back by next Monday. I will get in touch with you.

My best regard to you and your husband and thank you so much for your advice concerning the fireplace. I think I am going to follow it.

Yours with Love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

24-9-51

Carbon

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
April 8, 1949

Mrs. Grace Goens
503 East 10th Street
Wilmington Delaware

My dear Grace:

It looks as though I shall be going to Paris for the World Peace Congress, which meets April 20. If I go I shall leave the 18th or 19th. I shall not be away more than a couple of weeks and shall let you know exactly when I return.

I hope this will find you well.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-23-71

file

June 8, 1949

Mrs. Grace Goens
903 East 10th Street
Wilmington, Delaware

Dear Grace:

Let me thank you and the Dr. very much for that lovely week-end I had, especially that breakfast in the garden.

I told you about DuBois wanting a job for the Summer did I not? It seems to me that you suggested something---what was it?

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

WALTER W. GOENS, M. D.
503 EAST 10TH STREET
WILMINGTON, DELAWARE
TELEPHONE 5-2556

Dear Mr. DuBois,

I am in the land of the living. I was waiting to hear something of what is happening to you before writing. I saw, from last week's papers, that you are with the African Council. Did the other Chicago arrangement materialize? Those N.A.A.C.P.'ers are a brazen gang - ignoring my protests! I sent Mrs. White his old Xmas stamps right back with my personal reasons attached. Guess that'll "clear" him. Now that you are apparently happy in your new home, have you begun your tea parties yet?

I am just today receiving the letter you wrote to me in Nashville on Dec. 16. I went down

24-23-64

WALTER W. GOENS, M. D.
503 EAST 10TH STREET
WILMINGTON, DELAWARE
TELEPHONE 5-2556

and surprisingly enough got out by plane the morning after my arrival there. I brought my father back with me. He was better than I had pictured and is still here with me. His condition is no worse, and could be better if he would help himself emotionally. Of course it is strenuous on me, but being a "horsey gal" I manage somehow to keep going.

I'm just about ready to get off for a rest, but must do a few jobs first — such as income tax, undecorating the Xmas tinsk, and after Xmas cleaning.

Did you enjoy the Xmas? I had house guests from New York - the Hanglases + the Parkers. Except for such imparts I would just shy away.

The television serves well especially on

24-23-65

WALTER W. GOENS, M. D.
503 EAST 10TH STREET
WILMINGTON, DELAWARE
TELEPHONE 5-2556

Sunday evening. Last Sunday I saw Cyrano de Bergerac with José Ferrer as Cyrano. I've been catching the basket ball games on week nights, and without mal odors.

This about tells the tale of my recent life - and yours? When is the Chesapeake appointment? Have been waiting to hear, and the invitation still stands. Guess you ought to know that.

Sincerely,
Grace

24-23-66

Civil R

November 14, 1949

Mr. Kumar Goshel
54 Poplar Street
Brooklyn, New York

My dear Mr. Goshel:

Have you any information about the speeches which Edith S. Sampson made in India concerning the Negro in the United States?

I understand that at one of her appearance, when questioned, she got quite angry because of the aspersions on this country. If you could let me see any report of her meetings, I should be greatly obliged.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-23-74

Lect 1949

Lect. comp

GOTHAM HOTEL
JOHN R. ST. AT ORCHESTRA PL.
DETROIT 1, MICH.

January 1, 1949

Hon. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

We take pleasure in acknowledging your request for reservations and assure you that we are happy to have the opportunity of welcoming you, and to offer you the hospitality of the Gotham during your stay in Detroit.

The accommadation reserved - room with bath, for January 11th and 12th, 1949

Yours truly,
Gotham Hotel, Inc.

W. H. Robinson

W. H. Robinson, Mgr.

230-9

[Graham, L.B.]

L. B. GRAHAM

Licensed Real Estate Broker

34-32 106th STREET CORONA, NEW YORK

ILlinois 7-3196

March 14, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York City

For services, transportation and hanging of portrait $20.00

24-23.50

L. B. Graham

Paid by check, March 17, 1949

April 16, 1949

Mr. Lorenz Graham
34-32 106th Street
Corona, L. Il, New York

Dear Mr. Graham:

I am going away Sunday, and this is to say good-bye. I shall be away probably two weeks, possibly three.

If you have time while I am away, arrange the office as we suggested; that is the fire-place between the windows; the book-case, now behind my chair, I prefer to have go on the wall opposite, between the book-cases that you built, instead of having it go on the South wall, where it would interfere with the couch. The diplomas, (not the pictures,) should also go on the South wall, so far as possible, with perhaps some of them in the space left vacant by the Douglas picture, and some of them in Mrs. Murphys' room. I would like them, so far as possible, to hang chronologically.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Mr. and Mrs. Lorenz B. Graham

request the honor of your presence

at a party

celebrating the graduation of their daughters

Jean, Joyce and Ruth

from Flushing High School

at 8:30 Friday evening,

July 1st, 1949

34-32 106th Street Corona, New York

65-3742

July 6, 1949

Mr. and Mrs. Lorenz B. Graham
34-32 106th Street
Corona, New York

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Graham:

May I congratulate you on the graduation of your daughters. I am sorry I was out of town on July 1, and have just seen the invitation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-33-60

July 13, 1949

Mr. Lorenzo B. Graham
34-32 106th Street
Corona, L. I., New York

Dear Mr. Graham:

As I presume you know, Shirley is expected on or about the 26th of this month, that is about two weeks hence.

Of course, her house will be in a terrible condition and need cleaning. I wan wondering if possibly this could not be done before she returns. If it can, I shall be glad to finance the operation and collect from her after she returns. I might even sit around while the cleaning went on.

Will you write me and let me know if you think this plan is feasible?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[Graham]

Hotel Paris-Dinard
Paris, VI
May 21, 1949

23-42-3

My Beloved,

I am wrapped in sweet loneliness which keeps me warm and happy even while I ache for you. This could easily be a poem of my love for you but must be a courier of information. First, about your trip to Paris. I could not have enjoyed the beauties of these past three days without you except for the assurance that your enjoyment was only a matter of a week. When you get to Nice do go to Hotel Albion. The Maitre Hotel there is a gentleman of parts and the petite dejeurner can only be compared with those at the Hotel Claridge. I took dinner the evening I arrived and dinner the following night. You might ~~###~~ prefere the last on the Promenade des Anglais. After a good morning's rest pick up one of the little guides downstairs and walk to the Place Massena. I crossed it and sunned myself for an hour in the lovely little Jardin Albert. Then instead of walking to beach I turned into the "Old City" - walking down the Boulevard Jean Jaures to the Esplanade then turned into the narrow streets going towards the Chateau. You'll soon find yourself approaching the Chateau along a street you will always remember. Climb to the very top of the Chateau. You will be richly rewarded. Then go down to the sea behind the Chateau - you'll find steps and you'll pass the rock upon which Berlioz wrote his opera on King Lear. After reaching the Promenade you'll be ready for tea and crumpets at the first place you see. After that you'll just follow your eyes. ~~###~~ Be sure and get an autobus to Grenoble taking the Tour des Alps. I'd suggest that you get your seat in Hyeres. Only through the kindness of a painstakingly little clerk did I make it because seats are reserved ahead. You'll reach Grenoble about six o'clock. The scenery left me breathless. Just before reaching the city the clouds closed down and the driver told us it was snowing. Grenoble therefore was cold and uninviting. I decided not to remain overnight but to take the nine o'clock express for Paris. That's how I happened to reach here this morning instead of tonight. You may be inclined to do the same thing. After what you will have seen Grenoble will offer very little of exciting interest. I came second class but I must acknowledge the trip was not easy. There were five of us in the compartment. If you take that train travel first class. Then you'll get a little sleep. You have to change on the day train.

Since I arrived this morning I went to the Consulate as soon as I was settled in my room and washed up. The visa has not yet come. However I ran into a very understanding and sympathetic woman who speaks excellent English. She just happened to be there this morning and took me in for a good talk with the under-Consulate. The Chief was not there. He listened patiently, murmured at the right places and then expressed the opinion that the visa would be arriving within the week. However, he said this was only an opinion. However, the lady went rather into details about the matter of my expense while waiting. Afterwards we went further into that matter. And that was a touching subject since the Hotel Paris could give me nothing except another 800 franc room! They are filled up. I've taken the 800 franc room for the week-end only. The Russian lady told me she could get me a room near where she is living for half that. She lived in the Etoile neighborhood - which is certainly very lovely but not as near the business centers. I am meeting her for tea tomorrow (Sunday) at five o'clock

and then we're going and look over prospects. She walked out to the subway with me - talking all the time. By that time I was getting pretty sleepy. She gave me her name, address and telephone and I think she said she was once called "Princess Somebody". What she said didn't really strike me until I was on the way home. I'll find out what it was tomorrow.

I went over to the little place for dejeurner to find Elizabeth and they had moved! That floored me for a moment until the waitress pointed out where she was so I stopped in. I must confess I forgot to invite them to dinner Sunday night. She was so glad to hear that we fell in love with Hyeres and was so eager to know about everything we did that I could hardly get away - though by that time I was practically asleep! I'm going back over there this evening.

My room is really lovely - It looks out on to the court and I shall really use this bathroom for two days - washing not only myself but all my clothes. Elizabeth encourages me to follow suggestions made by the Russian lady. She says that it will help to keep me in their minds. The lady herself said that she would suggest that the Consulate cable Moscow.

The Hotel here will be expecting you next week end so I think you can be certain of a room here. If I go I ~~leave~~/ I'll have a letter here for you. But also I'll telephone here Saturday.~~////~~/ and Sunday until we get together. No small matter like hotels will keep us apart!

I know the book is growing steadily. It will be a masterpiece - the best thing you've done. And that certainly is saying something. Elizabeth commented on how ravishing I looked! (And that, after a sleepless night!) I can afford to go on a light diet now.

Sleep well and dream of me. When you look at the Cornich D'Ore imagine me right there beside you. The world is really beautiful for me, my dear, because of you.

Devotedly,

Charles

P.S. I'm going to reserve passage back to America on a steamer from Copenhagen for the last of June.

[Graham]

Hotel Paris-Dinard
June 1, 1949

Darling,

Allah be praised! We are rich! Not, of course that I love you any more or that I was more interested in the Blaine check than I was in your safe arrival home. But I do know that the presence of that check put the finishing touch on a safe return from an ideally perfect trip! The "crepes susette" ending! Your cablegram was a sweet thought - a means of doubling that joy.

As I lay on the bed that night watching the time approach for your plane to take off I figured out that you had a very long night ahead of you and that your seven o'clock breakfast in Newfoundland was going to come about ten o'clock Paris time. How awful it would have been had we not been served dinner! I reasoned that under the present circumstances you would be pleasantly oblivious to time and would probably get some real sleep. Now I'm keenly aware of our five hour difference in time. It's Half-past two in the afternoon here but you are quite likely just finished with that wonderful coffee - golden with cream - and looking out over the palisades on a fine June first morning. Good gracious, am I getting homesick?

Well, I carried out my schedule yesterday. Thinking to allow the ~~to~~ by Consulate time to collect and catalogue Tuesday morning mail I decided to ~~to~~ there the first thing in the afternoon. I presented myself at the door promptly at two o'clock. It was locked. At first I thought they simply hadn't come back from dejeuner but when I read the little sign posted on the door I was informed that they took out three hours, rather than two for dejeuner and would not be open until three o'clock. I must confess I was provoked. I had planned other business for the afternoon - all depending on what I learned at the Consulate. Of course I waited. At three-ten the door was unlocked. Then I waited until four for "Mr. Pilesky". He had not returned by that time but another young man was then able to check for me and to inform me "no visa". Followed a mad rush to the autobus office where I paid the deposit on my seat to Copenhagen for June 21st - then to the steamship department. No definite reservation as yet. There I called the girl who had promised to take me to see about the suit. She promised to meet me at the Cafe de la Paix. I found a place where I could watch crowds in the Place de l'Opera and ordered a Cafe Leigoire. She arrived just as I scupped up the last mouthful and we dashed down the avenue to 14, rue de Castiglione.

There I must confess I let two French ladies talk me into ordering a more "elegant" suit than I had visualized. I was thinking of something very simple and plain.. . something neat. The "couturier" spoke earnestly. "Madame is not in Paris to have a suit made which might just as easily have been made in New York! No! One must have the finish!" I am therefore having "the finish". Nothing fussy, you understand - but definitely Parisian. It was close to seven o'clock when we left the salon. Nobody was hurried or impatient. Because my friend was in a hurry to get back on the left bank we took a taxi.

When we reached her destination she said "Just walk five blocks down this street and you'll come to rue Madame. You're practically home." I proceeded to get lost completely - finding the small restaurant just before the little waitress removed the outside handle!

Inside two young comrades recognized me. They are from Chicago, had worked in the Wallace campaign. He was one of the television men at the Philadelphia convention. His wife is a Young Progressive. They are in Europe on a walking tour - have been through southern France and Italy. They speak excellent French and are having most unusually experiences. They accompanied me to the hotel and stayed downstairs talking until after eleven o'clock. Tomorrow evening they are coming to take me to see a very special film now showing here. I'll tell you about it later. They also told me of several books I'm going to pick up and read while I have the time.

23-43-2

I've decided not to go out looking for any other room. It would have been all right had I been able to get something at the "Hotel L'Avenir" but I know you'll be a little anxious about my being in some strange hotel. It's true that it might not prove so pleasant, so I'll stay here. Of course I may have to take first class passage home. But if the money is at Denmark I'll manage.

There was one thing I intended putting in that Memo which I forgot. In fact it was my first and most important reason for planning a Memo for you to take home. I meant to discuss with you the matter of translations of my books here. For several reasons I'd prefer handling this myself rather than asking the publishers to handle it. Because there is not big money ~~it~~ in it they are not as interested. Anyhow I prefer in this the more personal approach. Therefore I have already written asking Miss Johnstone, at Messners to send two books to your office and charge them to my account. I did not say what they were for. I simply ~~bought them~~ bought them. They are "Paul Robeson" and "There Was Once A Slave". Please have Miss Murphy send them to:

M. Renaud de Jouvenel
15 rue des Saints Peres,
Paris, 6', France.

Ask her to write him a note saying she is sending them for me. He'll be expecting them and will carry on from there. Meanwhile I'll see Louis Aragon and tell them they will be arriving. I am not including the Carver book because the double ownership can complicate matters. Since I want them to have to two new books this fall also they will have enough material from me to do something.

You probably won't receive this until after your week-end visit home. I trust all goes well there. I know your lovely gifts made everybody happy. Now with the financial worries cleared away you can move forward with assurance. Don't work too hard. True,you have a rich store of health, energy and inspiration and the novel will be pulling you. You'll be too busy to miss me much. That is well because before you know it I'll be home - distracting you from your work!

A revoir, darling,

With all my love,

Shirley

[Graham]

Hotel Paris-Dinard
June 13, 1949

My dear darling,

23-42-41

There is a whispering going up and down the boulevards: it is said that De Galle is planning a "coup" for Saturday, June 18th! Several "cachees" of arms have been captured within the past ten days and several people arrested. Last week a "proclamation" appeared all over Paris. It was signed by the mayor who is, you remember De Galle's brother. It calls upon the people of Paris to gather at the Porte d'Orleans which on that day, June 18th, will be renamed "Porte Clerc" in honor of General Clerc who lead the liberation forces into Paris in 1944. But, the people are called to gather under the leadership of General De Galle - whose name and picture and exploits are linked with General Clerc as the "leader of the Republic". De Galle's picture is now appearing on all sides - Saturday I saw a demonstration of veterens down on the Place de l'Opera! And so, the other side is preparing a resistance - and the French papers are carrying screaming headlines. (I've seen nothing of all this in the English papers.) All in all, I shouldn't be surprised if I don't see some French history in the making next Saturday!

Darling, how I miss you! Yesterday I went far up into the Montmarte district to see "Oliver Twist". It certainly is a fine picture. I must say that the portrayal of Fagan must have been deliberate on Sir Arthur Rank's part. It was so unnecessary and so complete. Not one horrible detail was missing. I went in the afternoon and afterwards took the Metro to the Boulevard Montparnasse and found an empty chair at a cafe opposite La Cogpole. I ordered "un citron" (which, incidentally, was a lemon, squeezer, ice and water, plus an infinitesimal amount of sugar) I sipped by lemonade and looked over at the Cogpole and thought about you. After a while I found a small restaurant and had dinner. Then I walked back to the hotel. And every minute I was missing you!

Some unexpected developments in the Gold family: Elizabeth is going to Milan, Italy, next Sunday to act as interpreter for a big labor conference meeting there. She'll be gone a month! The male members of the family are trying to hold up manfully but there really is much gloom. The matter is complicated by the fact that her father is fatally ill at a hospital here and the mother will probably have to be brought up. However, Elizabeth has two well-to-do brothers right here in Paris. There is nothing she can really do in the situation and this offers her an opportunity to make some much needed money as well as to do something with her very excellent brain. So she is trying to get herself together to go. Whether she really gets away or not is another question.

Enclosed are your receipts for the Papers. My dear - I was simply wild before that poor young man really got anything off! Finally, I said I would

take the smaller of the two packages myself. You remember that I tied mine up separately and marked them and I have assumed that small package is mine. My reason was that I knew we had two complete sets of the papers and I dispaired of whether they would ever reach America - so I took what I hoped was one set and have packed it with my things. The very next day he tells me he has mailed one of them and gives me one slip. I immediately gave him five hundred francs. Several days later he told me he had sent off the other package and I gave him another five hundred francs. That really gave him about five hundred francs for himself. As a matter of fact the poor young man is sick and I think that young woman browbeats him to ~~g~~ death. I tried to give him some money before they were mailed because I doubted if he had any money to mail them with, but he wouldn't take it. Then I tried to give him a package of cigarettes but he said he has lung trouble and doesn't smoke. I haven't opened this package because it is compact. If you find that the division is not as I thought just keep all the papers (don't loan them out) until I come then I'll bring these down just as they are and we'll carefully see that we do have complete sets. A letter just received from my publishers gives me reason to believe I may have done a wise thing at that. Your package may not get through the mails. If it doesn't I'll still have some papers for you.

23-43-5

I wrote Messner's explaining that I wouldn't be back until the last of July and said I'd be glad to correct the galleys and return them at once. Their answer was that the matter of getting galleys out and back into the United States involves everything from the State Department down and up! It seems that they go through customs, are checked, read, held up, and all sorts of things are demanded, including "beaucoup d'argent". So they ask "please delegate somebody here to read them". Also, the Wheatley galleys are ready right now and the Banneker's will be ready next week! They sent me proofs on the Banneker ~~book/is/check~~ book cover to check. I must say that from what they are writing on the cover they are figuring on a best seller. The cover has a real flair to it. It would also appear that the "Phillis Wheatley" will be on the market first. They are using the broadcast as advertisement for that.

A nice letter from the publisher in Copenhagen saying he would himself meet me when I arrive in Copenhagen June 24th. He also said that if I have not already made hotel reservation there he has a number of invitations for me to stop in private homes. His exact words were "hundreds" (which I judge is stretching it a bit!). So I shall see some of home life in Copenhagen. Whether or not I get to Moscow I'm certain I'll have a very nice time. I may go across to Oslo, Norway.

They did not give me my ticket here for the "Jutlandia" but an order which must be presented when I reach Copenhagen. I guess that is the usual thing. But I was told that the steamer would be in Copenhagen, July 12th and may sail the 14th, rather than the 15th. Well, that kind of talks implies that it also may sail the 16th rather than the 15th. Anyhow, I'll write you from Copenhagen, but I'd suggest that you also check with the East Asiatic Line before you go down to meet the boat. This sounds rather like the good old eighteenth century when only the good Lord knew when ships would depart or arrive. There is a lot of uncertainty in our world today.

That Robeson! Poor Alphaeus - I can just see him. I'm planning to go out to the castle where the World's Federation for Democratic Women are housed this week. I've got some ideas! I doubt whether the Arts, Sciences and Professions will see much of me this winter. Messner's are building up Anne Royall on the Banneker jacket. They are preparing the way for me to do that novel this winter - I can see that. . . which isn't bad! If I could do something about getting Negro women together so that we might have real representation in Peiping I would do it. We'll talk about it when I get home.

Had a long letter from Lorenz confirming what you said. So I'm not worrying about anything there. Don't work too hard, but take advantage of my being away to get the Novel far along. I know I'm a demanding, selfish, small one when I'm around. I don't mean to be, my precious one, but I just want all of you - that's all! And you are such a really great man. Every night before I go to sleep I thank whatever powers there be for my wonderful, good fortune. Truly, I am most blessed among women!

With all my heart, yours,

Shirley

June 24, 1949

Miss Shirley Graham
c/o American Express
Copenhagen, Denmark

My dear Shirley:

You have tremendous faith in the American Express; I suppose they do deliver at least three-quarters of the letters which they receive. I am not so sure of the other quarter. But this is going to you in care of them at Copenhagen.

We had a tremendous mass meeting at the Rockland Palace which used to be the old Manhattan Casino. It was filled with people and they paid from $1.20 to $2.40 for seats. I was the first speaker after an introduction by Alpheus and the audience was very receptive; they rose when I began and rose again when I finished. I left immediately because it was a hot afternoon and I did not want to stay in that crowded room too long. The session began with music at three o'clock in the afternoon and did not close until eight. There was a fine succession of speakers Ben Davis, Marcantonio and of course, Robeson who received a tremendous ovation. I think the Council took in a goodly sum of money. Persons have spoken to me about the good impression which the meeting made.

I attended the board meeting of the Arts and Sciences with Shapley in the chair and many distinguished persons present. It was a restaurant dinner very excellently served and everybody was cordial. I sat beside Lillian Hellman, and Ella Winter and her husband were there. The movement seems to be flourishing. They gave their first "Art Center" night at Carnegie Hall with a dramatic presentation of the picture which Fox movies turned down after paying $35,000: "The Journey of Simon McKeever"; and also another sketch which was very excellent. Outside of these two nights, I have stayed home, going to a couple of movies in the late afternoon; and going out once to treat myself to a dinner at Longchamps.

I have also written a petition on the Rosa Ingram case for a committee of colored women headed by Mary Church Terrell. I think it is a pretty good document and they thought so too. It is going to be presented to the United nations. Work is also progressing on the novel and on the whole I am satisfied. I have also written out two tentative chapters of a sociology of the American Negro for Prentiss-Hall. I rather doubt if they will accept it but as they asked for it, I thought it was a good thing to try. It will not take much time if I have to do it.

24-4-00

My rugs are up for the Summer and replaced by a few pieces of matting. The whole apartment is going to be painted a grey-green next week. During that time I am going down to Laster Cottage at Spring Lake, taking my typewriter with me. I can get in, I think, about 4 or 5 days of work there; then I shall return to the apartment. I have bought a floor fan which I think is going to keep me fairly comfortable.

I am so glad of the magnificent rrip which you are having. You are going to to have a view of Europe which is worth while. Unfortunately I have never been to Scandanavia but I know of what they have accomplished in socialism and what they will yet accomplish if they are let alone, of course I am still hoping that you will get a chance to see the Soviet Union.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

COPY

24-4-9

WEBD:lm

August 5, 1949

Miss Shirley Graham
173-19 113th Avenue
St. Albans, L. I., New York

Dear Shirley:

Lorenz came in this morning before I got to the office and paid me the $20.00 which he had received. Since You have already paid me I am returning this to you with many thanks.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure: Check

94-23-82

WILLIAM B DU BOIS PARIS DINARD
29 RUE CASSETTE PARIS= 2039

DJA TPH TUBE

110

PARIS

LE PORT EST GRATUIT. Le facteur doit délivrer un récépissé à souche lorsqu'il est chargé de recouvrer une taxe.

TÉLÉGRAMME : via

VIA WESTERN UNION

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T.

23-43-12

SEP 12 1949

1HR

PSW289 TDN STALBANS NY 16 12 1124A

[Graham]

WAITING FOR YOU EVERYBODY WELL LETTER ENROUTE=SHIRLEY.

1949 SEP 12 PM 6 22

Stowe January 21, 1949.

24-23-75

My dear Doctor:-

The silence is becoming deafening! Why the — don't you write and tell me what is happening in your world? Has anything come thru yet?

The cousin is expecting to go to St. Louis sometime in February. I am hoping that you will have the urge to come up while she is away. Gruesome things are still happening to me. Will tell you when I see you. Be a good sport and write

Smugly

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 25, 1949

Mrs. Emma Groves
30 Peacevale Road
Dorchester, Massachusetts

My dear Emma:

Please forgive the reverberating silence, but I have been moving my offices as you know by this time. I have a very lovely suite of offices in a penthouse on 26th Street about a block and a half from Fifth Avenue. I think I shall be very well contented here and do a good deal of work. My financial status is not yet settled but some folk are working at it and I think it will probably come out all right.

I do not know whether or not I can get to Boston in February. I have engagements on the 7th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 15th 18th and 21st. Just when will your dear cousin be absent? I am afraid I cannot think of coming before the fourth week. How would that do?

My love to you and all of the family. I hope things are going reasonably well.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-23-76

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 8, 1949

Mrs. Emma Groves
30 Peacevale Road
Dorchester, Massachusetts

My dear Emma:

It is going to be impossible for me to get to Boston before April. I tried to plan flying up one day this week, and coming back the next but I am afraid it might upset my lecture in Philadelphia and I think I had better not try it. I am so sorry, but I shall hope to spend several days in April.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

69-23-27

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
April 6, 1949

Mrs. Emma Groves
30 Peacevale Road
Dorchester, Massachusetts

My dear Emma:

I have just returned from a trip to Chicago. I think perhaps that I told you that some people were interested in me out there. I went out there and had a very successful interview and apparently my income is assured for my working days; at least it seems to be.

Meantime however, I, again, do not know when I can get to Boston. I rather think it would be nice for you to spend a week-end here.

I have probably got to attend the World Peace Congress in Paris, April 20, which will keep me away for about a week, and I am not sure about my time before that. But as as I get some definite information, I will let you know.

I am so glad that Mason has decided to go back to school. It would be a calamity if he did not. But of course, as you say, the only thing we can do with this coming generation is to sit back and ask advice.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

September 27, 1949

Mrs. Emma Groves
30 Peacevale Road
Dorchester, Massachusetts

My dear Emma:

It was nice to hear your voice the other night. I had tried the night before, but had the wrong telephone number.

I am glad the family is well. My people are as usual. I went to Baltimore to see them this past week-end, but next week-end I shall be at home and will be glad to see you if you can come at that time, or the week-end of October 15, or 22. Let me know as soon as possible.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

24-23-48

October 17, 1949

The Haitian Delegation
To the United Nations
32 Broadway
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

I am writing to emphasize the case of the peoples of Somaliland and their right to autonomy. I have talked to Mr. Issa and heard the views of others and I have long been a student of the problems of Africa.

I believe that it is of great and pressing importance that Itlay should be totally eliminated from rule in Africa. The history of her attempts to reduce Ethiopia to an African colony are disgraceful and the cruel aggression of Mussolini were one of the main causes of the last World War. The Somalis hate and fear the Italians and for this they have ample reason.

I write to urge that your Delegation add your influence to freeing the Somali people from European control and establishing them in a free land. I believe the natural unity and legitimate ideals of the Negro race should lead you to this action.

I should be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

I beg to remain, gentlemen

Your obedient servant,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Border

HARCOURT, BRACE AND COMPANY, INC.
PUBLISHERS
383 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

October 17, 1949

23-41-12

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, N.Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

We should very much like to consider your new book, RUSSIA AND AMERICA: An Attempt at Interpretation, based on your three visits to Russia between 1926 and 1949. We should prefer to see the complete manuscript. Will you address it to my attention when it is ready? I assure you it will have our prompt attention.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Linscott

Silber

LJ

Editor

[HARCOURT]

HARCOURT, BRACE AND COMPANY, INC.
PUBLISHERS
383 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

November 7, 1949

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, N.Y.

23-1-2

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I am sending you herewith a proof set of a first novel STRANGER AND ALONE by J. Saunders Redding which we are publishing early in 1950. We think it an impressive work of fiction and we send it in the hope that you may agree with us and write something on its behalf to be used in our publicity. I sincerely hope you read it, and we shall be grateful for anything you may do for it.

The author is visiting professor of English at Brown University and is regularly on the faculty of Hampton Institute. His two previous books are TO MAKE A POET BLACK and NO DAY OF TRIUMPH.

With best wishes,

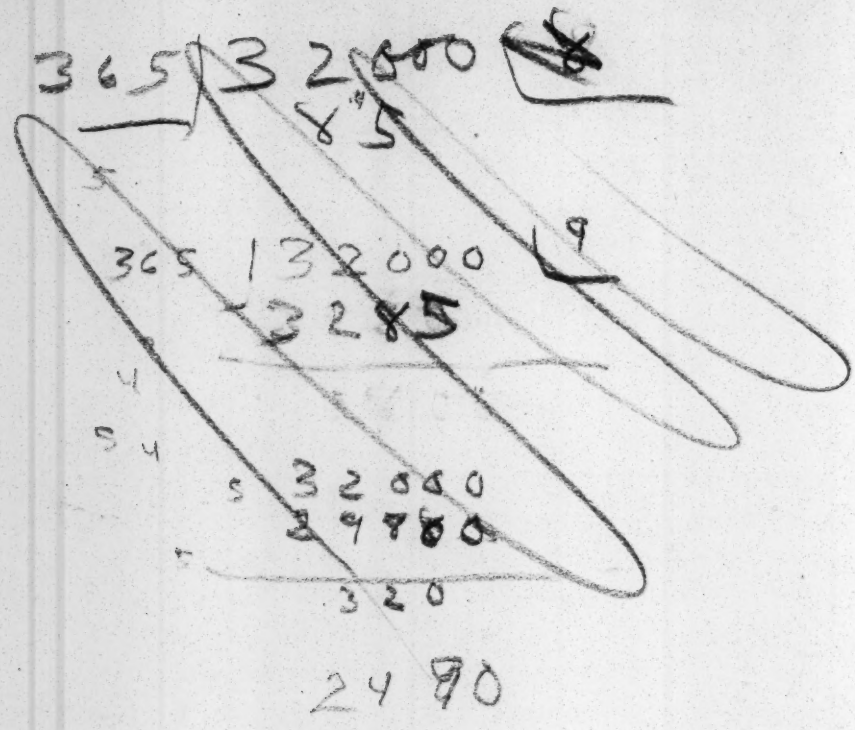
Sincerely yours,

Robert Giroux

LJ

Robert Giroux

P.S. We are enclosing a stamped return envelope for the proofs.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[HARCOURT]

November 14, 1949

Mr. Robert Giroux
Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc.
383 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

My dear Mr. Giroux:

Mr. Reddings' novel touches so much on my own work and thought that I would not want to pass judgment on it without very careful reading. I simply have not the time now to give it this reading and therefore with regret I am returning it to you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

RESOLUTION OF
The Harlem Committee Against
Discrimination in Education
Concerning the New York State University

WHEREAS the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York has been in continuous existence for one hundred and sixty-five years and has had complete control of every phase of public education for the last forty-five years;

WHEREAS during this long span of years the Board of Regents has been indifferent to the practice of quota systems by medical schools and some liberal arts colleges, and also, to the growing need for more educational opportunities;

WHEREAS the Regents Chancellor, William J. Wallin, previously expressed an opinion that he believes in the "right of discrimination", and that this right was "God given";

WHEREAS the authority invested in the Board of Regents in the planning and functioning of public education from primary grades throughout graduate schools has resulted in an overworked board without an interest for an adequate and democratic higher educational system;

832 - 9

WHEREAS the Board of Trustees is composed of representatives of business, labor, law, science, government, and minority groups with a deep interest in the advancement of a liberal higher educational system;

WHEREAS the Board of Trustees was authorized by the State Legislature to administer the operation of the new State University with a shorter term of duty permitting of more frequent evaluation of the State's post-high school program;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That the Harlem Committee Against Discrimination in Education believes that the Board of Trustees is the proper body to administer the operation of the new State University as a truly sound educational system allowing for an expansion of educational opportunities open to students without regard to race, color, creed, national origin, or economic status; and

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Harlem Committee Against Discrimination in Education is opposed to the removal of administrative powers from the Board of Trustees. To reduce it to a mere planning and recommending body without administrative powers would be to reduce the guarantees of a state university free from discrimination;

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Committee believes that the Board of Trustees should be supported without equivocation.

February 21, 1949

Harlem Committee Against
Discrimination in Education
c/o The Urban League of Greater New York
202 West 136th Street
New York 30, New York
AUdubon 3-7200

WILL YOU HELP SAVE THE NEW YORK STATE UNIVERSITY ?

In 1948 the New York State Legislature enacted a law establishing a State University.

Those who have been in the vanguard of the struggle for equal educational opportunity for New York youth without regard to race, creed, color, or economic status, welcomed this law as a step toward securing a democratic educational system. The State University would also mean more facilities for more youth to get higher education.

23a-9

The 1948 law set up a fifteen man Board of Trustees appointed for six years to administer the new University system.

Today this educational opportunity for New York's youth is in jeopardy. The Board of Regents, which has had complete control of all phases of public education for the past forty-five years, now wants to control the new University. During these forty-five years, the Regents have been indifferent to quota systems in the medical schools and to practises of racial discrimination in other educational institutions. In fact the present Chancellor of the Board of Regents, William J. Wallin, at one time expressed his belief in the "right of discrimination" and referred to this right as "God-given."

Dr. George E. Haynes, only Negro member of the Board of Trustees, states that "to strip the Board of Trustees of administrative authority now is to delay, if not to stop entirely, the development of a real university system.

The matter of who controls the University will be decided by vote of the Legislature before April 1.

Will you help save the New York State University by acting N O W ?

1. Write to IRWIN STEINGUT (the minority leader in the State Legislature) telling him where you stand.
2. Urge your organization to become an active member of the Harlem Committee Against Discrimination in Education (c/o Urban League of Greater New York, 202 West 136th Street). Use the form at the bottom of this page to let us know your interest.
3. Plan to attend the

March 13, 1949

PUBLIC FORUM

on

"The Future of the New York State University"

(Full details will follow)

To: The Harlem Committee Against Discrimination in Education
202 West 136th Street, New York 30, New York

The _____
(Name of organization)
Will join the Harlem Committee Against Discrimination in Education

_____ will be our representative
(Name of member)

You may ( ) may not ( ) use our name as sponsors of the March 13th Public Forum

Signed _____
(Name of position in organization)

Address _____

You may count on a contribution of _____ dollars from us.

Reg for Interview

Harlem Quarterly

P. O. Box 974
General Post Office
New York 1, N. Y.

Editor
Benjamin A. Brown

Associate Editors
John H. Clarke
Mattie L. Goode
Ernest Kaiser

Art Editors
Carol Brash
Clyde Gilliam

Business Manager
Archie Holland, Jr.

Secretary
Parthina Shelton

December 1, 1949

Dr. W. E. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, N. Y.

23-3-12

Dear Sir:

We are writing requesting your permission to run a literary character sketch of you along with a caricature in the spring issue of Harlem Quarterly.

Either an associate or I would appreciate an interview with you at your earliest convenience so as to get first hand your ideas or suggestions on the matter.

We are looking forward to hearing from you shortly.

Your very truly,

Benjamin A. Brown.

Benjamin A. Brown.

December 2, 1949

Mr. Benjamin A. Brown
HARLEM QUARTERLY
P.O. Box 974
General Post Office
New York 1, New York

23-2-13

Dear Mr. Brown:

I do not like interviews unless they have to do with some specific question or incident. The attempt of a stranger to sum up in a half hour the experience which another has spent 80 years in accumulating is invariably a mess which neither likes.

If you want to do an article go ahead. If you want to estimate my "literary character" ask anybody but me or better--read my writings.

Very sincerely,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Harlem Quarterly

P. O. Box 974
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Business Manager
Archie Holland, Jr.

Secretary
Parthina Shelton

December 12, 1949.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
23 West 26th Street,
New York 10, N. Y.

Jan. 8

23-44-45

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you very much for your letter of December 2. Miss Shirley Graham has consented to do a literary character sketch of you for the spring issue of HARLEM QUARTERLY. She also informed us that we would have the permission to publish your paper on Government and Freedom. We are deeply grateful at having privilege of publishing this outstanding work.

8th
409

Clyde Gilliam, one of our Art Editors and an accomplished artist, will do the caricature of you for our next issue. He would like to make an appointment with you for Sunday, January 8, at 3 p.m,, if that date is convenient for you. If this date is not convenient for you, will you kindly ask your secretary to so inform me? Our deadline for spring is January 10, so an earlier date can be arranged if necessary.

I have read all of your books including the last two, and I am thoroughly familiar with your career. However, this does not qualify me to justice in a half hour interview. On this I readily agree, so we have asked Miss Graham to write the sketch for us.

Very truly yours,

Benjamin A. Brown.

BAB:ps

December 19, 1949

Mr. Benjamin A. Brown, Editor
HARLEM QUARTERLY
P. O. Box 974
General Post Office
New York 1, New York

Dear Mr. Brown:

Answering your letter of December 12, to Dr. Du Bois, may I say that the date you set , January 8, 1950 is agreeable to Dr. Du Bois.

He will expect Mr. Gilliam at 3 p.m. at his residence:

409 Edgecombe Avenue
Apartment 13-H

Very sincerely,

(Mrs.) Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

LYM:m

Ack Richmond

Harlem Writers Workshop

180 West 135th Street
New York 30, N. Y.

Audubon 3-5600

Tech. Corrs

BENJAMIN A. BROWN, Chairman
VIVIAN FRANKLIN, Treasurer
EMMA JENKINS, Secretary

January 24, 1949.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
409 Edgecombe Avenue,
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

This year as in years past our club is planning a large Negro History Week program. On our proposed program among other items, we are inviting several outstanding authorities, including Dr. Herbert Apetker and yourself, to speak to a large audience on "The Significance of Negro History Week." Surely no meeting or program would be complete, (on Negro History), without having you, the Dean of American Negro History and Education, to speak on this timely subject. Would you honor us and the entire Harlem community by accepting our invitation to speak in the Little Theatre on February 18th? Considering that you do not still have the zest that you had when I was attending Morehouse College back in 1943-44, we do not ask that you make a long, tiring speech, but that you speak as long as you like. We assure you that your presence and whatever that you may tell Harlem during this Negro History Week will be very deeply appreciated.

The following is the proposed program:

A Writing Out Loud Negro History Pagaent -- B. A. Brown-A. T. Long.
Original poems on Negro Life -- by Writers Workshop Members.
Musical selections on piano -- Local Talent.
Poems -- Langston Hughes.
"The Significance of Negro History Week," Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and Dr. Herbert Apetker.

We plan to widely publicise this program, because we realize great need for the people of Harlem and New York to learn more about the rich history of the Negro people. Will you give us the honor of your presence on our program? If so, could it be arranged with your publishers to have some of your books and pamphlets on hand to be sold? If it is not too much to ask, we would be very grateful to have some of your works on display.

Awaiting your reply, we are,

Fraternally yours,

Benjamin A. Brown

Benjamin A. Brown, Chairman,
Harlem Writers Workshop.

23-9-42

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 26, 1949

Mr. Benjamin A. Brown, Chairman
Harlen Writers Workshop
180 West 135th Street
New York 30, New York

Dear Mr. Brown:

I have your letter of January 24, but regret to say that I have already accepted so many engagements for Negro History Week that it will be impossible for me to undertake any further appearances.

I appreciate your invitation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

(132)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

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W E B DU BOIS, COUNCIL OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS= 1949 AUG 19 PM 4 33

23 WEST 26 ST=

SORRY UNABLE COMMISSION ARTICLE. GOOD FLYING=

HARPERS MAGAZINE=

23-5-7

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

133 Sylvan Ave
Asbury Park N.J.
March 17, 1949

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Just a note to say that I am now back a home and will be happy to have you come down for a visit any time that it is convenient for you. Just let me know when you are coming.

I hope that you are well. Love

Kate

23-14-29

Mrs. Lorenzo Harris, Sr.

April 11, 1949

Mrs. Lorenzo Harris
133 Sylvan Avenue
Asbury Park, New Jersey

23-44-30

My dear Kate:

I was planning to spend a week-end with you but now find that I must attend the Peace Congress in Paris. I am flying Easter Morning. I will drop you a line from France.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

RFD 1, MtKisco
New York

Nov. 15, 1949.

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
23 West 26 St.
New York City

23-14-28

Dear Dr. DuBois,

Inclosed you will find the draft plan for aiding sharecroppers which we recently discussed. I am leaving for the South, where I will see a number of people who are most anxious that this project be carried through.

I appreciate your friendly interest and will hope to talk it over with you upon my return.

Yours sincerely,

Lem Harris

Lem Harris

[ENC]

Harris

Draft Plan for Aiding Sharecroppers

Nov. 12, 1949

At the request and with the aid of Southern progressives, a groups of people have drafted the following plan for

1) Raising between $5,000 and $10,000 for aiding sharecroppers;
2) Conducting activities to enlighten people of the North of the actual conditions of life in the rural deep South;
3) Maintain permanent contact with a growing list of people who look upon sharecropping as a feudal institution and upon the rural South as the real nerve center of Negro oppression.

THE PLAN:

Set aside the first two weeks in February, of which one of these weeks shall be called Sharecroppers' Week. With the aid of personnel indicated below, conduct the following activities:

- Hold "open house" eveinings in at least four places in New York City each night of Sharecroppers' Week. The places will be in Harlem, Bronx, lower Manhattan and Brooklyn. Present those evenings will be representatives from the South who know sharecropping conditions from personal experience. In the form of panel and questions from the floor, the guests will be given an authentic account. There will also be dramatic presentations of the meaning of Jim Crow. Admission to these meetings one dollar.

- To create talk and stimulate interest, arrangements have been made to supply each person paying one dollar as an admission or a donation with a half pound of cooperative American cheese, wrapped in cellophane and bearing the co-op label.

- Advertising will be run, announcing Sharecroppers' Week, giving the addresses of the "open house" affains, and also urging the contribution of a dollar, for which each person gets the half pound of co-op cheese. The advertising will also carry the addresses of progressive bookstores where coupons are sold for one dollar and the cheese is mailed subsequently.

- A mailing will be sent to a progressive rural list of 5,000 or more to enlist their support for the sharecroppers. They will be sent a sheet with ten names with the request to get neighbots to contribute a dollar. Instead of cheese, literature will be sent to all such who respond, possibly a reprint of the Stetson Kennedy series on Jim Crow currently running in the Compass.

- Possibly quarterly during the following year, an inexpensive mailing will be made to all contributors, reporting on actitity in the South.

- A committee of people prepared to work on this project has been formed. They are confidant that a working group of twenty-five people, mostly students and housewives, will volunteer the necessary time, especially for the two weeks of the campaign.

- A working committee has been set up and is functioning now. [redacted]

83C-44

[ENC]

- A sponsoring committee is needed to supply the authority for raising the funds and to supervise and control the expenditure of money during the course of the year. The sponsoring committee, though in touch with all the details of the campaign and its aftermath, will not be expected to devote any considerable amount of time. It is hoped that the sponsoring committee will include such people as

Dr. DuBois, chairman
Dr. Harry F. Ward, co-chairman
Shirley Graham
Barbara Giles
Ewart Guinier
Louis Burnham

Other sponsors associated with the committee, but who take no responsibility regarding its activity might include some of the following people, plus others not mentioned:

E. Franklin Frazer
Theodore Ward
Edwin Strong
Henrietta Buckmaster
Larkin Marshall, Macon, Ga
Mrs. Andrew Simpkins, Columbia, SC
Doxey Wilkerson
Herbert Aptheker
Millard Lampell
Minneola Ingersoll
Miranda Smith
Rev. John Darr Jr.
Rev. J. Spencer Kennard
Howard Fast
Gene Weltfish
Langston Hughes

283-44

file

Harvard College Class of 1890

In Memoriam

CHARLES MAYO EATON

October 13, 1868 - - - April 29, 1949

Howard Corning, *Secretary*
12 Pickman Street
Salem, Massachusetts

332-44

4427 West 58 Place.
Los Angeles 43, California
6 May. 1949 [Heath]

23-23-24

Very dear Mrs. Robeson,

I am writing to you because I think that perhaps you sometimes receive calls for the type of help I would like to give.

I should like to donate my services for the summer to some small Southern Teachers' college for Negroes, some place that could not afford to bring someone in. Do you know of such a place?

I am not a Negro. I am fifty-one; I have taught in high schools and colleges in or near Los Angeles for thirty years, in addition to rearing a son and taking part in community activities. I have a good record. I have taught in the University of Southern California, in public high schools, and in Los Angeles City College (12,000 students), where I am now. I am not out of work. I do not usually teach in summer, but budget my funds for the year. Hence, I can afford to present my services to someone. (I teach English.)

I hold degrees of AB and MA, the former magna cum laude, from U.S.C., and B. Litt., a research degree, from Oxford, England (1938). A book of mine on letters of Pepys is being done by the Clarendon Press at Oxford.

My reasons: I have many dear and affectionate friends among minority groups. I get on well with minority representatives in teacher-pupil relationships. But during war service in the army my husband and I came to know more than before about the financial

disabilities under which Southern Negro schools had to function, and we promised ourselves that we would do something practical. During Colonel Heath's last illness in an army hospital, his best friend was Lieutenant Theodore Coggs, now an attorney in Milwaukee, who was infinitely good to me at the time of my husband's death. After that worst, the only point in living was to try to do any myself some of the things we had intended to do together.

I am a good friend of Caroline Ware at Howard University, who knew me when I was stationed in Washington. She could tell you what sort of person I am. So could Pauline Coggs. Mr. James Williamson, of our Los Angeles City College, is enthusiastic over my idea; he has written to Tuskegee and to Talladega, but no reply has come. The time grows short. I think that some colleges might be suspicious of a person who wanted no salary. Eh? But it is just that some small college which perhaps has never been able to afford an Oxford scholar might be the one which would profit most by outside contacts. I know how sketchy the proposal is. I realize that they will be suspicious at first. Even at the end, they may not like me. That's a risk I have to take.

When I first came back from the army, I filled an emergency post in Jefferson High School, almost entirely Negro, many of the students only recently from the South. On my last day, one of the Negro gardeners came to my window to thank me and to ask me to return: "You are just as square with my people as with the others. You are completely fair."

How's your suggestions?

Yours very truly,

Helen Truesdell Heath

(Mrs. William Rea Heath, Jr.)

Req for Info

Miss Edith Holden
Rock Ridge
Greenwich, Connecticut

August 20, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
23 West 26th Street,
New York, N.Y.

I have just returned home from a visit to London, where I was searching for material on the life of the late Dr. EDWARD W. BLYDEN of Liberia and Sierra Leone, West Africa.

I had some correspondence with Mr. George Padmore, and he told me of the proposed encyclopedia of the Negro which you are editing, and said this was to contain an article on Dr. Blyden, and suggested I get in touch with you.

23-2-38

I am not certain whether Mr. Padmore thought you could furnish me with data on Dr. Blyden, or that I might correct some inaccuracies which appear in certain sketches of his life in present works.

It happens that it was my grandfather, the Rev. John P. Knox, then of St. Thomas, West Indies, where Blyden was born, who was responsible for his going to Liberia, and I have been gathering material on Dr. Blyden's life for some time. I am still searching for further details of his career, and am always pleased to hear of any one who knows about him and his work.

I should be pleased to hear about the proposed article and its progress.

Yours very sincerely,

Edith Holden

August 24, 1949

Miss Edith Holden
Rock Ridge
Greenwich, Connecticut

Dear Miss Holden:

Your letter has arrived just after Dr. Du Bois' departure for Russia.

However, in regard to your request for information on Dr. Edward Wilmot Blyden, I looked in the Encyclopedia of the Negro and found only this:

Blyden, Edward Wilmot,
Liberian diplomat, scholar, and educator.
BLYDEN, Africa and the Africans, 1903;
Christianity, Islam, and the Negro race, 1887;
West Africa before Europe, 1905; [redacted],
Sons of Africa, 1928.

I noticed that we have two books by Dr. Blyden, LIBERIA'S OFFERING, 1862 and FROM WEST AFRICA TO PALESTINE, 1873. I hope this scant information will be of service to you. I shall bring your letter to Dr. Du Bois' attention as soon as he returns.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

September 27, 1949

23-7-37

Miss Edith Holden
Rock Ridge
Greenwich, Connecticut

My dear Madam:

I have been away from my desk on a trip to Russia, Poland and Czechoslovakia, and just returned a few days ago. I find your letter of August 20.

The proposed "Encyclopedia of the Negro," to which you referred is simply a project and the preliminary volumne gives only a few bibliographies of certain proposed subjects; for that reason there is very little on the interesting subject of Edward W. Blyden.

The only original sources for information on Mr. Blydens' work and activity should be found in Sierra Leone and Liberia, also there ought to be something in England if you could trace it.

I have been asked before for information on his work and been unable to give very much. The subject is worthy of further investigation. I am sorry not to be more helpful.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH

OF NEW YORK

MINISTER
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

STUDY
TEN PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

23-1-45

January 24, 1949

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am glad to hear of your new business address and wish you all success in your present undertaking. You announce your work as though you were a young man beginning all afresh. Congratulations with all my heart!

Very sincerely yours,

John Haynes Holmes

JHH G

To
Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Vol. III NOVEMBER 14, 1948 No. 8

COMMUNITY VOLUNTEERS APPEALS FOR HELP

The Community Church functions with a very small paid staff considering its multitudinous organizations and activities. It can do so solely because of the sacrificial service of many volunteer workers. These volunteers are the shock troops of the Church, making possible new ventures in human service like the Funeral Society and aiding in all the tough, routine work of the church office. But more volunteers are needed! Ladies are needed who can give one day a week or two days a month to man the church Information Table while the church is open during the day. A volunteer is needed to take charge of the noonday victrola concerts, Monday through Friday from 12 to 2 P.M., to plan and publicize the programs and play the records on our automatic machine. Volunteers are needed to help with various publicity programs of the church, and one more worker is needed for all day on Wednesdays to help get out the Community News. If you have some free time, won't you join Community Volunteers now, and help Community Church to help mankind. Write to Mr. Richard Mardus, 40 E. 35th Street, President of Community Volunteers.

"Snake Pit" and "Life With Mother" Reviewed

On Wednesday, November 17th, at 8:15 P.M. Mr. Holmes will review the new movie based on the best-selling novel of Mary Jane Ward, "The Snake Pit," and also the new American play, based on the book by Clarence Day, "Life With Mother." Mary Jane Ward, incidentally, is a fellow-member of Community Church. Admission to the reviews is 25c plus 5c tax, for the benefit of the church.

Alliance To Hear Relief Workers

The regular meeting of the Women's Al-

(cont'd on page 3)

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH

This Church is an institution of religion dedicated to the service of humanity. Seeking truth in freedom, it strives to apply it in love for the cultivation of character, the fostering of fellowship in work and worship, and the establishment of a righteous social order which shall bring abundant life to men. Knowing not sect, class, nation or race it welcomes each to the service of all.

Friends of this church are invited to join its membership by signing the Church Book at the right front of the Church.

This Church is a free church supported entirely by the voluntary contributions of those who believe in its ideals and work. Subscriptions may be sent to the Treasurer, 40 East 35th Street. Subscription cards are available in the lobby.

MORNING SERVICE
11 A.M.
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
on
"BRIGHT SPOTS ON THE WORLD'S MAP"
The Community Church 40 East 35 St.

MULTIPLE DISCUSSION GROUP
5 p.m.—Mr. Joseph Kaskell
American Ass'n for a Democratic Germany
"Will the Continued Occupation of Germany Lead to Inevitable Conflict?"
Assembly Hall 40 East 35 St.

THE COMMUNITY FORUM
8 P.M.
J. RAYMOND WALSH
famous radio commentator, educator,
on
"WHAT KIND OF WORLD DO WE WANT?"
The Community Church 40 East 35 St.

THE CHURCH WEEK

Sunday—November 14
10:30 A.M.-12:30 P.M. Church School.
10:45 A.M. Morning Service.
3:00 P.M. Fellowship of Reconciliation's regular monthly meeting.
4:45 P.M. Multiple Discussion Group.
6:30 P.M. Cafeteria Supper.
8:00 P.M. Community Forum.

Monday—November 15
5:30-7:00 P.M. Legal Consultation.

Tuesday—November 16
11:00 A.M. Women's Alliance.
6:30 P.M. Social Action.
7:00-8:15 P.M. Scott Nearing's second lecture on "Civilization and Decay." Subject: "Rise of the West."
8:30-10:00 P.M. Scott Nearing's second lecture on "Must War Continue?" Subject: "East Bloc vs West Bloc." Course ticket both series $3.75; course ticket single series $2.00; single admission 50 cents. (All tickets plus 20% government tax)
8:45 P.M. Marriage Consultation.

Wednesday—November 17
11:00 A.M.-3:00 P.M. Sew or knit for the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers). Your help is needed. Bring a box lunch; tea and coffee served at nominal cost. Sponsored by Women's Federation.
8:15 P.M. Drama Review.

Thursday—November 18
4:00-5:00 P.M. Mental Hygiene Service.
8:15 P.M. Thursday Night Group. **"Camping and Outdoor Recreation for Adults"** will be discussed by Miss Janet L. McKellar, National Director of Camping for the Campfire Girls, Consultant on Camping, Writer. Usual social hour follows.

Friday—November 19
6:30-8:30 P.M. Choir Rehearsal.
8:30 P.M. Comyouthity Club. This is the special Friday of the month when Dr. Holmes visits with us. We never know what he will charm us with, but charmed we always are. All young adults cordially invited. Usual sociabilities to follow.

Saturday—November 20
8:00 P.M. Teen-Age Group.

Sunday—November 21
10:30 A.M.-12:30 P.M. Church School.
10:45 A.M. Morning Service. Mr. Holmes will preach. Subject: "Is the Bible an Anti-Semitic Book?"
5:00 P.M. Multiple Discussion Group. Subject to be announced.
8:00 P.M. Community Forum. Speaker, Arthur Garfield Hays.

COMMUNITY SERVICES

Mental Hygiene Service
Individual consultative service for adults, Dr. Frederic Feichtinger, Director. The first and third Thursdays of each month, 4 to 5 P.M.

Marriage Consultation Service
An advisory service in marital hygiene, Dr. Abraham Stone and Dr. Mabel Pearson. Every Tuesday evening from 8:45 to 10:15, by appointment only.

Legal Consultation Service
For counsel on legal problems. Mr. Ralph C. Roper, Director. Every Monday evening from 5:30 to 7:00.

Social Service
For problems of personal need and social adjustment. Mrs. Irene A. Roggeveen, Director. Every second Tuesday evening, from 5:30 to 7:30.

Educational and Vocational Guidance for Youth, to aid young people between the ages of 14 and 25 in the exploration of vocational and educational opportunities. Miss Jessie B. Adams, Director. By appt. only.

The Community Funeral Society to aid individuals in planning simpler, more dignified and less expensive funeral services. For information write the Secretary, Mrs. Ruth Browne, 40 East 35th Street.

CHURCH NOTES

The Next Book Review will be held on Wednesday, November 24, at 8:15 P.M. Mr. Holmes will review "Gandhi's Autobiography" and A. J. Cronin's new novel, "Shannon's Way." Admission 25 cents, plus 5 cents tax—total 30 cents—for the benefit of the church. All are welcome.

A Get-Together Supper will be served before the Review at 6:30 P.M. at $1.00 per plate. Reservations must be made with the Church Secretary not later than Monday, November 22.

Community's Jubilee Fair—coming December 2 and 3! Will you donate aprons, books, cake and candy, jelly, groceries, toys, white elephants, china and glass, handkerchiefs, cosmetics, hand-made articles and housewares? Will you help us collect articles, write letters, paint and sew, cook and bake, sell our wares? Volunteers, please get in touch with Mrs. John Haynes Holmes, Mrs. Donald Harrington, or Mrs. Frederick Mardus.

COMMUNITY THEATRE PRESENTS "ARIA DA CAPO"

Edna St. Vincent Millay's moving one-act play, "Aria Da Capo," will be presented by the Community Theatre on November 22nd at 8:15 P.M. Church members will remember Mr. Harrington's reading of this deeply significant play on New Year's Eve of 1947-48. Members and friends of the church who are interested in participating actively in the work of the Community Theatre, either as playwrights, actors, actresses, directors, or stage builders are cordially invited to attend. All members of the Community Theatre should be present. Admission is free. Plans will be made for the coming year.

CONSTRUCTIVE INFLUENCES

"Gigantic forces are at work within the world, the effects of which cannot be dictated and the power of which cannot be withheld. The preservation of civilization is dependent upon widespread acceptance of principles under which these forces shall be applied for the common good. The presentation and the securing of the acceptance of these principles is a primary task of education. The method must be by persuasion. Effort at compulsion, even if desirable otherwise, could not be made strong enough to be effective. We need to drop expectation of miracles and supermen and to reflect more and more on the fact that civilization has developed largely by the honesty of purpose and intelligence of effort of normal men, subject to the influence of disciplined intellectual processes.

"Blazing meteors flashing across the sky have in their respective times aroused terror, wonder, or admiration in the hearts of human beings, but their aggregate influence upon the emotions of man has been as nothing compared with the periodical light of the moon or the steady glow of myriads of stars. Convulsions have from time to time wrought gigantic destruction and violently modified portions of the earth, but through the ages the face of nature has been more changed by the continuing warmth and light of the sun than by all of these.

"The burning, searing agitation of fiery reformers has from time to time influenced the life of man. Forces of destruction and the violence of revolution have on occasion wrought changes seemingly desirable for peoples of the world. But these are unnatural, wasteful, and tragical agencies for the accomplishment of what might be secured in other ways. The sum total of all amendment of life by these methods is insignificant as compared with the evolution which has come by constant effort of individual men to make life better. Let it not be forgotten that among these, the quiet influence of those men of scholarly instinct and scholarly attainments has been exceeded by none! The thought of the world has been moulded by its scholars."

—Ernest Martin Hopkins

"I hold, if the Almighty had ever made a set of men that should do all the eating and none of the work, he would have made them with mouths only, and no hands; and if he had ever made another class, that he had intended should do all the work and none of the eating he would have made them without mouths and with all hands."

—Abraham Lincoln

(cont'd from page 1)

liance will be held on Tuesday, November 16th, with luncheon at 12:30 and speakers at 1:30 P.M. Mrs. Vilma Szantho Harrington will speak on "My West Coast Experiences." Mrs. Friedel Reifer of the Unitarian Service Committee, will speak on "Resettlement of Displaced Persons." All are welcome.

THE MINISTERS' CORNER

Somerset Maugham, the famous English novelist, has been making a selection of the ten greatest novels ever written. This is an impossible undertaking, as he readily admits. Thus, for modesty's sake, he cannot name his own masterpiece, "Of Human Bondage," which might well be chosen by any other judge. But the list, as recently published, is interesting and important. It contains Tolstoi's "War and Peace," Dostoievski's "The Brothers Karamazov," Balzac's "Old Man Goriot," Flaubert's "Madame Bovary," Stendhal's "The Black and the Red," Fielding's "Tom Jones," Dickens's "David Copperfield," Bronte's "Wuthering Heights," Jane Austen's "Pride and Prejudice," and Melville's "Moby Dick." Here are two Russians, three Frenchmen, four Englishmen, and one American—a not unfair distribution!

This is a noble list, no doubt about that. It is not my list! There is, of course, no reason why it should be. Strange as it may seem, Maugham was making his own list and not mine. But it is amusing to ponder such a list, and note in what items it may be strengthened.

Thus, the inclusions! Why "Madame Bovary?" Flaubert was a master workman. His technique and style are impeccable. But do any of his writings have the sweep and grandeur which we associate with the supreme examples of creative fiction? Then there is Stendhal's book! By what canons of judgment can this work be numbered among the greatest of all time? I would even raise, however timidly, the question of Jane Austen, a flawless artist in her own **genre**, but this **genre** itself an inferior type of novel.

But it is the omissions on this list that chiefly concern me. Think of ruling out Sir Walter Scott, a titan in the field of fiction as Shakespeare was in the field of drama. Why not "The Heart of Modlothian," or "Old Mortality," or "Redgauntlet" from among the immortal Waverleys? Then there is Victor Hugo—how is it possible that his "Les Miserables" was forgotten? Charles Dickens is of course all right. But if Dickens, why not Thackeray—his "Vanity Fair," or "Henry Esmond"? As for the contemporary field, I recall immediately Romain Rolland's "Jean Christophe," one of the masterpieces of all time, and incidentally a winner of the Nobel Prize for literature.

Yes, if I were choosing titles, I would drop Flaubert, Stendhal, Bronte, and Jane Austen, and in their place put Scott, Thackeray, Hugo, and Rolland. But this is simply my list, as Maugham's is his. Now make your list, and thus enrich by diverse judgment the golden treasures of the race.

J.H.H.

SERMON BRIEF

"The United Nations has many proud accomplishments. Through the power of publicity and public pressure it got Soviet troops out of Iran and French and British troops out of Syria and Lebanon. Its many agencies have aided in securing the cooperation of all nations in meeting certain of the world's most urgent problems. But the United Nations is unable to do the one most important thing for which it was set up. It is unable to keep the peace. The basic assumption upon which it was created was in error—namely, that the great powers would be able to agree upon those things having to do with the peace and security of the world without their at the same time relinquishing any national sovereignty or the right and ability to make war. The trouble with the U.N. is that there is no peace for it to keep—and without real international law under a world governmental control there can be no peace for the world.

"How tragic is the U.N.'s position today! Even the governments which profess to support it wholeheartedly, ignore it and by-pass it when the big jobs are to be done. The U.N. Economic Commission on Europe should be administering the Marshall Plan, or the people should know clearly why it is unable to do so. The whole world should have celebrated October 24th, the first official United Nations Day, proclaimed by a unanimous decision of the General Assembly on October 31, 1947, but most of the nations ignored it. Neither Truman, nor Candidate Dewey planned or called for any kind of celebration.

"A very wise man once said, "Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also." The United States is spending in preparation for war in this year 1948 exactly 1,000 times as much as it is contributing to the budget of the United Nations. When it will spend 1,000 times as much for the U.N. as for armaments for war, there will be reason to believe that the U.N. may lead us to peace." D.H.

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH OF NEW YORK

40 East 35th Street

Office, 40 East 35th St., Mon. to Fri. 9-5; Sat. 9-12:30; Tel. MUrray Hill 3-4780-81.
Staff, Ministers, John Haynes Holmes. Office, 10 Park Avenue, Tel. MUrray Hill 3-4780. (visitors by appointment only); Residence, 10 Park Ave., N. Y., Tel. MUrray Hill 9-6200. Mr. Holmes's Secretary, Flora Schneider.

Donald Harrington, Office, 40 East 35th St., Tel. MUrray Hill 3-4780. (visitors by appointment only); Residence, 10 Park Ave., N. Y., Tel. MUrray Hill 9-6200. Mr. Harrington's Secretary, Helen Bloch.

Church Secretary, Florence Alden. Organist, Jesse Walker.
Financial Secretary, Olga Ordinetz. Soloist, Raymond Keast.
Superintendent, Joseph Mullen, 40 E. 35 St.

President of the Church, Dominick F. Pachella. **Chairman,** Bd. of Trustees, James Mangus.
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Chairman, Board of Ushers, Hector Piazza. **Forum Head Usher,** Thomas V. Challenger.
Chairman, Advisory Board, Mrs. Frederick Mardus.

The Community News is published weekly except during June, July and August and the first three weeks of September by the Community Church of New York at 40 East 35th Street, New York 16, N. Y. (Subscription Price: $0.25 per year). Entered as second-class matter October 23, 1946 at the Post Office at New York, New York under the Act of March 3, 1879.

[Holton]

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 24, 1940

22-9-47

Mrs. Priscilla B. Holton
29 Blake Street
Hartford 5, Connecticut

My dear Mrs. Holton:

I regret to say that it will be impossible for me to speak for you on February 11, due to a previous engagement.

I thank you for the invitation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[HOTEL AND CLUB VOICE]

Hotel and Club Employees Union Local 6

of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance
and Bartenders International League of America, A. F. of L.

412

305 WEST 44th STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

Tel. CIrcle 6-8323

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CHARLES MARTIN, *Vice-President*
MARTIN CODY, *Secretary-Treasurer*
GERTRUDE LANE, *General Organizer*
TOM WILSON, *Recording Secretary*

Re Negro Interest

23-40-17

Feb. 7, 1949

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26 St.
N.Y.C.

Dear Dr. Du Boix:

Enclosed is a copy of the interview you were kind enough to give to our paper, the Hotel and Club Voice.

Sincerely yours,

Sender Garlin

Sender Garlin

Reg for Supp

307 E. Palmer
Detroit 2, Michigan
July 14, 1949

23-2-32

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

After having heard so much about you from my father, Atty. Charles P. Howard, I thought that a letter to you might give me the answer to some questions that are in my mind.

First, I would like to know what I could do as a Negro student, to prepare for a United Nations career. Having graduated from Drake University this June, I am now working for my Masters Degree on a Graduate Teachers Fellowship at Wayne University. My application to the Harvard Law School has already been accepted and since my position now is one of preparation, I am asking your advice.

Also, what opportunities and jobs are available in the United Nations?

If more information about my educational background or activities is necessary for an answer, please let me know, as this is a matter of utmost importance to me.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Yours very truly,

Lawrence C. Howard

Lawrence C. Howard

LCH:MD

23-7-33

October 28, 1949

Mr. Lawrence C. Howard
307 E. Palmer
Detroit 2, Michigan

My dear Mr. Howard:

I have not answered your letter of July 14, because I have been out of the country several times and unable to get at my correspondance.

The best way for you to inquire about openings in the United Nations would be to write directly to the Secretary and ask him. I do not know whether there would be any particular career for a lawyer, but color would be no hindrance. There would, however, be a question of the distribution of the employees among the various nations.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 26, 1949

23-1-47

President Mordecai W. Johnson
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Dear President Johnson:

I am writing to ask, if you would not be willing to promote a conference on Africa? The Council on African Affairs would be glad to cooperate with you. We would want, as I am sure you would, all phases and attitudes on the subject represented; the colonial powers such as Great Britain, France, Portugal, Belgium, and Italy; and the African countries like Egypt, Ethiopia, the Union of South Africa and all of the African colonies.

There should be organizations like, The Phelps-Stokes Fund and what is left of the Colonization Society; and Big-Business as represented by Stettinius and other investors. I should think we might make a conference of tremendous importance, lasting three or four days and bringing to the world the great and growing importance of Africa.

If Africa is going to be developed as the last strong hold of colonial imperialism that will drag the world in one direction. On the other hand, if it is going to develop toward independence and self sustaining cultures, as part of a new democratic world, that is another thing. We ought, of course, to bring in the United Nations and the various organizations for world government and world unity: Russia and her colonial attitude ought to be represented.

I am writing you simply to get your reaction, and would be glad to hear from you in the near future.

My best regards to you and the family.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1. D. C.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

February Third

1 9 4 9

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Please forgive me for my delayed answer to your letter. I have been under such heavy pressure during the last few days in respect to our budget requests now pending before Congress that I have not been free until now to have the conferences preparatory to answering your letter. Today, however, I have talked with Professor Locke, Chairman of the Division of Social Sciences in the University. He agrees with me that a conference with such broad representation as you have outlined in your letter would be of great importance and that Howard University should be willing to promote such a conference.

23-1-46

Professor Locke is to be in New York possibly on the twelfth of February, but certainly on the nineteenth. He will call you by telephone for a preliminary conference on the whole matter if this seems desirable to you.

All good wishes to you and to your loved ones!

Sincerely yours,

Mordecai W. Johnson

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West Twenty-sixth Street
New York 10, New York

[HUBBARD]

Lil Hubbard

American Consulate,
Ponta Delgada, Azores,
A.P.O. #406, % Postmaster,
New York, N.Y., April 25, 1949.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I was pleasingly surprised to receive your card on Saturday last. Too bad that PAA does not touch our island, but we only have the Portuguese plane flying between here & S. Maria which makes the trip in 25 minutes. Tell me about your trip. I just imagine you were en route to Paris to a conference.

I am sure you're feeling fit to make the trip over this way at this time. I'm not over anxious to remain here and hope to get away. If I could get back to the U.S. for an indefinite period, I'd like it, for I am tired of being away. Under the new act I might retire, but I'd like to find other work which might not be too easy.

I'd appreciate a line from you & how's Mrs. DuBois, Yolande & Du Bois? Love to them when you're home. All the best to you. Love

Sincerely Lillie Marie

23-1/4-81

May 4, 1949

Miss Lillie Maie Hubbard
American Consulate
Ponta Delgada, Azores
A? P. O. 1406, c/o Postmaster
New York, New York

Dear Miss Hubbard:

Answering your letter of April 25, may I say that Dr. Du Bois is abroad in Paris. He will return sometime this month, probably about the 15th. I will bring your letter to his attention immediately upon his arrival.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

Req for Interview

J. M. C. Hughes
108 Furnald Hall
Columbia University
New York 27, New York

May 27,1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I have completed most of the Du Bois canon of writings. My especial interest is in the two novels : The Quest of the Silver Fleece and Dark Princess. I shall utilize these two highly commendable works in my dissertation which is far more advanced than it was when first I solicited your help. If it is at all possible, I should like to discuss the project with you at your convenience.

Kindly call my brother, Andrew W. Watson or his wife Winifred Steed Watson, concert artists, who live in the same building, and I shall get the message. WA 6 -7393. I am very anxious to get your point of view.

Very truly yours,

J. M. C. Hughes

J. M. C. Hughes

Be very glad to have you hear my thesis prospectus
Impasse - Entrance

June 6, 1949

Mr. J. M. C. Hughes
c/o Watson
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, New York

Dear Mr. Hughes:

Answering your letter of May 27, may I say that Dr. Du Bois will be glad to have you use any of his work, giving proper credit to him of course. However it will be impossible to have an interview just now. He has recently returned from Paris and has an already over-crowded schedule.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois.

Leob. Pending - 1950

[Illinois, U. of - Ass'n of Interns...]

THE ASSOCIATION OF INTERNES AND MEDICAL STUDENTS
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, COLLEGE OF MEDICINE
715 S. Wood St.
CHICAGO 12, ILLINOIS

October 9, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Vice Chairman, The Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois,

The University of Illinois Professional Colleges hold weekly assembly hours which are sponsored by recognized campus organizations and attended by a student, faculty, medical personnel audience of about 300. The A.I.M.S. is sponsoring the assembly hour for Wednesday, February 8, 1950 at 1 p.m. We would like very much to have you as our speaker on this occasion and also to be our guest of honor at a luncheon attended by the faculty and student leaders, held preceding the assembly hour.

23-44-19

As the largest organization of medical students, internes, and residents in the U.S., the A.I.M.S. is devoted to improving student welfare, promoting international student exchange and cooperation, striving for greater democracy in education, improving the quality and distribution of medical care and medical education, and concerns itself with many other socio-economic problems facing the American student.

In observance of Negro History Week, we feel that we should present you, as an outstanding student and educator in Negro history and as an exemplary fighter for full equality for the Negro people, to our campus. We feel that this audience should be presented with the history of outstanding contributions by Negroes to the arts, sciences, and professions and become acquainted with the tremendous possibilities of enhancing our American culture through fruition of the full potentialities of the Negro people.

We have at our disposal some funds for any reasonable expenses you might incur.

We would be honored to have you with us on this occasion and sincerely hope you will be able to accept our invitation.

Respectfully yours,

Herbert Lerner
Chairman, Program Committee
U. of Ill. Chapter, A.I.M.S.

October 12, 1949

Mr. Herbert Lerner
Chairman, Program Committee
University of Illinois,
Chapter, A.I.M.S.
Chicago 12, Illinois

23-44-20

My dear Mr. Lerner:

I could speak for you on February 8, but I should have to charge for fee and expenses, $200. I know this will be pretty [redacted]gh for a student organization and I shall not be surprised if you cannot afford it.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

THE ASSOCIATION OF INTERNES AND MEDICAL STUDENTS
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, COLLEGE OF MEDICINE
CHICAGO 12, ILLINOIS
715 S. Wood Street

Sec'd copies
Paid

October 30, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Vice Chairman, Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

23-4417

Dear Dr. DuBois,

We were very pleased to hear that you will be able to speak for us on February 8, 1950. Sufficient funds will be available to cover your fees and expenses. We will be happy to clarify any questions pertaining to the topic or arrangements.

Thank you for your prompt reply and we shall be looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

Herbert Lerner

Herbert Lerner
Program Chairman
U. of Ill. Chapter, A.I.M.S.

November 2, 1949

Mr. Herbert Lerner
The Association of
Internes and Medical Students
University of Illinois
College of Medicine
715 S. Wood Street
Chicago, Illinois

23-44-18

My dear Mr. Lerner:

I am noting myuengagement to speak for The Association of Internes and Medical Students at the College of Medicine, University of of Illinois, in Chicago, February 8, 1950.

The fee including expenses will be $200.

I suggest the subject: "Social Medicine", unless that will be too warm a topic for the campus.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

THE ASSOCIATION OF INTERNES AND MEDICAL STUDENTS
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, COLLEGE OF MEDICINE
~~1853 WEST POLK STREET~~ 715 S. Wood Street
CHICAGO 12, ILLINOIS

December 19, 1949

Polk-Wood
805 W. St.
3rd floor
L R 344

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Vice Chairman, Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois,

23-44-15

Please accept our sincere apologies for this late reply to your last communication.

In regard to your subject for February 8, we feel that "Social Medicine" would be an excellent topic. We interpret this topic in the broad sense, that is, as being concerned with those medical problems of a socio-economic nature which contribute to the ill-being or the well-being of the individual and society.

We have presented many speakers in the recent past on the subject of "National Health Insurance" and feel that this topic is only a small part of the broad picture of "Social Medicine."

We would like to know if our view of this topic concurs with yours; and, if you wish, to elaborate on it further.

Sincerely yours,
Herbert Lerner

Herbert Lerner
Chairman, Program Committee
U. of Ill. Chapter, A.I.M.S,

Mo-6-3900

December 30, 1949

Mr. Herbert Lerner
University of Illinois
College of Medicine
715 S. Wood Street
Chicago 12, Illinois

Dear Mr. Lerner:

Answering your letter of December 19, may I say that I propose to interpret the subject "Social Medicine", on the broad lines which you suggested and not on technical matters of health insurance or particular attempts of nationalising medical service.

I wish to emphasise that the physician is not a free and independent worker but a servant for the social good.

I shall be on hand February 8, and shall let you know when I arrive and where I shall stop.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

28-44-16

July 29, 1949

Miss Ora Leak, Secretary
Independent Non-Partisan Citizens' Committee
Hotel Theresa, Room 112
125th Street & Seventh Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Madame:

The essence of democratic freedom and efficiency is the recognition of public service on the part of a public official, no matter what his party, race or religion. Few persons can deny that Ben Davis has been a good member of the New York City Council. He has faithfully attended to his duties; he has voted for every worthy proposal; he has been courageous and unpurchasable. For these reasons he ought to be re-elected and I am glad to associate myself with those who are working to that end.

There will be, naturally, those in New York who will try to divide the natural supporters of Ben Davis--by intimidation and by purchase. I am glad to note that at least two persons thus approached have refused to run against him. One, I understand has consented and is willing to oppose Davis although himself without experience or any known qualifications. I suppose we must expect this, but I hope that no American Negro and no other true American will be induced to cast his vote for any person willing to sell his soul or prostitute his talents at the beck of known enemies of decency and democracy, even though they are rich and ruthless.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-49-19

Independent Non-Partisan Citizens Committee

FOR THE

RE-ELECTION OF COUNCILMAN BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.

DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS, Chm.
SHIRLEY GRAHAM, Secretary
DR. ALPHEUS HUNTON, Treas.
OLLIE HARRINGTON, Public Relations
ORA LEAK, Executive Secretary

HOTEL THERESA, RM. 112
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NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

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NETTIE WASHINGTON
DOXEY WILKERSON
MARY LOU WILLIAMS
REV. W. M. YOUNG

42-18-23

October 6, 1949

Dear [redacted]

Please join with the two of us and about ten other New Yorkers in sending the enclosed "MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF HARLEM" for endorsement by national Negro leaders all over the country.

The enclosed letter, dated October 8, would bear all of our signatures as sponsors. It would be mailed to about 200 Negro leaders in different parts of the country, along with the text of the proposed "MESSAGE" and the enclosed two pieces of campaign literature.

We want to mail the materials out tomorrow; hence we will appreciate your replying immediately -- either by phone or on the addressed postal card here supplied.

Our goal is to obtain the signatures of about 100 national Negro leaders to this statement endorsing the candidacy of Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr. Then we will give wide publicity to the statement during the closing weeks of the election campaign.

We hope you will join us in sponsoring this project. Please let us hear from you at once.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

W. E. B. Du Bois

Shirley Graham

Shirley Graham

Independent Non-Partisan Citizens Committee

FOR THE

RE-ELECTION OF COUNCILMAN BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.

DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS, CHM.
SHIRLEY GRAHAM, SECRETARY
DR. ALPHEUS HUNTON, TREAS.
OLLIE HARRINGTON, PUBLIC RELATIONS
ORA LEAK, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

HOTEL THERESA, RM. 112
SEVENTH AVE. AT 125TH ST.
NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

October 7, 1949

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CAPT. HUGH MULZAC
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ORAN 'HOT LIPS' PAGE
TOM PEDI
DR. CHARLES PETIONI
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DR. FREDERICK CARTER
DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN
VIVIAN SPELLEN, R. N.
MRS. DOROTHY SPENCER
ATTY. HOPE STEVENS
REV. MOTHER LENA STOKES
PROF. MORRIS SWADESH
DR. GEORGE D. THORNE
FREDI WASHINGTON
NETTIE WASHINGTON
DOXEY WILKERSON
MARY LOU WILLIAMS
REV. W. M. YOUNG

Dear Friend:

In these days when we have so recently faced the terror of Peekskill, the right to vote is indeed a mighty weapon in our hands. But we cannot vote unless we REGISTER. This is primarily to remind you that registration week is from October 10th to 15th.

We must register to vote, and as citizens of a New York State that has already witnessed, and to a large degree bears the responsibility for Peekskill in the eyes of the nation and the world, we must vote wisely.

Councilman Benjamin J. Davis's re-election is of utmost importance in this campaign. He is the only Negro representative in the New York City Council. His record proves that he has been constantly on the side of the people--so much so that the political machines of the three other parties have united to defeat him. Significantly, they did not nominate a Negro for any other office throughout the city in this present election.

Ben Davis must remain in the City Council! This means that we must see to it that everyone of voting age registers next week, October 10th to 15th.

An all-out registration insures victory for our candidate!

Cordially yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

W. E. B. DuBois

uopwa-16-152

24-7-16

Confirmed

November 2, 1949

Miss Ora Leek
Ben Davis Committee
Hotel Theresa
125th Street and 7th Avenue
New York, New York

23-49-17

My dear Miss Leek:

I understand that I am expected to speak at Rockland Palace, Sunday, November 6, at 2:00 p. m.

If this is right will you please confirm it and also will you kindly see that someone calls for me so that I will be there at 2:00 p. m.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

October 10, 1949 [INDIA]

Dear Friend:

Pandit Nehru, head of the Indian Government, has arrived in the United States. Over a period of years Pandit Nehru has won respect for his self-sacrificing efforts for Indian independence.

It has therefore been with a sense of incredulity--and then of shock--that evidence has come to our attention in such conservative sources as "The New York Times" that wide-spread violations of civil liberties are now occurring in India. For example, New York Times correspondent Trumbull, reported August 14, 1949: "A few months ago India's jails held more political prisoners than they ever did under the British Raj." The repression has been particularly directed against trade unions and other people's organizations.

42-1B-20

We do not wish to prejude Pandit Nehru, but at the same time believe that the reported facts are sufficiently documented in the enclosed Open Letter to rise questions deserving an answer. This Open Letter has accordingly been drafted for signature by representative Americans throughout the country and we invite you to sign as a sponsor. It is contemplated that the Open Letter will be presented personally by a delegation.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

W. E. DU BOIS
*Vice-Chairman, Council on African Affairs

Maud Russell

MAUD RUSSELL
*Exec. Dir. Comm. Democratic Far East Policy

James H. Durkin

JAMES H. DURKIN
*Pres. CIO Office Union

W. A. Hunton

W. ALPHAEUS HUNTON
*Ex. Dir. Council on African Affairs

Kumar Goshal

KUMOR GOSHAL
Author & lecturer

Howard Fast

HOWARD FAST
Author

Harold Leventhal

HAROLD LEVENTHAL
*Chairman American Friends of India

Gerhard Hagelberg

GERHARD HAGELBERG
Writer, Far Eastern Affairs

Israel Epstein

ISRAEL EPSTEIN
Writer, Far Eastern Affairs
Author "Unfinished Revolution in China"

P.S. Kindly return the enclosed card to Gerhard Hagelberg, 520 E. 12th St., NYC 9

*Organizations listed for identification purposes only

AN OPEN LETTER TO PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA

On the occasion of your visit to the United States we should like to express our sympathy and brotherhood with the people of India in their long upward struggle for freedom from foreign domination, for democracy and social and economic improvement.

42/18/25

Progressive Americans have long sympathized with the striving of the people of India for national independence and democratic progress. You won your fame in the United States as a leader of the Indian National Congress, as a representative of the Indian Independence movement for which you spent many years in jail under severe repression of the British colonial masters. Today you come to the United States as the head of the Government of India under a Congress Party administration.

We would be happy and proud to greet you on your visit without any qualifications as the representative of the victorious struggle of the Indian people. But, unfortunately, as you arrive we also hear the appeals of progressive trade union, peasant and political leaders now incarcerated in the jails of India and view with deep concern the mounting evidence of wholesale denial of civil liberties and basic democratic rights under your administration.

Even the New York Times Magazine of August 14, 1949 in an article by its correspondent Robert Trumbull reported: "It is true that the same repressive measures against which the Indian National Congress railed are now enforced by Congress ministers. A few months ago India's jails held more political prisoners than they ever did under the British Raj."

In Calcutta, on April 27, 1949, a procession of women portesting treatment of political prisoners was attacked and fired upon by police. Seven persons including four women were killed. A coroner's jury found the firing to have been "unjustified", and the event gave rise to a condemnatory resolution on the part of a rank-and-file Congress Party workers' conference of Bashirhat sub-division, held at Mahmudpur, near Calcutta, in June 1949.

We have read with profound concern the Resolution of the Civil Liberties Conference, held in Madras on July 16, 1949, with the participation of the eminent jurist P.R. Das, retired judge of the Patna High Court, which declared: "This Conference views with concern and alarm the increasing drift to open dictatorship in this country and condemns the passing of various legislative enactments, styled as the Maintainance of Public Order or Safety Acts in the Indian Union. Such repressive laws were unknown even in the worst days of British rule in this country except during the war. This Conference emphatically protests against the various provisions in the Acts which empower the Government to dominate by allowing unlimited powers to the police ani District Magistrates in the name of law and order". That Mr. Das does not exaggerat is established by a reading of the Bombay Public Security Measures Act as amended in 1948. Section II provides for the arrest where "any person is acting or is likely to act in a manner prejudical to public safety.....without warrant".

Can it be denied that S.A. Dange, General Secretary of the All India Trade Union Congress and Vice President of the World Federation of Trade Unions, S.S. Mirajkar and S.S. Yussuf, and such leading cultural figures as Hiren Mukherji, Gopal Haldar, Ali Sardar Jafri, Amar Sheikh, Bulraj Salini and Bhaskar Rao as well as many others have languished in the jails of India for many months without trial?

42/118/26

Books, plays, songs and films, many of them virtual anthems of the Indian independence movement, have been banned and even publicly burned. Mr. Rao, jailed playwright, has publicly declared that his manuscript of a work on old Telegu literature "was seized and burnt before me in jail". The Nation, a Calcutta publication has declared: "Never were civil liberties of the people and freedom of the Press threatened with greater danger than under the present regime".

We are shocked by the charges in the letter sent by N.M. Joshi, as Secretary of the All India Trade Union Congress, to the Secretary General of the International Labor Organization, on June 3, 1948, stating that "office bearers and organizers of a very large number of affiliated unions of the India Trade Union Congress all over the country were arrested and detained without trial....."

With this record before them, Americans who are truly interested in the freedom and democracy question the purpose of your visit to this country. They are mindful of thinly veiled statements by U.S. Government representatives in India about the need for establishing "stable conditions" as a prerequisite for American aid in the industrialization of India. They wonder whether these stable conditions include suppression of civil liberties and free trade unionism, and whether American investment on these terms is in the best interests of either the Indian or the Amercian people.

What is India's role to be as a member of the Commonwealth which is tied to Anglo-American cold war policies and the Atlantic Pact? Is an indication perhaps contained in the reports in journals as widespread as the New York Herald Tribune, the London Economist and the Republic of Calcutta that India is expected to supply the manpower for a "defense" of both the Indian Ocean, and southeast Asia against the struggles of the colonial people for national liberation, in alliance with the imperial powers of the west?

Is this not the meaning of Indian support for the unpopular, British-supported government of Thakin Nu in Burma? Does this not, perhaps supply an explanation for the Indian Government's action in allowing Ghurka merceneries to be transported across India to be used to supress the peoples liberation movement in Malaya, for the French use of Indian ports and airfields in their imperial campaign against the Vietnamese peoples struggle?

The United Press of America, in a dispatch from Washington picked up by Indian journals, declared: "It is widely believed here that Britain cannot continue in her position as the banker for India....A proposal that the USA take over all or part of this responsibility may come up...." Is this the reason for the answer of your Ambassador Mme. Pandit, who, in replying to a question as to whether India wished to

become the central power in Asia, declared that "with conditions in China as they are, I think, a certain responsibility had devolved on us"?

With the record, which is becoming daily more clear and daily more depressing, of destruction of civil liberties, suppression of trade unions, alignment with imperial powers, shall the American people then conclude that the Congress Party is going the way of the Kuomintang and that India will become a second edition of Chiang Kai-shek's China?

42/18/27

[INDIAN-AFFAIRS]

TELEGRAMS. "CONGRESS"
TELEPHONE. 40320
REF: M-2/577
DATE. 21st March, 49.

PUBLICATION DEPARTMENT
7, Jantar Mantar Road,
New Delhi.

India

22-11-48

Dear Friend,

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 11th instant. We are glad to note that the copies of Indian Affairs Vol.I Nos. 1 to 5 have reached you intact. Under separate bookpost cover a copy of No.6 is being sent. May we request you to kindly return to us the enclosed enrolment form duly filled in, so that we can include your name in the list of subscribers?

Thanking you.

Yours sincerely,

Balakrishnan

(N. BALAKRISHNAN)
MANAGER
INDIAN AFFAIRS

KC

Encl:(1)

Mr. W.E.B.Du Bois,
23, West 26th Street,
New York 10,
NEW YORK.

[INT. F. L. W.]

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

1949 OCT 5 PM 5 16

WESTERN UNION

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
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LC = Deferred Cable
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Ship Radiogram

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

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NB072 DL PD=MS NEWYORK NY 5 506P=

DR W E B DUBOIS=

23 WEST 26 ST=

Communist

1949 OCT 5 PM 5 50

23-19-21

A GROUP OF AFL CIO AND INDEPENDENT TRADE UNIONISTS ARE SPONSORING RALLY TO DISMISS INDICTMENTS AGAINST TWELVE COMMUNIST LEADERS TUESDAY OCTOBER 11 MADISON SQUARE PARK. WILL YOU JOIN HUNDREDS OF OTHERS ENDORSING RALLY. ISSUE AT RALLY THE RIGHT OF COMMUNISTS TO ADHERE TO THEIR POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY AND REQUEST OF ATTORNEY GENERAL MCGRATH TO DISMISS INDICTMENTS. WIRE ME COLLECT CARE NYCRC 23 WEST 26 ST=

BEN GOLD PRESIDENT INTERNATIONAL FUR & LEATHER WORKERS=

over

1949 OCT 5 PM 6 35

NAY NY

NO-3-3295

Elst

964

Typed & taken down OCT 5 PM 6 13

9 endorse rally & dismiss
indictments against Communist Leaders

Ted Camp

INTERNATIONAL HOUSE

500 RIVERSIDE DRIVE NEW YORK 27, N.Y.

MONUMENT 2-8500

23-42-59

February 16, 1949.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have long hoped to find special grounds on which we might hope to persuade you to speak to our students at International House, but I write now to extend an invitation simply because I feel that these young representative professional people from some fifty countries must be helped to understand the great moral importance and future potential of Africa in the world today. I can think of no other man who would be able to perform that task as magnificently as you yourself have often done, sir. The date I would like to suggest for your consideration is Wednesday, March 9th at 8:30 in the evening. The occasion would be one of the discussions in our International Affairs Series on which we present authoritative speakers on the problems of various areas in the world.

I feel that our audience is not an entirely ordinary one in its importance, since the ideas conveyed to them here will be taken to all parts of the world; for that reason we take our educational program very seriously here. International House, if you are not familiar with it, is an international and intercultural center in which we bring together as residents and non-residents about one thousand graduate students of virtually all nations.

It is not important that I personally have long hoped to have these people from abroad meet one of the truly great American leaders of our day, but I am sure that as a world citizen you will be interested in our work of international education and as a pioneer thinker on Africa I know you will be sympathetic to the feelings of our African students who keenly wish the world to know and recognize their continent and their people.

Yours respectfully,

Roger G. Mastrude

Roger G. Mastrude
Director of Education.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois:
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

23-42-60

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 25, 1949

Mr. Roger G. Mastrude
Director of Education
International House
500 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

My dear Mr. Mastrude:

I appreciate your kind invitation of February 16, but regret to say that I have had so many engagements during February and so many commitments for March that it will be quite impossible for me to make other speeches during these months. I am sorry as I have always appreciated your audiences.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

INTER-NATIONAL INTERIM EDUCATION COMMITTEE.

H.G. the Duchess of ATHOLL, D.B.E. D.C.L., Hon. Secretary.
Miss Mary BELL. Hon. Treasurer.
The Rev. J. B. DAKIN, Lambeth Palace, S.E.1.
Dr. Elizabeth HILL, University of Cambridge.
Tracy PHILIPPS. M.C., D.C.L.. Chairman.

Offices:
66 Elizabeth Street,
Eaton Square, S.W.1

Personal.

1st February 1949.

Dear Dr Du Bois,

I was delighted to hear from you again by your card announcing the change of address.

I have not had much activity in African or Arabic affairs lately, as most of my work concerns Europe or South America.

I should, however, be interested to learn something of the Council on African Affairs. I have not wholly forgotten my Baker's Dozen of African languages nor the experience gained with them in travelling in every country in Africa except Liberia , and in observant 'slow motion.'

Most of all I should appreciate personal news of yourself and of your many beneficent & humanitarian activities.

Yours sincerely
Tracy Philipps
Tracy Philipps.
46. Pall Mall, SWI.

23-40-27

Red. pending Feb-13 Lecture Complete

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL of Social Science

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
DAVID GOLDWAY, Executive Secretary

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Dr. Howard Selsam
Prof. Dirk J. Struik
Doxey A. Wilkerson
Nathan Witt
Ruth Young

January 14, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N.Y.

23-9-10

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Please participate in our "Negro History Week" activities by talking here at the School on Sunday, February 13th, at 8:15 p.m. on "Africa and the World: Yesterday and Today."

Our whole staff is extremely eager to have you with us, and we know we can guarantee a capacity audience.

Please let me know promptly whether we can count on you, as we want to do considerable advertising of this program.

Cordially yours,

Doxey A. Wilkerson
Director of Faculty and Curriculum

enc.
tu-555

[ENC]

Tentative Proposals for

NEGRO HISTORY WEEK - 1949

at the Jefferson School of Social Science

A. Programs in the Auditorium

1. Sunday, Feb. 6 — Fredgrick Douglass - Tribune of a People
Dr. Philip S Foner
(Doxey A. Wilkerson, Chairman)

2. Friday, Feb. 11 — "Negro Liberation" - A Review and Discussion
Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.
(Benjamin Paskoff, Chairman)

3. Sunday, Feb. 13 — Africa and the World: Yesterday and Today
Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
(Dr. W. A. Hunton, Chairman)

4. Wednesday, Feb. 16 — Music of the Negro People (in cooperation with course No. 200 - "Culture and the Working Class.")
Sidney Finkelstein and others
(_____ Chairman)

5. Sunday, Feb. 20 — Presentation by Jefferson Theatre Workshop

B. Exhibits

1. In the Bookshop (Sidney Baldinger in charge)

2. In the Library (Clara Ostrowsky in charge)

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 18, 1949

28-9-11

Mr. Doxey A. Wilkerson
The Jefferson School
575 Avenue of the Americas
New York 11, New York

My dear Mr. Wilkerson:

I shall be glad to speak at The Jefferson School, February 13, at 8:15 p.m. I should like to make the speech short something between 30 and 40 minutes, preferably the former.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Let appear

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
DAVID GOLDWAY, Executive Secretary

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Harry Sacher
Rubin Saltzman
Prof. Margaret Schlauch
Dr. Howard Selsam
Prof. Dirk J. Struik
Doxey A. Wilkerson
Nathan Witt
Ruth Young

February 28, 1949

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am writing to express the appreciation of all of us for your talk here the other week on Africa. It was regrettable that none of the full-time staff could be present to introduce you and Alphaeus, but since he is a member of the Board and so constantly close to the School we felt that he could handle it himself. I personally had planned to be present but found at the last moment I couldn't make it.

We all thank you very much for coming down and trust that you found the evening and the audience not unprofitable.

With warmest good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Howard Selsam

Howard Selsam

28-14-9

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
DAVID GOLDWAY, Executive Secretary

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Prof. Margaret Schlauch
Dr. Howard Selsam
Prof. Dirk J. Struik
Doxey A. Wilkerson
Nathan Witt
Ruth Young

23-44-42

March 21, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I must apologize for being so late in offering you the thanks of the Jefferson School for your lecture during our "Negro History Week" series. We have had enthusiastic reports from our audience on the very fine job you did together with Dr. Hunton.

We plan definitely to have you back with us sometime during the Fall, and we will be in touch with you in that connection in adequate time.

Cordially yours,

Benjamin Paskoff

Benjamin Paskoff
Director of Annexes and Extension

tu-555

May 23, 1949

Mr. Doxey A. Wilkerson
The Jefferson School
575 Avenue of the Americas
New York 11, New York

Dear Mr. Wilkerson:

Your letter of May 17, to Dr. Du Bois has been received, also the New York Times Magazine article.

Dr. Du Bois is still in Paris, he is expected to return on the 31st of this month. I will bring your letter to his attention immediately upon his arrival.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1600

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November 14, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26 Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We invite you to conduct a 10-week seminar on Africa and World Imperialism during our winter term, which begins on January 16 and ends on March 25. We suggest scheduling the seminar on Mondays from 6:00 to 8:00 P.M.

We are determined to end our neglect of this field, and are especially eager to have you associated with our faculty.

I should like to talk with you about this proposal at your convenience, and will call your office for an appointment.

Sincerely yours,

Doxey A. Wilkerson

Doxey A. Wilkerson
Director of Faculty and Curriculum

DAW/CM
tu-555

23-1-1

Ans Nov. 19.
Sorry — no

10

Dear

23-42-5

June 8, 1949

Mr. David Jenkins
240 Golden Gate Avenue
San Francisco 2, California

My dear Mr. Jenkins:

My secretary has written you that I have no plans for being in California this Summer and regret that I cannot serve you.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

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23-44-32

December 30, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Rev. Lothrop of the Community Church in Boston informs me that you will be speaking from his pulpit on Sunday morning February 12. We have in the past occasionally arranged for speakers to address ~~at~~ our Center Forum on the evening of the same day they speak at his Church. We would very much like to have you consider such an arrangement.

We would be most honored to have you address us if you would be available on that evening since we are a mere eight miles from Boston. Unfortunately we are not in a position to pay large fees. Reverend Lothrop felt that you might be willing to accept an honorarium of $50.00. I am not in a position to make a definite commitment but if you would indicate if the foregoing arangements are satisfactory, my Forum Committee which meets in a week could decide and inform you promptly.

I would greatly appreciate a reply at once, including some biographical data and two or three suggested topics. I look forward to an immediate reply.

Very sincerely,

Morton Friedenberg

MORTON FRIEDENBERG
Executive Director

MF:RB

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Req to write article

Jewish Life

Issued Monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association

35 EAST 12th STREET
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.
Telephone:
ALGONQUIN 4-9480
Cable Address:
Morning Freiheit, N. Y.

19 May 1949

W.E.B. DuBois
American Council onAfrican Affairs
23 W 26th St
New York City

23-7-64

Dear Dr DuBois:

You are no doubt acquainted with JEWISH LIFE and the work it is doing on the oppression of Negroes and national groups in the United States in addition to the Jewish question. However, we feel that we have not yet done enough, either on the Negro problem or on Negro-Jewish relations.

There is one phase of the Negro question in the cultural sphere that we would be honored to have you do for us. This is an essay on Negro poetry occassioned by the appearance of the Hughes and Bontemps anthology, THE POETRY OF THE NEGRO. Unfortunately, there is hardly any reference to Negro-Jewish relations among the tributary poems in this anthology. My guess would be that more of this material exists than is implied by its absence from the anthology. Although the article we should like you to do would be mainly concerned with the social and cultural problems suggested by the anthology, some comments on the Negro-Jewish phase would be of great interest. The article should be between 2000 and 2500 words and turned in at your convenience.

I know that you are probably deluged with requests of this kind but I hope very much that you will respond favorably to this one in view of the need for closer liaison between the Negro and Jewish movements.

Cordially yours,
Louis Harap
Louis Harap
Managing Editor

LH:rr
ang;cio

Will you do article?

May 23, 1949

Mr. Louis Harap
Managing Editor
JEWISH LIFE
35 East 12th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Harap:

Answering your letter of May 19, to Dr. Du Bois, may I say that he is still abroad in Paris and is not expected to return until June 1,.

However, I am forwarding your request to him today and he will probably write to you himself, or if he sends the message to me, I will let you know his decision as soon as possible.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

March 29, 1949

To the Officers, Members and Friends
of the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order,
International Workers Order

I am happy to greet you on this occasion of the anniversary of your organization, and it is a matter of deep regret to me that, because of an unavoidable emergency situation which requires that I be in Chicago on the day of your meeting, it is impossible for me to be present with you as I had planned. I hope to have this pleasure and honor on another occasion.

My acceptance of the invitation to address you was motivated by admiration and respect for the splendid work which your organization and the International Workers Order have carried on for many years. In our American society it is of invaluable worth to have an institution such as yours which preserves and fosters the folk culture of the various national and racial groups which make up America, at the same time that it works to unite these diverse elements in the common task of helping to make this country, and by that token the world, a better place for all peoples to live in.

The desperate effort of our enemies here and abroad is to achieve the exact opposite of these purposes. Their aim in essence is to convert all mankind into a simple robot-thinking-and-acting machine which will respond automatically to their own dictates, at the same time fomenting hatred and fear of all those nations, peoples and individuals who in any way question or challenge those dictates.

Now more than at any other time it is essential to beware of the wide spread propaganda of hate and fear and to combat it with resolute and united action by all those who have faith in the achievement of a world of freedom, abundance and peace. This must be the beacon light and paramount aim of Negro-Jewish and other group relations from the community level up to the international level.

For today the basic task of all of us is to stop the drive toward war. If we fail in this all other tasks are futile and vain. As I stated in an address at Madison Square Garden last Sunday at the end of the great Cultural and Scientific Conference for Peace:

"What we want is a decent world, where a man does not have to have a white skin in order to be a man. Where poverty is not a means to wealth, where ignorance is not used to prove race superiority, where sickness and death are not part of our factory system. And all this depends first on world peace. Peace is not an end. It is the gateway to real civilization. With peace, all things may be added! With war, we destroy even that which the toil and sacrifice of ages have builded."

I urge you, my friends of the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order, to keep this thought uppermost in your day to day activities, and to join with the Council on African Affairs and all other agencies that are working to build a decent world for all peoples.

Wishing you continued growth and success in the work of your Organization.

Fraternally yours,

W. E. B. DuBois

WEBD:mpm

274-9-18

JEWISH PEOPLES FRATERNAL ORDER

of the International Workers Order

80 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK 11, N. Y., ALgonquin 4-7733

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National Director

Sent Feder

29-42-22

April 27, 1949

W. E. B. Du Bois
National Council - African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

The Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order is arranging an exhibition depicting the martyrdom, heroism, and rebirth of the Jewish people in Poland.

The materials have been supplied to us by the Historical Commission of the Central Committee of Polish Jews in Warsaw, and they portray not only the tragic destruction of Polish Jewry, but also the heroic rebirth of the Jewish people under the protection of a free and democratic Poland.

The exhibition will be shown in New York for two weeks and will be taken subsequently on a tour through all American cities with a large Jewish population.

May we have the honor to invite you to be present at the opening and to participate with a short greeting in the opening ceremony May 8, 7 PM, at the ACA Gallery, 63 East 57th Street, New York City. We hope that you will be able to come and would appreciate a reply to that effect.

Sincerely yours,

JEWISH PEOPLES FRATERNAL ORDER, IWO

R. Saltzman

R. Saltzman
General Secretary

uopwa-16

April 29, 1949

Mr. Rubin Saltzman
General Secretary
JEWISH PEOPLES FRATERNAL ORDER
80 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, New York

My dear Mr. Saltzman:

Answering your letter of April 27, to Dr. Du Bois, may I say that he is abroad in Paris in attendance at the Peace Congress.

He is expected to return early in May, but not early enough to take part in your ceremonies on May 8.

I am sure he appreciates your invitation and regrets not being able to serve you at this time.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

230-42

Hen Corr

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Dear Dr Dubois:

Thanks for te card. So happy that at last you are settling down to write and write and write.

Just hope that your days may be long peaceful and goldem -fruited. That this change will be the most happily eventful of all, like the smile of Fate.

I've always regretted that we have met but a s ahips passing with just a wave of flags, but know this,- I've always given you your rightful place like ben Adam or what ever his name was- who led all the rest.

Have another sonnet to you in my new book Bridge to Brotherhood. This is for BROTHERHOOD WEEK and I'm in search of a publisher.

Among your many teemong friends remember this there is nome who admires you more highly

Sincerely

23-1-4

1461 S St N.W
1/25/49

Georgia Johnson

[Feb? 1949]

Ans coming

aear Dr ubois:

Dreamed last night tnat I cooked a large black milan straw het for you as a substitute for OKRA. You v cam to a hotel with the hat - a little boy followed me arou nd while we nt throough many corridors to the kitchen , time after time.

It was so vivid I had to write. Usually I forget dreams.

23-1-2

Dreams are very foolish, but life is also quite senseless.

Are you coming down the 11th of eb to the presentation og th New Anthology? If you are pleae tell me s that I can let the ress lub know (For luncheonO qlso the dinner around six. They have to know, but the reception aroung ten with refreshments ete is O K but YOU must be prepared for s pecially for other things.

It would be wonderful to have you. Phone me North 1305

aithfully G eorgia ouglas Johnson

G D J

Cor J.

Read Finnley Wren
by Philip Wylie - tr several seasons
Signet Book - 25c pocket edition.

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 11, 1949

Mrs. Georgia Douglass Johnson
1461 S Street Northwest
Washington, D. C.

My dear Georgia:

Thank you for your letters and notices of your dreams. I will not be down on the 11th, but I am going to be in Washington on the 12th. I must come right back, so I am afraid that I will not have a chance to see you; but I shall look you up sometime.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:LM

1461 S Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.
March 14, 1949

Dear Dr. Dubois:

Would you be good as to write a line of approval of my present book, "A Bridge to Brotherhood," which has been prefaced and passed upon by the head of the English Department in the Washington Schools, and edited by Dr. Locke? Presbyterian Youth Quarterly (white) has included exerps in their current Youth Pellowship Program, for their entire groups.

The Friendship Press of New York and Canada, has requested permission to use a chapter from this book in a future "Book of Programs for Brotherhood."

This book contains seventy poems and fourteen songs specially created for "Negro History and Brotherhood Week's Programs."

You can do a marvelous service to humanity and greatly forward the present world-effort for Understanding by helping this book tog get a hearing.

Gratefully yours,

Georgia Douglas Johnson

23-1-5

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 18, 1949

Mrs. Georgia Douglas Johnson
1461 S Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

My dear Georgia:

I am enclosing a statement, but you will admit that it is a little difficult for me to commend something I have not seen. However, your work is always good.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

[Enc]

Any word from Georgia Douglas Johnson is worth reading because it is sure to be a well-said, sincere and moving appeal for human Brotherhood and understanding.

23-1-9

W. E. B. Du Bois

1461 S Street, N.W.,
Washington, D.C.
March 22, 1949

Dear Dr. DuBois:

A thousand thanks for the very strong words of praise about Bridge to Brotherhood. I am sure that these sentiments will do much to forward the acceptance of the book.

I dreamed about you the other night again. You were breathing deeply and going through a kind of setting up exercise, after which, you said, "Now, I am fit and fine for the day."

You had on a reddish brown suit, you were quite young, slender, and handsome.

It's funny, but you remember my first dream was about you being in a big hotel and I was going thourgh the outer corriders to cook your bleck milan straw hat which was considered by me a dish of akra.

And now, you go to the Waldorf - that's the hotel episode: and doubtless the setting up exercise betokens your taking part in the exercises there.

Am enclosing the lyrics of Peace Songs which I hope you will turn over to whosoever you think will be interested.

Gratefully, Georgia Johnson

[ENC]

BUILD BRIDGES EVERYWHERE

Let's build bridges here and there,
Or sometimes just a spiral stair,
That we may come somewhat abreast
And sense what cannot be expreat:
For by these measures can be found
A meeting place, a common ground
Nearer the reaches of the heart
Where truth revealed, stands clear, apart:
With understanding come to know
What laughing lips will never show,
How tears and torturing distress
May masquerade as happiness:
Than you will know when my hearts aching,
And I, when yours is surely breaking!
O, let's build bridges everywhere,
And span the gulf of challenge there!

23-1-7

[ENC.]

23-1-6

BROTHERHOOD

Come, Brothers, all!
Shall we not wend
The blind way of our prison world
By sympathy entwined?
Shall we not make
The bleak way for each other's sake
Less rugged and unkind?
O, let each throbbing heart repeat
The faint note of another's beat,
To lift a ballard for the feet
That stumble down life's checkered street!

October 28, 1949

Mrs. Georgia Johnson
1461 S Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Georgia Johnson:

I have not had a chance to write you for sometime because I have been wandering in various places in the world, in Paris, in Marsailles on the Reviera, in Moscow, Warsaw and in Prague; a very beautiful and profitable chance to see something of the newer world.

I find that I have several of your poems here which I ought to return to you. I did not try to place them because we were in such a trenendous mess and under such fire here that I forget all about poetry. But I think they ought to be used sometime and I am sure you will use them.

With best regards.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[JOINT A-F R C]

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BETTY GARRETT

(Continued on reverse side)

23-50-37

April 6, 1949

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois, Chairman
Council of African Affairs
23West 26th Street
New York, New York

My dear Mr. DuBois:

It has been all too many years since I have seen you and have talked with you, but I cannot tell you how superb I thought your address was which you delivered at the Garden meeting a week ago Sunday night. When I was in the field of race relations I always appreciated and was stimulated by your intellectual vigor, your incisive presentation, and the really remarkable way you comprehend and condense a large issue. All of these things you ably demonstrated in your Garden speech and I was more than eager to speak to you following that meeting but there was no opportunity to do so.

What I am writing you specifically about is to discover from you whether it would be possible for you to speak for our Committee in Chicago on Saturday, May 14th. The affair is a women's luncheon which may not send too enticing to you, but the group is a very fine group of women working extremely hard for this Committee. They expect between three and four hundred women, and the other speaker is Ella Winter who has cabled us from Paris that she will be able to speak at the Luncheon at the Congress Hotel. I cannot say how much it would mean to me and to our Committee in Chicago if you found it possible to accept this invitation. Of course, we would make all of your arrangements for flying out, and you would be able to leave here at nine in the morning and be back by seven in the evening. As you know, the Committee is not rolling in wealth, but we would be very happy to pay your expenses plus $50 for the time involved if you found it possible to fill this engagement for us.

I will call you tomorrow around 12 o'clock to talk with you further and I cannot say how sincerely I hope it will be possible for you. My very warm greetings to you.

Sincerely yours,

Helen R. Bryan

Helen R. Bryan
Executive Secretary

hrb:fs

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23-42-11

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FRANK GERVASI

(Continued on reverse side)

December 20, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The announcement last week by several Senators that they would propose a $100,000,000 loan to Franco has prompted us to arrange a mass meeting at Manhattan Center on January 26th. This specific loan proposal brings into the open a movement toward rapprochment with Franco which, as you well know, has been in the making for some time. If, as we believe, the subject of the loan comes up in the early part of the next session of Congress, the meeting can be a timely occasion for giving public expression to the protest and concern shared by a good many Americans over this dangerous trend.

While the developing policy toward Franco Spain is related to our foreign policy taken as a whole, there seems to be emerging a striking parallel between the effort to strengthen fascist Spain at one end of Western Europe, and to renazify Germany at the other end. In any event, emphasizing the affinity between the activities of our government in Spain and Germany can do much to sharpen public understanding as to just where such activities are headed.

To carry out this aim, the meeting planned on January 26th will reflect in its theme and content a protest against the twin move to assure the survival of fascism in Spain and the revival of nazism in Germany.

Your participation in this meeting as a speaker would help immeasurably to advance this theme. Your name has become identified with the fight for a decent, progressive approach to both Spain and Germany. Your appearance would win a warm public response.

May I therefore extend to you a cordial and urgent invitation to address the meeting and thus contribute notably to its success.

I hope that your response will be favorable.

Sincerely yours,

Edward K. Barsky

Edward K. Barsky, M.D.
National Chairman

ekb:sc

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ALBERT MALTZ
ALFRED T. MANACHER
RICHARD MANEY
HEINRICH MANN
THOMAS MANN
ALICIA MARKOVA
GEORGE MARSHALL
PROF. KIRTLEY F. MATHER
PROF. F. O. MATTHIESEN
REV. WILLIAM HOWARD MELISH
YEHUDI MENUHIN
SAUL MILLS
JAMES K. MOFFIT
PIERRE MONTEUX
KAREN MORLEY
WILLIAM MORRIS, JR.
ZERO MOSTEL
MICHAEL J. OBERMEIER
HARVEY O'CONNOR
EUGENE O'NEILL
ISABEL DE PALENCIA
AUBREY PANKEY
DR. BERYL PARKER
BISHOP EDWARD L. PARSONS
J. GILBERT PEIRCE
GERRY PELLES
GREGOR PIATIGORSKY
DR. DAVID de SOLA POOL
HON. ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR.
PROF. WALTER RAUTENSTRAUCH
ANTON REFREGIER
QUENTIN REYNOLDS
PAUL ROBESON
ROBERT ROSSEN
WILLIAM M. RUBIN
MRS. MAURICE BOWER SAUL
JIMMY SAVO
GEOGES SCHREIBER
HAZEL SCOTT
ANNA SEGHERS
LISA SERGIO
DR. HARLOW SHAPLEY
SOL SILVERMAN
HILDA SIMMS
EDGAR SNOW
MOSES SOYER
JOHANNES STEEL
VILHJALMUR STEFANSSON
DR. MARK STRAUS
MR. & MRS. JACK STRAUSS
ARTHUR SZYK
GENEVIEVE TABOUIS
DALTON TRUMBO
M. S. VIDAVER
DR. HARRY F. WARD
MORRIS WATSON
MAX WEBER
MARGARET WEBSTER
ORSON WELLES
MRS. PHILIP E. WILCOX
MITCHELL WILSON
CARL ZIGROSSER
LEANE ZUGSMITH

December 30, 1949

Dr. Edward K. Barsky
National Chairman
Spanish Refugee Appeal
192 Lexington Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Dr. Barsky:

I am late answering your letter of December 20.

I have the deepest sympathy with the object of your meeting but have already accepted so many engagements that I do not dare add to them.

I am sorry.

Very sincerely,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

May 9, 1949

Counselor Marion O. Jones
209 West 125th Street
Suite 103
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Jones:

Answering your letter and invitation of May 5, to Dr. Du Bois, May I say that Dr. Du Bois is still abroad in Paris and is not expected to return untill the latter part of this month.

Please accept his sincere thanks for the invitation and his regrets at not being able to attend. I shall bring your letter to his attention immediately upon his return to his office.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

LM:m

502 E. Vine Street
Champaign, Illinois
July 15, 1949

Mr. Hugh H. Smythe
20 West 40th Street
New York, 18 N. Y.

Dear Mr. Smythe:

Your immediate answer to my letter was a real life saver. I want to assure you that I am grateful and appreciate very much your promptness. New Day Ascending by Brownlee, isn't in our library, but I was fortunate in getting some assistance though the local Congregational Church. The University seems most anxious to have what is best of Negro literature on the shelves, and I hope that New Day Ascending

190-51

and other recent literature of its type could be included in the late collections.

Sincerely,
Mary E. Jones

23C-37

[JONES, M]

Kenwood-6-8670
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois
January 11, 1949

23-42-41

Dearest Mr. Van Bori:

In all probability you received my air-mail letter a few days ago. I hope you are all-right in every way and that the family is also. So many things are happening in my young life that if I were the type to be "bowled over," I would probably have disintegrated within the past ten days — but I am undeniably made of stone, impervious to storm, strife, etc. — and infinitum — can change my plans with one or two seconds notice to date. For the 3rd time my travel plans have been changed — & somewhat delayed. Consequently, I have definitely made up my mind when & where I shall go, etc. and infinitum — & at the appointed time I shall take my flight (I hope), unless the world trembles!

On Saturday, Miss Marion Hadley of the Hall Branch Library & now also

President of the Chicago Fish Club, called me & told me that she & other members of the Club had learned that you would probably be in Chicago sometime in February (it seems that a Jewish girl told her that you were coming). Miss Hadley asked me for your address so that she could contact you at once — & since I do not yet know your business address, I told her 1409 Edgecombe, New York 32. A few minutes ago she phoned that she mailed her letter on Saturday & they (she & the Club) will arrange the testimonial meeting (at the Hall Branch Library) for whatever time you say. Everyone is so anxious to show you how much you are esteemed, valued and appreciated by right-thinking, appreciative persons — & this is as it should be.

Take the best of care of yourself, please — & know that I love you always, very, very much. I am all right but I certainly am not a "heavyweight"!

Write.

Yours, Mildred.

P.S. Is Mary White Overton living? I have heard nothing of her for a long while.

M.

Bryant Jones

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 14, 1949

23-42-42

Mrs. Mildred Bryant Jones
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

My dear Mildred:

I have your two letters and also a telegram from Miss Hadley. I am answering her and saying that at present I have no plans for being in Chicago. I deeply appreciate the wish of the Fisk Club, but could hardly afford to come there, just on account of the program. If my plans change, and its possible they will, I am going to let her know.

I am glad to hear that you are getting on and hope that you will get a vacation.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

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1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

March 28, 1949

Mrs. Mildred Bryant-Jones
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Arrive Wednesday afternoon, can I stop a few days. If not- wire and I will go to hotel - Do not phone.

W. E. B. Du Bois

22-42-45

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
April 8, 1949

Mrs. Mildred Bryant Jones
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

My dear Mildred:

I arrived safely. The day was perfect for flying and the view as we came in over the skyscrapers of New York, was something to write home about. I want to thank you so much for your hospitality and I hope you are not worn out by your efforts. I am quite well and hard at work.

Probably I shall fly to Paris for the World Peace Congress, which opens April 20. If I go, I will now be away more than two weeks. I will let you know details.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-42-40

August 18, 1949

Mrs. Mildred Bryant Jones
4909 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mildred:

I am flying to Russia Saturday. Will drop you a not from there.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-42-44

September 27, 1949

Mrs. Mildred Bryant-Jones
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

My dear Mildred:

I landed on Friday, September 16, at noon. I spent in all, two weeks in Russia, and a week in Poland and Czechoslovakia. I had four days in Paris and the whole trip was most inspiring and informing.

Everywhere I was received graciously and entertained very pleasantly and given every opportunity to see and hear. I went to the Opera twice especially, i remember that magnificent ballet at the Bolshoi Theater in Moscow, where "Swan Lake" with Tchaikowski's music was danced by the most perfectly trained ballet that I have ever seen. In Paris, I went to the Comedie Francais and saw RuyBlas, and in Prague and Warsaw I also saw plays and heard music.

Moscow, as I think I have already written you, is an astonishing city, with five million people and with the most elaborate system of long wide boulevards of any city in the world. Its subway is the most beautiful of anything that I have seen.

I hope that you are in good health and that you have had some chance to get rest. Let me hear from you at your convenience. I am quite well and Mrs. Du Bois is still as usual.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

22-42-46

December 16, 1948

Mrs. Mildred Bryant Jones
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

My dear Mildred:

I have succeeded in doing all my Chicago business by telephone so that I shall not be out there for sometime. However, may I say that everything is going very well indeed and I feel quite content with the development. I hope you are well, and I shall visit you as soon as I have opportunity.

I am in good health and the family is getting on as well as usual. I shall go down to Baltimore Christmas.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-42-57

December 30, 1949

Mrs. Mildred Bryant-Jones
4809 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mildred:

This is just to wish you a Happy New Year for 1950 and any number of others thereafter.

I am well and surviving the Christmas season with fortitude. I hope to see you in Mid-January or certainly in February.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23/401 B

July 3, 1949

23-40-5.3

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I must apologize for not having previously answered your letter, but it had to be relayed to me at the address below, where I've temporarily retired in the effort to finish a book on which I've been working for some time. (My retirement is not a complete retreat from the world, in that the book I'm writing is called Techniques of Tyranny and deals with anti-democratic devices in the USA from 1919 to 1949).

Like yourself, I have received the communications from Paris

and have conveyed their contents to some of the other members of our delegation and of our committee. Previous to your return from Europe, a few of us met at Rogge's house and discussed possible plans for carrying on the work. With the exception of arrangements for a Report from Paris rally, which we subsequently held, nothing of a very concrete nature came out of our meeting concerning a program for continued activity.

Within the next few days Rogge will be visiting up here; and he, Rockwell Kent (who lives near here) and I will see if we can come to some tentative conclusions about what we can do to activize ourselves and others of the Committee. After our discussion, I'll write you and give you the gist of it, for your own comment.

Of course, one thing that is really needed is a broad discussion among a number of members of our committee, for the purpose of outlining concrete plans for carrying out the work that we should do as a continuation of the Paris Congress and in response to the requests from Paris. Perhaps we could arrange such a meeting in New York some time within the not too distant future.

Frankly, I am a little perturbed, because I feel that we are really not fulfilling some of the tasks that we undertook in Paris, and because, as far as I know, no other organization is meeting these responsibilities.

Thank you very much for your note. I shall keep in touch with you.

Hoping this finds you your usual hale and hearty self.

Most sincerely,

Albert E. Kahn

I might add, by way of an appreciative postcript, that a number of your works have proven of much value to me in the research on my book.

Albert E. Kahn
Frazzle Top Farm
Upper Jay, NY

Req for Info

24 June 1949

Dr.W.E.B.Du Bois
Editor-In-Chief
Crisis
Washington,D.C.

2-3-7-42

Dear Sir:

I am a Graduate Student (Division of History) at A &I Tennessee State College Nashville,Tenn.The subject that I have chosen to do a thesis is:"Robert R. Church as a Political Figure in Tennessee from 1920-40".Sir,do you have any material on the above subject in any of your old editions of the"Crisis?"I be glad to pay you for your time and labor.I do hope to hear from you in the near future. I am enclosing a stamp for your reply when you have time.

Clarence L. Kelly

Respectfully,Clarence L.Kelly

Corres. K

Marathon, Florida
July 22, 1949

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York City

23-42-417

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Several weeks ago I wrote enquiring as to whether you might be interested in writing a foreword to my forthcoming book BIRTH OF DAMNATION.

In order that you might have some idea as to its nature, I am enclosing a copy of the table of contents, together with the jacket blurb.

If you would like to see the manuscript, telephone Miss Patricia Henniker, WAdsworth 6-4134.

In any case, I would appreciate hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Stetson Kennedy

[ENC]

jacket blurb

[July 1949]

BIRTH OF DAMNATION

True Stories of Reconstruction

With powerful forces currently calling for a return of Ku Klux Klan terror to cope with what they call the "Second Reconstruction"--by which they mean the civil rights program--the Birth of Damnation appears at a time for decision.

Although the die-hard white supremacists have not yet given up the fight in the halls of Congress, courts, state legislatures, and municipal councils, the day is at hand when they will have no other hope of delaying the advent of democracy except by resort to a reign of lily-white Klan terror such as won the Confederacy a soft peace following the Civil War.

23C-42

The Birth of Damnation brings back to life the Freedmen, Scalawags, Carpetbaggers, and Ku Klux of those Reconstruction days to tell their stories of flogging, mutilation, rape, and murder.

While the picture is not pretty, it is an eloquent testimonial to the heights and depths of good and evil of which men are capable. Here are unsurpassed examples of the common man's inherent decency, bravery, and unselfish devotion to human brotherhood--and at the same time his susceptibility to appeals of hate, cruelty, and lust.

This is--above all-a documentary book, consisting of direct excerpts from sworn testimony given before a Congressional investigating committee while the Klan terror was at its peak. As such, the Birth of Damnation nails for all time the historic lie that the function of the original KKK was to "restore law and order."

The author has painstakingly mined the thirteen volumes of testimony--hertofore available almost nowhere except at the Library of Congress--and has brought together thirty-seven of the most significant stories in highly readable form. Both victims and villains speak in their own words--as faithfully recorded by court stenographers--and hence the book will be of great interest to the historian, sociologist, and student of language, as well as to the general reader.

#

With the unfinished business of the Civil War pressing upon us for solution, the Birth of Damnation raises the urgent question: "Are we going to de-Kluxify the South, or let it Kluxify us?"

To be sure, "much progress has been made."

But prejudice has progressed, too.

Jim Crow has grown into something of a national institution, buttressed by the authoritarianism of tradition.

"White supremacy"--that figment of a guilty conscience--threatens to degrade all America and disgrace her in the eyes of the world.

In some sections, the price tag on democracy still reads: "One vote, one life."

There is imminent danger that the KKK will suceed in rebuilding its Invisible Empire, which after World War I embraced some nine million members in all forty-eight states, and ride rough-shod over the rights of Negroes, Catholics, Jews, the foreign-born, labor unionists--and democracy itself.

It still remains--as Lincoln said at Gettysburg three-quarters

of a century ago--"for us, the living, to highly resolve that this nation shall have a new birth of freedom."

The lessons to be learned from these stories, as to the cause of the failure of Reconstruction, should stand us in good stead at this time for promoting democracy not only in our own country but in the Axis nations as well.

The Birth of Damnation can play a decisive role in helping America make up her mind whether she is going to lead in the direction of democracy or racism, both at home and abroad.

83C-42

[1949?]

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"NO DESIRE TO HIDE ANYTHING"

<u>AFTERMATH</u>

23-42-48

July 25, 1949

Mr. Stetson Kennedy
Marathon
Florida

Dear Mr. Kennedy:

I think the work that you are planning to do might be very excellent. But of course, I can't write an introduction to a book which I haven't read.

I am much too hard pushed with my own work to undertake to do a manuscript.

I thank you for your interest.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Reg for mss

128 Barnard Place
New York, 2, N.Y.
November 11, 1949.

Dear Dr. Du Bois;

I am a young student at Columbia University who has just begun to engage in scholarly research for the first time. At present, I am working on a master's Essay on the history of the Negro people in the Knights of Labor. This is a relatively new field of endeavor, one which I am sure you will agree deserves every effort.

23-7-34

So far, the sources I have used consist of the Negro press, the labor press of the 1880's, government and state reports, and official documents of the Knights of Labor. The more one probes into this material, the more one is keenly aware of the influence of individuals like Senator B. K. Bruce, William H. Johnson, and others, on the organization, as well as large masses of Negro people as a factor in the history of the labor movement in America. The New York Sun in 1887 has estimated that in that year, there were almost 100,000 Negroes in the Knights of Labor, or about one-fifth of the membership, and

that membership among Negroes was advancing at a rate far higher than among any other groups of the American population.

I am writing this to you for any aid at all on bibliographical material that is difficult to find out about, and any suggestions which you can offer on the subject. It is a very vital one, with far-reaching significance for all the people today, one which I am sure will contribute in a small way to the glorious history of the Negro people.

As a foremost scholar, writer and leader, no doubt you are quite busy at this time, but any helps in any way will be deeply appreciated.

In closing, allow me to most sincerely wish you eighty more years of writing, speaking, and thinking, in the cause of Humanity.

Sincerely,
Sidney H. Kessler.

Correct
} my Black Reconstruction
} Stern + Haines
Myrdal
Warner
Caylin + Drake
E Stern

The Black Worker
An American Dilemma
Negro Labor
Black Workers of New Unions
The Negroes

S

November 14, 1949

Mr. Sidney H. Kessler
128 Baruch Place
New York 2, New York

Dear Mr. Kessler:

Answering your letter of November 11, to Dr. Du Bois, may I suggest that you consult the following books:

BLACK RECONSTRUCTION**W. E. B. DU BOIS

THE BLACK WORKER***SPERO AND HARRIS

AN AMERICAN DELIMMA***GUNNAR MYRDAL

NEGRO LABOR**ROBERT WEAVER

BLACK WORKERS AND NEW UNIONS**CAYTON AND MITCHELL

THE NEGRO'S SHARE**RICHARD STERNER

I hope this information will be of service to you.

Very sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

LYM:m

332-7

23-20 28th Avenue
Astoria 2, L. I.

October 16, 1949

Dear Dr. DuBois:

23-7-17

Here is the poem I phoned you about last week, which you have so kindly agreed to read and comment upon.

The story is taken from Botkin's LAY MY BURDEN DOWN--one paragraph on page 179--and is used with that editor's gracious consent. The poem has been accepted for publication in the Spring, 1950 issue of the Harlem Quarterly.

Fortunately, I have at least a month in which to make alterations before the work is set up in type. Any comments, whether favorable or otherwise, will be extremely helpful and deeply appreciated.

Very truly yours,

Aaron Kramer

Aaron Kramer

October 28, 1949

23-7-18

Mr. Aaron Kramer
23-20 28th Avenue
Astoria 2, L. I., New York

My dear Sir:

The poem which you sent October 16, and which I return enclosed, is very beautiful and I have read it with interest. I would not, however, attempt to ~~critize~~ it in any way. I hope I shall see it when it is published.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure: Poem

corres. K

Hedwig S. Kuhn, M.D.

Glendale Park, Hammond, Indiana

March 24, 1949

23-42-49

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Nat'l Ass'n for the Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Dr. Kuhn who has just returned from an extended trip through Africa would like very much to hear from you, to know what you are doing at this time and to be brought up to date on your activities. She is very sorry that she did not have an opportuhity to contact you before going to Africa. She had some very interesting experiences there which I know she would like very much to share with you. We are writing to you in New York as we do not have a better address at this time.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth G. Connor

(Mrs.) RUTH G. CONNOR
Sec. to Dr. Kuhn

RGC/as

Comm 15

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
April 6, 1949

Dr. Hedwig S. Kuhn
Glendale Park
Hammond, Indiana

Dear Dr. Kuhn:

Just on my return from Chicago, I get a letter from you. I am sorry that I did not realize that you were there while I was West. Also I should have liked to talk with you before you went to Africa and now especially after your return, I shall be delighted to hear your experiences. If I come West again I shall certainly let you know and if you come to New York, I am sure you will inform me.

I was dismissed from the NAACP for supporting Henry Wallace and doing other insubordinate things. I am now with the Council on African Affairs giving them a little advice now and then, and chiefly devoting myself to writing.

I am in good health and hope you are.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Fill cover. I

June 8, 1949

Father Lanahan
St. Frances Convent
501 East Chase Street
Baltimore, Maryland

23-1-21

My dear Father Lanahan:

I am enclosing a small contribution to your church in behalf of my wife, Mrs. Nina G. Du Bois, who lives at 2302 Montebello Terrace, Baltimore.

She has expressed great thankfulness for the visits which you have made her.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure: check

G. A. Langnas
41, Bramerton Street
London S.W. 3

May 14. 1949

23-7-9

Dear Doctor Dubois,

I wonder whether you still remember our meeting during the Pan-African Congress at Manchester. I represented Reuters at the time; I sent out daily accounts of the proceedings, and an interview with you. The reason for my writing to you now is that I expect to come to the United States as an immigrant in August or September, and would like to have the benefit of your advice and help.

Although I met you as a journalist, my real profession is a cross between a historian and sociologist, and it is the impossibility of getting anywhere with my work in England that made me decide to seek my luck in the States. I am now 37 and was born in Poland, but came to England to study history at the University of London. I obtained the B.A. degree in 1936, and the Ph.D in 1938. My main interest was - and still is - the study of nationalism, and

I realised the need of sociological training. I enrolled as a related student at the Institute of Sociology. Under its auspices I started to write a comprehensive study of nationalism. It is as yet uncompleted, and one of my main purposes of my coming to America is to get in touch with one of the great foundations which could supply me funds required for the completion. ~~Actually~~ The Secretary of the Institute, Mr. Farquharson, actually tried to get Carnegie, ~~and~~ Rockefeller etc interested in my scheme but, as usual, it merely proved that nothing could be done from this end of the Atlantic. I have letters of recommendation from Mr. Farquharson and Professor Sir Charles Webster which should come useful as testimonies to my qualifications in history and sociology.

My interest in African affairs also dates from my stay in England. The reason why I have tackled nationalism rather than race and colour is because nationalism is the aspect of discrimination most ~~common~~ prevalent in the Europe in which I grew up. It was Britain which really opened my eyes to imperialism in its colonial and colour aspect. I met a number of Africans who became my friends

- Peter Blackman, Peter Abrahams and George Padmore among them - and supplemented personal contacts by a good deal of reading. Through a visit to Paris, I established new contacts with French colonial peoples, and "Presence Africaine" has accepted an article of mine on recent trends in British Africa. I also picked up in Paris a number of books about Africa which I think ought to be made available to the English-speaking public.

23-7-10

My interest in Africa is not something isolated but part and parcel of a larger whole, of which my book on nationalism is also only a part. This ~~greater~~ larger whole is, I think, the main issue of the world to-day - the problem of the foreigner. I have made it my life's work to investigate and evaluate what men believe the way they do ~~about~~ towards other men who are of different nationality, race, colour, religion etc. I found the questions of colour and of Africa particularly interesting, because I think that it is through dealings with Negroes and Africa that the "white West" developped certain attitudes towards foreigners which have spread far beyond it, and are the main menace to peace and civilization to-day. These attitudes have infected the "oppressed" races and nations - the Durban riots and the treatment of Arabs in Palestine have made it only too clear (I speak as a Jew).

There are two main ways in which I propose to deal with these issues. One is the general somehow study of attitudes towards foreigners, which would bring them into light, as a first step towards changing them. I fully share your scepticism in "Dusk of Dawn" about the chances of bringing about drastic and immediate changes. But I also feel that you have under-estimated the chances of producing changes of of attitudes in the long run through such theoretical studies, as appeared to practical work. After all that's how Plato, Rousseau and Marx did their work. and exercised their long-range influence.

The other line of attack is not through the general but through the particular. I have ~~spend~~ spent 15 years in collecting data from all parts of the world about national, racial, class and other relations, and would like now to make use of them. What I have in mind is a historical survey on the lines of your "Black Folks. Then & Now" but not confined to Africa and Negroes. It would be "a primer for the Coming World", and would bring together a lot of material ~~written~~ buried in special studies in many languages.

Another book which I think is needed is a collection of source-material, on a world-wide scale, on problems of race, nationality etc. It could start with Egyptian documents, like the prohibition to Negroes to pass the 1st cataract

and the story of Si Mukka with its emphasis of an Egyptian ~~barbar~~ civilization and Asiatic barbarism and bring the story down to our own days, with extracts from American immigration laws, ~~and~~ the Nuremberg Verdicts.

23-7-11

These then are my plans. I will reach New York with extremely limited means, and I will have to find some work before I can get started with them. The purpose of my writing to you now is to ask for your help in finding work. Apart from my scientific qualifications, I have been a working journalist - both for Reuters and a free lance writer for magazines. I have experience of radio monitoring and script writing, and am a Polish professional translator. I can translate from, German, Russian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch and Italian. I have actually in mind two books of African interest which I would like to translate, if I can find yet anybody interested. They are: René Maran's "Un homme pareil aux autres", an autobiographical novel which shows that Anglo-Saxon attitudes on race have no left France untouched; the and an anthology "Les Plus Beaux Ecrits de l'Union Française et du Maghreb" which I think, is of outstanding interest. It has four sections: North Africa, Black Africa, Madagascar, Viet-Nam, each with an historical introduction. ~~Apart from the~~ The North African

section covers some familiar ground but the other 3 are practically all new territory. The Madagascan and Viet. Nam sections bring material hitherto inaccessible, and the "Black Africa" section is miles and miles ahead of Cendrars' anthology, and the introduction of Senghor is first-rate. Each section could eventually be translated separately. If either of the books interests you and is not available to you, I'll gladly send you my copy. This also applies to samples of my own writings, should you like to look at them.

I would be very grateful if you would look around for some work which I could do on my arrival in America. I am willing to tackle work of any kind, and the chance of going to America means a lot to me. I am by no means unaware of the darker side of the picture; but America offers to me an opportunity, which England has hitherto denied me, of getting on with my life's work.

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

J. A. Langmead

May 23, 1949

Mr. G. A. Langnas
41 Bramerton Street
London S. W. 3
England

Dear Mr. Langnas:

Your letter of May 14, to Dr. Du Bois, has been received. He is still abroad in Paris and is not expected to return until June 1.

I will bring your letter to his attention immediately upon his arrival.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

330-7

October 28, 1949

Mr. G. A. Langnas
41 Bramerton Street
London S. W. 3
England

23-2-12

My dear Mr. Langnas:

I regret to have delayed so long in answering your letter of May 14, but I have been abroad twice since receiving it and have just had a chance to get at it.

The best agency for help in your case would be the Guggenheim Fund, but you would have to be here on the spot and learn of the best ways of approaching it. There certainly ought to be a chance with your experience and your knowledge of languages.

It will be difficult for you to find a teaching place in the United States because of the hysteria against Socialism and Communism which is weeding out most of the far-seeing thinkers in our institutions, but that of course may pass.

There might be some opening for you to do work on newspapers or magazines which would involve knowledge of foreign languages. That knowledge is rather rare in the United States, but all work of this sort and investigation as to opportunities would much better be done in the United States. I doubt if much can be accomplished by correspondance.

It is possible that you are already in the country, and if so I shall be glad to talk to you, if not, let me know when you arrive. I am interested in the work which you have been carrying on and I remember you from Manchester.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Brooklyn College
BEDFORD AVENUE AND AVENUE H
BROOKLYN 10, N. Y.

15 March, 1949

Req for Info 1949

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th. Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Doctor DuBois:

As you will probably remember from our very brief conversation of a year ago, I am making a study of the programs and policies of Negro organizations during the past twenty years. (By "Negro organizations" I simply mean those which are predominantly Negro in their constituency and leadership and which are national in scope.)

23-7-56

In light of your long association with and observations of the associations in which I am interested, it is especially desirable that I have an opportunity to confer with you. Your help is particularly needed in placing these past twenty years in perspective. In addition to your insight in the general field under study, it is highly important that I secure your evaluation of the strategy and tactics of the N.A.A.C.P.

The purpose of the present study, briefly stated, is to examine the manner in which the organizations under study have sought to meet the various national and international crises and the degree to which they have used these crises as occasions to further the cause of fuller democracy for the American Negro. In addition to the National Association, I am including the National Negro Congress, the March on Washington Movement, the National Urban League, and - to a lesser degree - some of the less prominent organizations.

I know that you have been critical of the degree to which democracy has operated within the N.A.A.C.P. and that you have also questioned its strategy in general. The precise points at which you have criticized the organization are not clear to me.

My duties at Brooklyn College are over early on Mondays and Wednesdays, so that I am available for a conference any time after twelve o'clock on these days. On Tuesdays and Thursdays I am free after four o'clock; and Saturdays are entirely free. I realize fully how valuable your time is; but I am sure that you will agree as to the timeliness and need of the kind of study I am trying to do.

Mrs. Lawrence joins me in kindest personal regards.

Sincerely, your student,

Lawrence

Charles R. Lawrence, Jr.

28-2-57

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
March 18, 1949

Mr. Charles F. Lawrence, Jr.
Department of Sociology and
Anthropology
Brooklyn College
Bedford Avenue and Avenue H
Brooklyn, New York

My dear Mr. Lawrence:

Answering your letter of March 15, I beg to say that I shall be very glad to see you anytime about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, on Mondays or Wednesdays. You might call up my secretary and make a definite appointment.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[LEADERSHIP EDUC. INST.]

MRS. PAUL ROBESON - Room 900 - 19 West 45th Street - New York 19, N. Y. - JUdson 6-1868

May 20, 1949

Dr. WEB DuBois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Henry A. Wallace has long recognized that a primary task of responsible progressive leadership is the training of new forces. Since this reflects my own feelings, I have consented to work with Mr. Wallace on a project which we feel will help to make this training a reality.

More specifically, the plan is to establish a Leadership Education Institute, designed to develop capable leadership from among our young people through education and training programs. In what better way can we fulfill our responsibility in the fight for a permanent peace in a prosperous, democratic America than by providing our sons and daughters with the tools for carrying on that struggle.

The realization of such a plan can only be achieved by the cooperative efforts of businessmen, educators, artists, trade unionists and clergymen. Knowing that yours would be an unusually valuable contribution in the planning and building of this project, I strongly urge you to attend our first planning meeting on Thursday, June 2, from 4 until 6 PM, at the home of Mrs. Libby Holman Reynolds, 121 East 61st Street, New York City.

I greatly look forward to seeing you at that time.

Very sincerely yours,

Eslanda Goode Robeson

Eslanda Goode Robeson

P. S. There will be no solicitation of funds.

CC: Advisors

Jo Davidson
Abraham Pomerantz
Harry Ragozin
Gene Weltfish

23a-8

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26 St.
New York City

My Dear Dr. DuBois:

It has been many years since I first contacted you with a request to publish in the Crisis an expose of my relations and experiences with the National Board of the YWCA. I have been out of the country for several years- in Germany in 1945 and in China for two years- fourteen months of which I spent behind the lines in Communist China. I have seen you twice since my return ,once at the Russian Institute dinner last years and recently at the Peace Confenence at the Wasldorf- Astoria dinner. I have spent my life fighting for decency and democracy and fair play and for that reason I am sending you a copy of a letter which I have just sent to Mme. Sun. I have just seen a copy of a letter you sent to Clark Forman which I am sure you did in good faith. I happen to be in the peculiar position of having been a board member of the China Aid Council and chairman of a committee for North China made of up of Epstien, Talitha Gerlach and Chu Tong. Unfortuneatly, as I have recently discovered, not all the dishonest people, not all the liars and not all the people who have personal axes to grind belong to the Republican Party. The Progressive movement being made up of human beings has a few also. Miss Gerlach has to me been proof that the sweet ladies who make up the professional Christians in the YWCA have not changed any since my experience with them ~~kirkk~~ thirty years ago. Not all the rats belong to the group in Harlem nor to the Aryans-the Chinese have a few and Chu Tong, who is on the Committee for A Democratic Policy Far Eastern Committee is proof of that. I have recently resigned from that organization because while I believe in fighting to the last ditch-I don't believe in a dirty fight and I feel very strongly that liars are worse and more dangerous than thieves. This is really a fight based on personal ambitions of Gerry Tannenbaum whom I knew in Shanghai- he is one of

the products peculiar to America where real education is secondary to athletics. He is one of the men who was paid to go thru college because his basket ball ability was worth that to the box office of the athletic Association. His great ambition has been to be the controlling power in China Aid Council and since he was blocked in his manoeuvres in 1947, he and his group-Epstien-Gerlach and Chu Tong have played a dirty game to get control of the funds of the China Aid Council. As a member of the CAC Board I can tell you that no funds of the group have gone to Chiang Kai shek- the funds have not come from the US military but from appeals to the public. There is in New York City a bank account for the China Welfare Funds and all funds have been placed in that bank and Mme. Sun has drwan directly on the account in Shanghai. I told Maude Russel what I thot of people fighting other people with lies. She declares she did not make the statement that CAC sent funds to Chiang Kai-shek when I spoke to her about it and yet I do not believe that Gen. Stilwel's widow has so little to do that she spends her time thinking up lies to tell on other people. This group has been making a great issue of CAC being connected with USC and giving that as their reason for starting a splinter organization and yet I saw a copy of letter from Shanghai in which it is definitely stated that Gerry Tanenbaum is not "directly connected" with the USC-ECA setup in Shanghai but that he "sits in" at their meetings so that China Welfare will get their share of the supplies. What kind of intellectual honesty can these people have when they are shouting here in New York about USC while their representative in Shanghai "sits in" so they can get USC-ECA supplies!!! When you have read the enclosed copy of the letter which I sent to MMe Sun I think you will be a good deal wiser about the truth- this is not a fight of ideology- it is the fight of a cheap American who has wormed his way into control of CWF in Shanghai and into MMe Sun's confidence in an effort for him and his friends to carry out a personal fight against

23-413-19

Mildred Price.

I do not know from whom you got your information but I can tell you very frankly that is the most unscrupulous group of damnable lying "so and sos" I have encountered in a long time and you are at liberty to tell anybody exactly what I have said. I worked with that group last year and know the whole dirty inside story. They are throwing out all this pious propaganda about "funds going to Chiang" and "USC" to cover up a pretty dastardly performance. No one of intelligence in Shanghai had any repsect for Tanenbaum- people usually raised their eyebrows and said with a smile" nice guy with a gift of gab but a smoothie". That cheap press release about Mme Sun last year in U.S. newspapers was due, I was told by people who returned from Shanghai last winter, to Tanenbaum's loose mouth in the foreign colony in order to impress people with his closeness to Mme Sun and his importance.

I believe that as a colored woman, these people felt I would be flattered to work as chairman of their committee last year but when I realized what a bunch of dirty skunks I was involved with, I resigned.

You and Paul Robeson are certainly free to make your own decisions about your connections with that group but as a colored woman I resent their playing me and you for damnfools.

Mildred Price is perfectly willing for you to go over with her the records of the CAC, auditor's reports, etc. I do not know that God has much to do with the affairs of this world but I have lived long enough to realize that there seems to be some law of eternal justice which works in the scheme of things and for that reason I do not believe this group can prosper for any length of time- They are absolutely dishonest in this situation. I can tell you also-do not be taken in by some of these letters shown you as those of Mme. Sun. I know Mme Sun and have had correspondence with her and there are certain mistakes in English which repeat themselves in her letters. But the letters written by Tananbaum and purported to be written by her are readily distinguishable when you know the

23-43-20

writing of both people.

There is a certain element in the Left "ing group who take the same attitude as the State Dept. and US Military gang that any means justifies the end. These people are out to "GET" Mildred Price and they have shown plainly that dishonesty and lies and more lies mean nothing to them if that will serve their ends.

I know the story from the inside-having worked with them last year and I intend to expose them from California to the East coast and back again.

Yours sincerely

Catharine D. Lealiad M.D.

315 E. 80 St.
NYC.
4/14/49

23-43-21

[ENC]

315 East 80th Street
New York 21, New York
March 21, 1949

Mme Sun Yat-sen
7 Hsiang Shan Road
Shanghai 12, China

Dear Madame Sun:

I was more than glad to get a letter from you although I am exceedingly sorry to know that you have been down with high blood pressure. I had written a letter to you early last fall which was returned to me weeks later marked "Inconnu." I know that you have been given direct information about China Aid Council but not <u>all</u> the direct information that is available to understand fully the situation here. For that reason I am sending you a little history of my contact with the I.E.-T.G.-Chu Tong group during the past 14 months.

In February, 1948, I was invited to a meeting at which time there was organized a North China Medical Project ostensibly to raise funds to help Chinese doctors in America who wanted to go to North China to work.

At the March, 1948 meeting, I.E. spoke of enlarging the group to include engineers and others. During this meeting, I was startled to hear him say, "This group may have to take over CAC because we have got to get rid of M.P." I was so amazed I thought I had misunderstood. I questioned him, and he repeated the statement. Then T.G. followed up by saying, "Mildred has got to go; we can't let Gerry down." I asked for an explanation and was given some vague reasons — for instance, that she had been seen with USC officials and Chinese Nationalists in Shanghai. This was supposed to be proof that she was pro-KMT. I had the feeling that there was something going on "under cover". I immediately suggested that if they had valid reasons for getting rid of M.P., as CAC Board members they should put their charges and criticisms in writing and present them to the Executive Committee of CAC, thus proceeding openly and aboveboard.

Shortly after that meeting I was invited to Mike Sacks' home for dinner and again the conversation turned on M.P., and I heard again the expression, "We can't let Gerry down. Mildred's got to go." I tried to get a concise reason for the anti-M.P. attitude from M.S. that night, but all he could say was, "Oh, you know Mildred."

I realized then that there was a definite plan on the part of the I.E.-T.G. group to get rid of M.P. At the same time, I became distrustful of those people because I saw them on two occasions in her home grinning in her face and accepting her hospitality. I worked on with the group, however, because I was interested in helping North China, knowing how desperate is the need for doctors there. Through my friends I raised over a thousand dollars in the spring of 1948 which was used to send Dr. Yang, a Johns Hopkins-trained surgeon, and two others, to North China by way of Prague. In July, my friend, Richard Bartho, the sculptor, gave me a bust of Gielgud as Hamlet to be used for raising more money for the North China medical project.

About six weeks later, M.P. received a letter from General Stilwell's widow, a copy of which is enclosed (A), as well as a copy of excerpts from M.P.'s answer (B). These letters were presented to the Executive Committee of CAC, whereupon Dr. Osborne, as president, wrote to Miss Russell for an explanation of such a

misrepresentation of facts. To date he has not received an adequate answer denying Mrs. Stilwell's charges. Shortly thereafter, at a fall meeting of the North China medical committee, I again heard more criticism of M.P. This time aid to the Canton Children's Center was used as proof that CAC was pro-KMT.

In November Elsie Cholmeley invited me to lunch. When I reached her office, she told me Susie Chen was very anxious to see me and was to have lunch with us. It turned out that, after we had ordered our lunch, Susie Chen spent the luncheon period, for the most part, on an attack on M.P. It was again a repetition of what I had heard before. I left the luncheon saying, "M.P. is a paid employee of CAC. If the Board members are justified in their criticisms of her, why don't they come out openly and discuss the matter with the Executive Committee instead of working against CAC undercover?" Instead of answering my question, Elsie flashed at me, "CAC or no CAC, M.P. has got to go."

I believe in fighting when it is justified. I think you know how I fought for supplies for Shantung province to the point where high UNRRA officials tried to have me fired on three different occasions, but I don't believe in a "dirty" fight. It was evident, in spite of my repeated suggestions that the objections to M.P. be brought up openly to the Executive Committee of CAC, that they were not going to do that. I resigned as chairman of the North China Medical Committee because I was convinced that this was a personal fight "for" Gerry T. and "against" M.P. Following my resignation, Dr. A. Chung asked me to come to his home and discuss the matter with him. During the evening, Chu Tong turned up and went into the same old rehash about USC and the Canton Children's Center, as well as M.P.'s association with USC officials in Shanghai. I decided that as a member of the Board of CAC I ought to apprise the Executive Committee of what I had been hearing for the past eight months. At the November meeting of the Board of Directors I brought up the facts as I know them. Other Board members had also heard the same kind of remarks from the same people.

At that time it was decided that CAC would take steps to dissolve rather than to go on fighting the undercurrent. CAC was being attacked from the right as well as from the I.E.-T.G. group. Operating costs seemed to be too high to justify the small sums which might be brought in. It looked as if USC would not be able to raise funds. The Board in all sincerity felt that CAC had too many obstacles to overcome to continue its work. Miss T.G. and Mr. I.E. were both at the meeting when it was voted to take steps to dissolve, and neither voted against the motion.

At the January 28 Board meeting, when CAC voted to rescind its previous motion to dissolve, Dr. Osborne gave I.E. and T.G. their chance to come out in the open and put their cards on the table. M.P. left the meeting room and the doors were closed. I said quite frankly that I thought it was time that the people on the Board, who in past months had been making certain criticisms, come out in the open and discuss their charges and clear the atmosphere. After all the talk I had heard during the previous months in re getting rid of M.P. and supporting G.T., I was amazed to find that neither T.G. nor I.E. opened their mouths. T.G. simply came out with a remark that she had decided to arrange for a new organization "after" CAC had discussed dissolution in November. Mrs. Carter quietly picked her up on that mis-statement and said, "That is not true, Talitha. We know you have been corresponding with Shanghai for some time about a new organization, but I assure you we wish you all the success in your work for Madame Sun." T.G. later sent in her resignation saying that her conscience would not let her continue to work with an organization having any connection with USC. I want you to know that I cannot appreciate

that kind of hypocrisy. If T.G. were really honest about that she would have resigned from Indusco which is still a part of USC, but she remains to date a member of the Indusco Board.

CAC did not, as you said in your letter to me, decide to continue in business because of the organization of Miss Gerlach's committee. The CAC Counsel, Mr. Stanley Isaacs, advised the Board that it would be foolish to break legal connections with USC until the Cromwell estate is settled. This involves over $300,000, left as a legacy to USC, and CAC's share would be lost if connections were severed before the estate is settled. At the same meeting (Jan. 28), a CAC Board member offered to underwrite CAC operating expenses. The direct-mail appeals which were and still are being sent out are bringing in considerable sums. Without any thought at all of the organization of T.G.'s group (and I say this with great honesty) the CAC Board voted to rescind its previous motion to take steps to dissolve.

It was following this meeting that Dr. Osborne cabled you asking what CWF might want in 1949. The answer was a very curt note from G.T. saying that CAC is no longer the CWF representative in the United States and that T.G. would be carrying on for his organization.

A few days later there appeared in the Chinese press in New York an article written by Chu Tong who has been one of the T.G. group, presenting a marked distortion of the truth. It stated in part: "The Council, an organization affiliated with the United Service to China, has surrendered to reactionary forces by cutting out from its budget funds to the International Peace Hospital in the Chinese Liberated Areas, and by retreating with the Nanking Government to the South. The Council has started a campaign to extend aid to the Cantonese children as a replacement of its former aid to the Hospitals. To help the Cantonese children is not an undesirable program, but to withdraw the aid which has been given to the Hospitals for years for helping only a group of Chinese children is something that involves politics, and something inconsistent with the past policy of the Council of carrying out its work without political discrimination."

The article was seen by Chinese apparently throughout the country. Two Chinese students in Columbia, Missouri, whom Dr. Osborne and M.P. had known in Shanghai wrote to M.P. wanting to know what had happened to CAC and its policy in regard to China. At the same time came news from California that a barrage of anti-CAC propaganda has been carried on in the Hollywood area - that CAC is made up of a group of capitalists, and that everybody who is anybody is leaving the CAC Board. These letters have suggested that people should not contribute to CAC. Actually CAC has got some money for the cave nurseries in North China and the IPHs and has been working on a folder for an appeal for aid to the North China projects.

Following G.T.'s curt note to Dr. Osborne that CWF did not want anything from CAC, we made plans to carry on work for North China through some of my connections. I know that there is a great need for all sorts of help in the Liberated Areas, and while Mrs. Carter has said very little, I know she has felt quite bad about the whole despicable performance.

I don't believe you need to be a professional psychoanalyst to understand why I just can't work with that group. I was graduated from a Presbyterian college in Minnesota and took as my first job a position with the National Board of the YWCA in New York. I spent two years working with a group of very charming,

smooth, silver-tongued "professional" Christians who could take their Christian ethics and philosophy from day to day somewhat like changing their clothes. After two years with them I could not "take it" any longer and resigned from one day to the next. The impact of my experience with professional Christians at that time was such that I have not gone back to church in the past 30 years in spite of my clergyman father. In spite of Miss T.G.'s charming personality, I am much too allergic to hypocrisy, typical of many professional Christians, to work with the T.G.-led group.

Last week I had an experience with Dr. Paul Chi which will indicate to you to what lengths these people will go in their fight against CAC. I met Dr. Chi in Chicago last summer (he is a friend of Dr. Chung). He was trying to get money for North China and I gave him letters to surgeons I had worked with while an interne in Chicago years ago. These men contributed generously when Dr. Chi approached them. This winter he met an acquaintance of mine - a Dr. Goland - who was with Dr. Barsky's medical unit working for the Spanish Loyalists in Spain. Dr. Goland is interested in helping North China. I had told him of the terrific need for medical books and about the excellent work done by Dr. Gung as head of the medical school in Central Shantung. Dr. Goland had got a complete medical school library - new 1947-48 editions - costing over $5,000, to be given to a medical center in North China. He and Dr. Chi came to my apartment and talked things over. Dr. Goland decided to give this library to Dr. Chi to take to China. Besides books, I knew that Dr. Gung had been most anxious to get a bronchoscope and I had asked Dr. Chi to take one to him. At the time, Dr. Chi was perfectly willing to carry the bronchoscope to China, but the week before he left New York (last week) he had been persuaded by the I.E.-T.G. group "that Madame Sun would not want him to take anything to China that had been paid for with CAC money" and so he refused to take the bronchoscope for Dr. Gung.

As I remember you, I can't conceive of your being capable of such petty meanness of spirit that you would have disapproved of Dr. Chi because he carried a bronchoscope to Dr. Gung paid for by CAC money (not USC). That meant that no bronchoscope was taken to Dr. Gung because neither Dr. Chi nor the I.E.-T.G. group had the money to pay for one. When he left my apartment I was so angry I wrote Dr. Chung a letter - a copy of which I am enclosing. Dr. Chi is due to reach Shanghai in a few weeks. If and when you see him, you are free to show him the letter for corroboration of the above facts.

I am afraid this letter will not lower your blood pressure but in fairness to you as well as to the CAC Board members like Mrs. Carter and Dr. Osborne, and in fairness to M.P., all of them people who are and have been 100 percent behind your work and the democratic forces in China, I feel that I should let you know the WHOLE truth. No one has put any ideas in my head. The fact is I sat as chairman of the North China medical group from February 1948 to November 1948 and heard with my own ears the threats "get rid of M.P." -- "we can't let Gerry down." Shanghai is a long way from New York and I believe that the I.E.-T.G. group thought that you could never know what actually went on here. You probably remember the old English saying "murder will out". I believe this letter is it -- because I am giving you the actual history and the straight facts concerning what I consider has been a real attempt to "murder M.P.", figuratively speaking. I was somewhat puzzled to know what was really behind it all. The propaganda about M.P. being a pro-Nationalist reactionary is sheer nonsense. She and her sisters are known as active anti-Fascists. In the past week a member of CAC told me she remembers that in 1947 Gerry tried, with the help of I.E. and a few others, and failed to get the Board of CAC to reorganize

in such a way that he would be in the controlling position and that he left N.Y. making a statement during lunch, "I'm going to get M.P." This was in the spring of 1947. A clean fight is one thing -- distorting the truth, back-stabbing and throat-cutting is another.

I have just been shown a letter signed by you and circulated by T.C. stating "The International Peace Hospitals and other projects supported by the China Welfare Fund are now without any American organization devoting its main efforts to raising funds for their support among the American people. The China Aid Council which formerly represented the interests of these projects is now devoting its major energies to other appeals."

I was struck by what you wrote and went to CAC office to check up on what actually had been done for CWF. This is what the record shows:

(1) Before China Aid Council was allowed to raise funds on its own (up until the fall of 1947), it embarked on a campaign to collect gifts-in-kind from doctors, nurses, and hospitals. The results of this campaign have been shipped to the CWF, and those supplies that are still coming in will also be shipped.

(2) China Aid Council was allowed to raise funds in the fall of 1947 for three months (before the advent in 1948 of American Overseas Aid-United Nations Appeal for Children). During that period it got out two appeals - one for the IPHs which was accompanied by a letter signed by you - and one for all the children's work of USC (including the children in North China and Yu Tsai). CAC wrote the latter pamphlet but it was paid for by United Service to China. For the IPH appeal it used its own list, a list given to CAC by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and a purchased list.

(3) In July 1948, CAC was told it could raise funds again since AOA-UNAC had been a failure. It therefore spent the better part of six months working on publicity for Madame Sun Reports - the Story of the China Welfare Fund. Mr. Tannebaum told CAC not to give away the report and so CAC could not make as wide distribution as it wished to, but it did succeed in raising some money part of which paid for the pamphlet and part sent to the CWF. Money is still coming in on the pamphlet and Miss Price tells me it will be placed to the CWF account in the Chase Bank.

In connection with the Report, I found that Mr. Tannebaum appointed a committee to get it out and did not ask M.P. to be on the committee. In spite of that, she did everything she could to make the Report effective and to hasten its publication. She arranged to get the statement from Mrs. Stilwell for the cover. She read proof, corrected copy and wrote captions. She know how Mr. Tannebaum felt about her work but she made herself believe that she was working for the Chinese people and not for an individual (Mr. Tannebaum).

(4) In the fall of 1948 CAC sent out a second letter of appeal for the Yu Tsai School (the first was sent out in the fall of 1947).

The only appeal CAC has made outside of appeals for your work has been that signed by Bishop Hall in behalf of the Canton Children's Center to be addressed primarily to the religious contacts of CAC. I think you know where Bishop Hall stands in relation to change in China, and so I cannot make any apologies for the appeal. The people who have contributed as a result of this appeal have for the most part, never contributed previously to CAC projects.

In spite of the I.E.-T.G.-Tong propaganda I can assure you that I have not met any reactionary capitalists at the Board meetings. I know of no one with an income sufficient to be placed on the capitalist list. But I hope that the T.G. group will work as hard supporting you as they have worked in trying to sabotage CAC. No one could have worked harder for CWF than I have seen M. P. work during 1948. Returns were low and slow, but we have here a recession (the new word for the old depression), increasing unemployment -- New York City alone now has over a half a million people without work and the N.Y.C. relief department is being swamped with people demanding the dole at an average of 3,000 new applicants a week. I hope, however, that E.I. and T.G. have contact with people in the upper income brackets who will be able to give large sums to support your work. In spite of the distorted propaganda and misinformation being circulated CAC will continue to work not only for the Canton Children's Center but for Yu Tsai and North China projects as well. I am quite convinced from my own personal observations that the G.T. campaign against M.P. has been the basic issue. I hope some day to go back to China particularly to Shantung. One year back in America is enough to thoroughly upset any intelligent American. This country is going Fascist so fast that it is practically a "fait accompli" and as for democracy, liberty and freedom of speech, they are now practically non-existent. About all we lack now is the addition of a swastika to the flag and a "Heil-Hitler" salute.

If at any time there is anything I can personally do to be of help, please let me know. I am glad you wrote to me as your letter gave me the opportunity to write you what I consider to be the truth.

With my best wishes for you, personally, and for the China Welfare Fund, I am

Sincerely yours,

Catherine Lealtad

(enc.)

(A) Dear Miss Price:

During a recent visit with me in Carmel, Maude Russell said that most of the money sent to CAC was channeled to Chiang Kai Shek, that it had to be earmarked "for Madame Sun Yat-sen". Would you kindly clarify this for me before I continue to try to interest any friends in this particular group? With good wishes

Sincerely,

Winifred A. Stilwell

(B) Dear Mrs. Stilwell:

We have never sent any money to Chiang Kai-shek nor would any of our Board members tolerate such an action. We sent funds to Madame Chiang's orphanages during the war, but after the war, these orphanages were turned over to the Chinese Government and we naturally did not ask United China Relief (now United Service to China) for any more funds for them. USC has given us practically all the funds we have been able to send to China through the period 1941-1948, and a generous portion of these funds went to Madame Sun's work. We were able to send her about two million dollars during the war -- the money coming from the National War Fund as well as from United Service to China.

China Aid Council has not been able to raise large sums since the end of the war. China Aid Council was permitted by USC to raise funds beginning in the fall of 1947, but what funds we have raised went for the most part to Madame Sun's organization. We send money to her organization which has not been earmarked for her. It comes in to China Aid Council designated for children's work. We have sent to China this month $2,000. Of this $1,000 went to Madame Sun; $500 went to the Yu Tsai School which is sponsored by Madame Sun's organization, the China Welfare Fund, and $500 went to a very fine, democratic day care center in Canton called the Canton Children's Center. Of course we also send her all the funds earmarked for Mme Sun.

I am sorry to say this, Mrs. Stilwell, but Miss Russell has been told the truth time and time again about where our funds go. She keeps on repeating the same misinformation about our work. I do not know why she does it as we have tried to promote her organization in every way we can. We believe it is greatly needed and we think Miss Russell has been indefatigable in promoting the work of her committee.

I hope that for Madame Sun's sake you will continue to promote the work of the China Welfare Fund through China Aid Council. We are doing all we can to interest people in her Report as we feel that once her Report is read, the reader will be inclined to make a contribution.

Very sincerely yours,

October 14, 1948

Mildred Price

CATHERINE D. LEALTAD, M.D.
315 East 30th Street
New York City 21

(8)

March 12, 1949

Dear Dr. Chung:

Dr. Chi came to see me Thursday night. His changed attitude and his conversation which was an almost verbatim repetition of what I have heard from the Epstein-Gerlach-Tong group - made it evident that he had been submitted to some vicious anti-CAC propaganda. To me it is incomprehensible that people can claim to be so interested in the new China and then use their energy to block aid to a hospital. Dr. Gung had been so anxious to get a bronchoscope for the hospital and medical school and Dr. Chi had been quite willing to take anything he could that would be of help to the hospital when he first arrived. In the last few days he had been made to believe that he could not do it -- he was told Mme Sun would not want him to carry anything from or for CAC. The attached letter states that China Welfare Fund is quite willing for CAC to carry on for that organization for the time being. I feel that it was pretty despicable for people to have talked to Dr. Chi as they did.

He had evidently been coached to try to talk me into persuading the CAC Board members that they were quite wrong in continuing support for the Canton Children's Center and CAC should abandon the project. CAC is not planning to open any new nursery in KMT China. But how anyone, especially Talitha Gerlach, who is supposed to be a Christian, could support a plea to abandon a group of children -- no matter what children or whose children -- as a part of a fight among adults is to me beyond the pale of human decency. None of the children in this world are responsible for the mess that the adults have made, and I cannot conceive of using children — even in KMT China -- in a personal fight. Dr. Chi has been told that these children should not be given any further support because ICEF was giving money to Nationalist China. I do not have an IQ of 170 but I am not an imbecile or an idiot, and I did not live in China for two years with my eyes closed. I saw six hundred million dollars worth of UNRRA supplies destined for the people of China go into the hands of government crooks. I do not believe that the KMT officials have become converted to honesty in the past twelve months and the ICEF money and supplies will go the way of the six billion dollars already sent to China.

Dr. Chi who has only recently arrived here was certainly well fed on anti-CAC propaganda because of its USC connection. Yet Talitha Gerlach who has been one of the prime movers in this fight is still an active member of the Board of Indusco which is still an integral part of USC. This to me is unexplainable. She has had as much time to resign from Indusco as from CAC. But it is only part of the evidence that these people were primarily interested in "getting Mildred Price" even if it meant sabotaging CAC. Dr. Chi had even been given the "Luce" line about CAC in relation to USC. But I doubt if anyone told Dr. Chi that Miss Gerlach, for all the Luce influence in USC, works for and draws a salary from an organization which receives support from Luce's sister. I find it pretty idiotic for people who live in glass houses to start throwing stones at other people. Regardless of what I consider dirty tactics, we will get a bronchoscope to Dr. Gung through other contacts in Peiping.

My old friend, Dr. Leslie, phoned me. He told me that you and Dr Chi had been over for dinner and how much he and Sarah K. Greenberg enjoyed having you.

They both feel that if China can have young people like you in the vanguard there is great hope for the country. Dr. Chi got a projector through one of Bob's contacts. Dr. Chi did not have the money to pay for it and the bill was sent to Bob. Mildred has sent Bob a check to cover the bill for the projector.

Dr. Leslie and his wife have been interested in China for some time. She got books through to me for Dr. Gung in 1946-1947. Bob knows of the "opportunist" Mr. Tannebaum. Bob and his wife will be glad to help us help China but what they do will be done through CAC as long as I am on the CAC Board.

Dr. Chi spoke to me about a Dr. Hsu (?) in Boston who will be going back to North China in the late summer and will need about $500 worth of laboratory supplies. He thought I might help him get the needed equipment. I am sure we would be glad to do all we can for him provided he is a person who can make his own decisions and not be swayed from one day to the next by vicious Epstein-Gerlach-Tong propaganda. One may expect that sort of thing from a group of dirty Tammany Hall politicians or from a gang of moronic, obstructionist Dixiecrats, but you do not expect people who pretend to be so interested in helping the new China to stoop to such petty chicanery.

Sincerely yours,

Catherine Lealtad

China

CATHARINE D. LEALTAD, M. D.
315 EAST 80TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY 21

Dr. W. E B. DuBois
Com. on African Affairs
New York City:

23-49-12

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I sent you a letter and an enclosure (a copy of a letter I mailed to Mme. Sun Yat Sen re: some rather vicious distortions of the facts as concerns China Aid Council - after having seen a letter you sent to Clark Foreman -

I learned afterwards that you had left for Europe at the time. I hope the letter was given to you on your return to New York - as you had evidently been pretty thoroly misinformed -

Yours very truly
Catharine D. Lealtad

6/10/49

June 20, 1949

Miss Catharine D. Lealtad
315 E st 80th Street
New York 21, New York

23-49-13

My dear Miss Lealtad:

I received your letter concerning the Aid Council just before leaving for France and read it carefully. However, it seemed to me that the letter consisted too much in calling people names, and too little in giving facts.

I still think that the letter which I wroteto Clark Forman was justified.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

CATHARINE D. LEALTAD, M. D.
315 EAST 80TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY 21

Dr. W. E. B. DuBoulis
23 west 26 St.
New York City

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Just a line to thank you for acknowledging receipt of my letter and enclosures of copies of my letter to Mme. Sun. You are the first of a number of intelligent people who read the copy of the letter to Mme. Sun who found there was " too little in giving facts". However, I know a number of radicals follow the line "my family right or wrong even when they are wrong". Fortunately or unfortuneatley my personal philosophy is " my family are wrong- including my blood relatives- when they are wrong" particularly when lying is involved. But in a Democracy, you are certainly entitled to your line.

Yours very truly

6.21.49 Catharine D. Lealtad M.D.

Catharine D. Lealtad M.D.

23-49-3

Civil Rights

CALL

to a Legislative Assembly and Rally TO END SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION

Washington, D.C.
February 11-12, 1949

The right of every American citizen to equal protection of the laws regardless of race or color, long a cherished part of our American system, has been systematically denied in practice to millions of citizens. Segregation and discrimination is their lot from birth to death.

Discrimination has been denounced by such spokesmen for the conscience of our own nation and the world as the President and his Committee on Civil Rights, the United Nations in its Declaration of Human Rights, and the World Council of Churches at its recent Amsterdam Conference. Yet the practice persists.

For years the Congress has had before it legislation to ensure to every American the right to vote, the right to equality of economic opportunity, the right to equal protection of the laws. A determined and powerful minority of Congressmen has blocked such legislation year after year.

In November, 1948 the platforms of all three political parties were united on this issue and the American voters gave their mandate for the passage of this legislation.

The time has come to end once and for all the denial to our own citizens of the rights we proclaim throughout the world. We cannot permit any minority of Congressmen to block such a program.

We are therefore calling together representative leaders and organizations of the American people to a Rally and Legislative Assembly for Civil Rights to be held in Washington the weekend of February 11th and 12th, as a demonstration of the united will of Americans to bring to an end now the practices of discrimination and segregation. The Rally and Assembly will carry forward and commemorate the birthday of the Great Emancipator.

The Legislative Assembly will concern itself with the principal legislation before the Congress: The Fair Employment Practices Bill, the Anti-Poll Tax Bill, the Anti-Lynch Bill, Federal Aid to Education. It will press the demand for effective measures to wipe out discrimination in Federal employment. It will insistently call for an end to the flagrant segregation practices in the nation's capital which are a living rebuke to our professions of democracy.

We feel that such a united Rally, demonstration and Legislative Assembly will have a decisive effect on Congress and the other agencies which have it in their power to put an end to segregation and discrimination *now.*

We invite you to join with us as an individual or to appoint delegates from your organization to attend both the Assembly and the Conference. The credential form on the reverse side is for your convenience. Will you please indicate how many delegates of your organization will be in attendance both at the Legislative Assembly and Rally on Friday, February 11th and the Conference on Saturday, February 12th.

PROGRAM

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 11th, 1949

10:00 A.M. Preliminary meeting of Legislative Assembly at Metropolitan Baptist Church, 1225 R St., N.W., Washington, D. C.

Chairman: Dr. J. Finley Wilson.

Outline of status of Civil Rights legislation before Congress.

Appointment of delegations to visit Congressional leaders, heads of Executive Departments, and officials and civil organizations in the District of Columbia.

1–4:00 P.M. Visits by delegations to present demands for action.

4:30 P.M. Assembly will reconvene at Metropolitan Avenue Baptist Church to hear reports from delegations.

7:30 P.M. Rally on Civil Rights at Metropolitan Baptist Church, 1225 R St., N.W., Washington, D. C.

(*Speakers to be announced*)

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 12th, 1949

Conference on Civil Rights. Metropolitan Avenue Baptist Church, 1225 R St., N.W., Washington, D. C.

10:00 A.M. to 12 Noon Panel meetings.

Congressional Legislation.

Discrimination and Segregation in Federal Employment and the Armed Forces.

Elimination of Discrimination and Segregation in the District of Columbia.

(*Chairmen of panels to be announced*)

1:30 P.M. Reassembly of full conference.

Report of Panel Chairmen.

Discussion.

Adoption of Program of Action.

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Council on African Affairs
New York City

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President
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

DR. WM. H. JERNAGIN
President
National Baptist Sunday School and BTU Congress
Washington, D. C.

BISHOP D. WARD NICHOLS
African Methodist Episcopal Church
New York City

JOHN WESLEY DOBBS
Grand Master
Prince Hall Lodge, F & A Masons
Atlanta, Georgia

DR. WM. H. BORDERS
Pastor, Wheat St. Baptist Church
Atlanta, Georgia

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Milford, New Jersey

FRANKLIN P. ADAMS
Westport, Conn.

C. B. BALDWIN
Secretary
Progressive Party
New York City

REV. WADE C. BARCLAY
Methodist Board of Foreign Missions
New York City

PROF. CYRUS BARNUM
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minn.

ELMER A. BENSON
Chairman
Progressive Party
Appleton, Minnesota

LEONARD BERNSTEIN
New York City

MRS. BUENA V. BERRY
I.B.P.O.E. of W.
Norfolk, Va.

MARY McLEOD BETHUNE
President
National Council of Negro Women
Washington, D. C.

DR. ALGERNON BLACK
Leader
Ethical Culture Society
New York City

MRS. ROSA BLOCKER
New York City

DR. ERNST P. BOAS
Physicians Forum
New York City

VAN WYCK BROOKS
Cornwall, Conn.

HUGH BRYSON
President
National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards, CIO
San Francisco, Cal.

REV. T. T. BRUMBAUGH
Methodist Board of National Missions
New Rochelle, New York

DR. SCOTT BUCHANAN
Pittsfield, Massachusetts

JOHN CLARK
President
International Union Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, CIO
Chicago, Illinois

REV. DONALD B. CLOWARD
Executive Secretary
Committee on Social Progress, Northern Baptist Convention
New York City

CHARLES A. COLLINS
Hotel & Club Employees Union, AFL
New York City

MARC CONNELLY
New York City

DR. CLARK W. CUMMINGS
Executive Secretary
Federation of Churches
St. Louis, Missouri

CLARENCE DERWENT
President
Actors Equity
New York City

DR. IRENE DIGGS
New York City

OLIN DOWNES
New York City

DR. CHARLES DREW
Howard University Medical School
Washington, D. C.

VIRGINIA DURR
Alexandria, Virginia

KERMIT EBY
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

WINSTON C. EDWARDS
Chairman
United Negro and Allied Veterans
Washington, D. C.

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First Congregational Church
Akron, Ohio

PROF. THOMAS EMERSON
Yale Law School
New Haven, Conn.

PROF. H. P. FAIRCHILD
New York City

REV. PROF. J. FLETCHER
Episcopal Theological Seminary
Cambridge, Mass.

DR. CLARK FOREMAN
Washington, D. C.

ELINOR GIMBEL
President
PTA, Horace Mann School
New York City

JOSIAH W. GITT
Publisher, Gazette & Daily
York, Pennsylvania

DR. MARCUS I. GOLDMAN
Washington, D. C.

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Co-executive Secretary
National Urban League
New York City

EWART G. GUINIER
International Secretary-Treasurer
United Public Workers, CIO
New York City

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Garrett Biblical Institute
Evanston, Illinois

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Yale Law School
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GEORGE HARPER
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National Council of Methodist Youth
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Philadelphia, Pa.

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Food & Tobacco Workers Union, CIO
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New York City

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Civil Rights Congress
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Editor
The Churchman
New York City

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Executive Secretary
Lott Carey Baptist Foreign Missionary Convention
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St. Augustine College
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Minneapolis Board Urban League
Minneapolis, Minnesota

I. F. STONE
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ROBERT STONE
Union Theological Seminary
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LELAND STOWE
Bronxville, N. Y.

REV. STANLEY I. STUBER
Director of Public Relations Northern Baptist Convention
New York City

MRS. LESLIE E. SWAIN
President
Women's American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society
Craigville, Massachusetts

DEEMS TAYLOR
New York City

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First Methodist Church
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Wilberforce State College
Wilberforce, Ohio

JAMES WATERMAN WISE
Director, Council Against Intolerance
New York City

ALEXANDER WRIGHT
Stone & Allied Products Workers of America, C.I.O.
Pittsburgh, Pa.

COLEMAN YOUNG
United Public Workers, CIO
Detroit, Mich.

(Organizations listed for identification only)

TO: DR. J. FINLEY WILSON
1915 Fourteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

CREDENTIAL FORM

We are happy to accept the invitation to join with you and the other sponsors in the Legislative Assembly and Rally to End Discrimination and Segregation, to be held in Washington, D. C. on February 11th and 12th, 1949. Our organization will send ..... delegates to the Assembly and Rally on Friday, February 11th and ..... delegates to the Legislative Conference on Saturday, February 12th.

..... *Name of Individual or Organization*

..... *Address*

..... *City and State*

....

....

..... *Names of delegates or observers (for organizations)*

Registration fee $1.00 — includes admission to all sessions and mass meeting.

Corr. L

Dec 16, 1949

My dear Mr. Du Bois:

I was so sorry I had to cancel the last evening one I had planned to have you come. But I suppose one has to be philosophical about losses and life must go on.

Jean Paul R[illegible] last night among a group of other friends and we agreed to start the New Year by coming to our home on Sunday, Jan 1 at seven o'clock for supper.

I do hope you will be able to come.

Best regards.

Sincerely,
Lonnie R. Levin
161 West 86 Street
N.Y.C.

23-1-24

December 30, 1949

Mrs. Lonnie R. Levin
161 West 86th Street
New York, New York

My dear Mrs. Levine:

I regret my inability to accept your kind invitation for Sunday, January 1, 1950.

I must be out of town on that date.

Very Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

con. f.

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 6, 1949

Mr. William H. Lewis, Jr.
Dedham, Massachusetts

My dear Mr. Lewis:

May I express to you and the family my deep grief at hearing of the death of your father.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-9-75

Ur come

October 17, 1949

The Liberian Delegation
To The United Nations
25 Beaver Street
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

I am writing to emphasize the case of the peoples of Somaliland and their right to autonomy. I have talked to Mr. Issa and heard the views of others and I have long been a student of the problems of Africa.

I believe that it is of great and pressing importance that Italy should be totally eleminated from rule in Africa. The history of her attempts to reduce Ethiopia to an African colony are disgraceful and the cruel aggression of Mussolini were one of the main causes of the last World War. The Somalis hate and fear the Italians and for this they have ample reason.

I write to urge that your Delegation add your influence to freeing the Somali people from European control and establishing them in a free land. I believe the natural unity and legitimate ideals of the Negro race should lead you to this action.

I should be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

I beg to remain gentlemen

Your obedient servant,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

P.S. Copy sent to Mr. Issa

24-22-1

[Lincoln University: Midwest Journal]

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY

FOUNDED AS LINCOLN INSTITUTE 1866
BY THE 62ND AND 65TH UNITED STATES
COLORED INFANTRIES, AND SUPPORTED
BY THE STATE OF MISSOURI

JEFFERSON CITY, MISSOURI

MIDWEST JOURNAL
OFFICE OF THE EDITOR

December 17, 1949.

Dr. E.B. DuBois,
23 West 26th Street,
New York City, N.Y.

24-13-57

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We were overjoyed to receive your article A Restatement of the Negro Problem for our forthcoming issue of the Midwest Journal. The Editorial Staff joins me in expressing our deep appreciation for your kind consideration of, and active interest in, our publication. Your article coming from one of America's foremost scholars will greatly enhance the Journal.

Under separate cover I am forwarding you a copy of our second issue which has just come from the press. Several factors have caused a delay in the printing of this number, but with the publication of our Winter (1949) number, which will appear in January, we are confident that subsequent Journals will appear regularly, that is, in the summer and winter in each year.

Extending you every good wish for the Yuletide and for the New Year, I am

Sincerely yours,

Lorenzo J. Greene

Lorenzo J. Greene,
Editor.

LJG/bdm

a con. j.

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 6, 1949

Mrs. Ernestine Anthony Lipscomb
Jackson College
Jackson, Mississippi

23-1-16

Dear Ernestine:

It was nice to hear from you. You will see that I have the new office and new work.

I have been trying to get Hugh Smythe into Reddicks old job, but they tell me that your friend Dorothy is on leave for a year and may return. They have a branch librarian in her place.

I haven't been up there since you left. Please come back.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

JACKSON COLLEGE
FOR NEGRO TEACHERS
JACKSON, MISS.

THE LIBRARY

March 26, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

23-42-9

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I regret very much that I let the month of February pass without sending you "Happy Birthday Wishes," and to say how pleased I was to hear from you recently.

It is good to know that you are still in New York, (where I long to be) and that you are continuing your literary work. I knew that you would continue the fight in spite of impossible odds. The officials of the N.A.A.C.P. showed poor judgment and were extremely unfair in your case. However, so often this is the case for people who are honest and sincere, and uncompromising in their efforts. It may not be any comfort to you, but there are many who sincerely appreciate everything you have done in scholarly research and in the interest of human freedom everywhere. Those who benefit from such are often voiceless. Yet, in their rewards (if, and when they come) will be your "biggest thanks."

I think of you often and also wish for you the best of everything. I sincerely hope that you and all the family are well. I especially hope that Mrs. Du Bois' condition is improving and that "little Miss" Du Bois is getting along well in school.

Warmest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Ernestine A. Lipscomb

Ernestine A. Lipscomb
Librarian

EAL:h

P.S. I am sure that you would not be able to stand this land of the "Dixie 'Hate'". Yet, this is the place where men of courage and the will to fight are needed. As dark as the picture is, it is good to know that there are a precious few courageous souls.

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
April 6, 1949

23-42-10

Miss Ernestine A. Lipscomb, Librarian
Jackson College
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Ernestine:

I just returned yesterday from Chicago where I was in conference with some friends and met a number of others. It was nice to have your letter. I see that you are a librarian again. We miss you of course here a good deal.

I have not been to the Schomburg Collection since you left and I do not think that I shall go.

I may come down your way sometime and if I do, I shall certainly call in. Is there any hope of your returning here?

Let me hear from you again.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

The University of Chicago

23-9-22

Dear Dr. Du Bois: Julia and I have received the post-card and letter which you sent us from France. It was gracious and thoughtful of you to remember us.

Your piece in the National Guardian recording your impressions of the Paris Peace Conference was soul-stirring. It was a classic narrative---done in the inimitable Du Boisian lyric style--that will long be remembered by those of us who were fortunate to read it. I have also noted in the New Africa, the partial reproduction of the spirited and scholarly address you delivered to the 2,000 delegates who attended the history-making Conference. You are, without a doubt, one of the most remarkable personalities of our time.

Every time I hear Bunche's name mentioned I think of you,--you who have written, spoken and done so much for international, interracial peace, goodwill and understanding--and of the glorious, uncompromising manner in which you would have fulfilled a diplomatic mission to a Semitic world about which your knowledge is unmatched. You are healthy, agile and vigorous. The opportunity for such a service may yet come. Who knows?

Julia and "Pola" send love.

Good Luck,

Metz T. P. Lochard
5170 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

June 30, 1949

October 28, 1949

Dr. Metz T. P. Lochard
5170 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Lochard:

Where are you and what are you doing?

I have been flying all about the habitable globe as of course you know. My last trip to Russia, Poland and Czechoslovakia was most interesting.

I have temporarily laid aside my novel and am now writing a small book on Russia which I hope to get some publisher to take.

Let me hear what you are doing and give my best love to Julia. I shall probably be in Chicago sometime during the Winter.

Yours with every good wish.

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

November 14, 1949

20-51-33

Dr. Metz T. P. Lochard
5170 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Lochard:

What do you know about this Edith S. Sampson? She went with the Town Meeting on the Air and defended America in India and elsewhere. I shall be glad to get any data.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

28-50-17

February 16, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am pleased to enclose herewith my check in the sum of $1.88, the pro rata for each contributor to What the Negro Wants on the sale of 70 copies, July 1-December 31, 1948. Total sales are now 10,256 copies.

Sincerely yours,

Rayford W. Logan

28-50-18

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 24, 1949

Dr. Rayford W. Logan
Department of History
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Dr. Logan:

Thank you for your last check. I think the book did remarkably well.

My best regards to you and your wife.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBDuB:lm

August 17, 1949

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
23 W. 26th St.
New York City

23-52-6

Dear Mr. DuBois:

We, the undersigned officers of the Longshoremen's Aid Society, founded in April, 1949, by Negro women, address to your attention the enclosed appeal to all members of the New York City Council and to the Hon. William O'Dwyer, Mayor of the City of New York, for immediate councilmanic action and public hearings on the matter of discriminatory hiring on the piers of the City of New York.

Public hearings to bare the true facts of the situation will show that City and State laws are being broken. When the people of the City of New York know the misery, the anxiety, in every Negro longshoreman's home, they will see that steps are taken to guarantee that New York City piers be freed from discrimination that all men may have the right to work.

We are addressing ourselves to you and other citizens in the hope that you will associate yourself with this appeal. A postcard is enclosed for your convenience in replying.

Very sincerely yours,

Hattie Brisbane
Mrs. Hattie Brisbane, President

Lydia Bailey
Mrs. Lydia Bailey, Secretary

Longshoremen's Aid Society
564A Halsey Street
Brooklyn, N.Y.

23C-52

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Mrs. Hattie Brisbane, Pres.
Longshoremen's Aid Society
564A Halsey Street
Brooklyn 33, N. Y.

Mrs. Hattie Brisbane, Pres.
Longshoremen's Aid Society
564A Halsey Street
Brooklyn 33, N. Y.

I would like to associate myself with you in your appeal to the Council of the City of New York for councilmanic investigation and immediate public hearings on the matter of discriminatory hiring on the piers of the City of New York.

(Signed) .....

(Address) .....

(City) .....

[ENC]

August 10th, 1949

The Hon. William O'Dwyer
City Hall
New York City

Dear Mayor O'Dwyer:

We, the undersigned officers of the Longshoremen's Aid Society, established by Negro women in April 1949, address to your attention the enclosed appeal, addressed by us to all members of the New York City Council, for councilmanic action and immediate public hearings, on evidences of discriminatory hiring practices on the piers of the City of New York.

We urge that you associate yourself with this appeal, and use your good offices as Mayor of the City of New York to effect immediate councilmanic action in this matter.

We await the opportunity to advise with you on this matter.

Very sincerely,

Mrs. Hattie Brisbane, President

Mrs. Lydia Bailey, Secretary

Longshoremen's Aid Society
654A Halsey Street
Brooklyn, New York

23C-58

[1949]
[ENC]

EVIDENCES OF DISCRIMINATORY HIRING PRACTICES ON NEW YORK CITY PIERS

At the present time, almost the entire membership of Local 968 is unemployed and unable to earn even the barest livelihood. While there is considerable unemployment generally on the waterfront, the proportion of the unemployed members of Local 968 far exceeds the proportion of the unemployed membership of any other ILA union in Brooklyn. This situation has arisen by reason of a number o. discriminatory practices which are regularly occurring on the waterfront, which Local 968 is struggling to correct.

Local 968 is one of ten longshore locals of the ILA in Brooklyn. Its book-holding membership at the present time is over one thousand members. This constitutes about ten per cent (10%) of the total membership in Brooklyn. of all ten of the ILA locals. The membership of Local 968 is almost entirely Negro. Local 968 was chartered in 1917, thirty-two years ago. Its office is located at Furman Street in Brooklyn Heights, and has been located within a stone's throw of its present office throughout its existence.

Local 968 is the only local in Brooklyn which has no jurisdictional authority over any piers. All piers in the Port of New York are assigned to specific locals of the union for jurisdiction. Jurisdiction over seventy or more piers in Brooklyn has been divided up in practice as follows:

Local 808 has jurisdiction over the twelve piers between 29th Street and Pier 1 of Bush Terminal; Local 1195 has jurisdiction over Piers 36, 37 and 38 at Atlantic Basin; Local 955 (the Greenpoint Local) has jurisdiction over the nine Greenpoint and Astoria piers. All other piers (approximately 50) in Brooklyn are jointly under the jurisdiction of the six "Red Hook Locals," which in reality operate as one local under Gus Scannavino, ILA Vice-President. Of the six Red Hook locals, two do not have original longshore jurisdiction. These are Local 338-1, whose original charter provides for jurisdiction over oil handlers, and Local 1199, whose original charter provides for jurisdiction over coal handlers, but whose members nevertheless receive a substantial amount of longshore work.

The "Shape-up" is the method through which Brooklyn longshore workers are supposedly hired. In reality, however, the hiring in Brooklyn is done in advance of the "Shape-up," through the union delegate and the hatch boss. Longshore work is performed by gangs; each gang generally has twenty members. The hatch boss makes up his gang with the approval of the union delegate. The "Shape-up" thus becomes merely the machinery through which the already hired gangs merely report for the employment previously arranged. On each pier, there are steady gangs which are recognized by the stevedoring companies and the union's delegates to have the first right to work on the pier on which they have a status as a steady gang. Other gangs are generally termed "Extra gangs." Where a ship has to be loaded or unloaded within a specified time, and the work cannot be completed within that time by the steady gangs, extra gangs are employed. There is generally almost as much work on the piers for the extra gangs as for the steady gangs. Gangs work as a team. Each hatch boss has his regular gang, so that when the hatch boss is called, his gang is called with him. The greatest bulk of employment is through the employment of these steady and extra gangs. Individual employment takes place only in the event of the illness or lateness to work of a steady or extra gang member, or because of the need for oversized gangs or some other such unpredictable need.

Local 968 has no area of jurisdiction; it has no piers on which its members have any preference for work. Obviously, a delegate of the other local unions will see that his own gangs are employed before those of Local 968. Members of Local 968 can, therefore, find work only in the very few instances in which workers other than steady or extra gangs are employed. At best, a very small number of its workers can find only an occasional day's work.

To aggravate this situation, Negro gangs, which have had status as steady gangs on particular piers for very many years, have been thrown out of work in the recent past and replaced by white gangs. Negro gangs, which had been shifted during the war from piers on which they had worked for decades and which sought to return to the piers on which they had steady gang status, were denied that right, while white gangs, which were members of the Red Hook locals, under identical circumstances have been given that right.

White gangs are sent in short of their usual numbers rather than hire Negro workers to fill out the full complement of the gang.

White gangs have been imported from New Jersey and New York, rather than employ a Negro gang.

230-52

Members of Local 968, not being able to obtain any work through their Local, are required to seek work through other Local unions. This leads to the inevitable result that Local 968 members can obtain work only after the total membership of the other local unions have been employed. This leads, also, to the result that Local 968 members are able to get work only of the most undesirable types and work only when no one else is immediately available.

The above facts were presented to Mayor O'Dwyer, to Commissioner Murtagh, the Mayor's Labor Adviser Mr. O'Grady, the Mayor's Committee on Unity, the State Committee Against Discrimination. Representations have been made by delegations of citizens. No action resulted.

Members of Local 968, faced with official indifference to the violation of City and State laws against such discriminatory practices, determined to visit Mr. Joseph Ryan's office in a further effort to effect a solution.

Mr. Ryan refused to talk with the men, calling goons and police to eject them from his office and lead an attack on a demonstration of support by other longshoremen, brother trade unionists, and interested citizens, taking place outside Mr. Ryan's office building.

Mr. Ryan's current effort to dissolve the local union is presently in the courts.

Longshoremen's Aid Society
654A Halsey Street
Brooklyn, New York

[ENC]

"COPY OF LETTER ADDRESSED TO MEMBERS OF NEW YORK CITY COUNCIL"

August 10th, 1949

We, the undersigned officers of the Longshoremen's Aid Society, established by Negro women in April 1949, address to your attention the attached brief statement of evidences of a drive to exclude Negro longshoremen from employment on the piers of the City of New York.

The officers and members of Local 968 of the International Longshoremen's Association have appealed time and again for intervention to the proper City and State authorities. Their appeals have gone unanswered. Negro longshoremen and their families face desperate poverty and hunger.

230-52

We believe the current effort of Mr. Joseph Ryan, President of the I.L.A., to dissolve this local union 968 of the I.L.A., is verification of these charges and proof of intention to suppress resistance to this exclusion, as well as to prevent the people of the City of New York, the owners of these piers, from knowing the facts of discriminatory practices, violence and corruption.

We believe that the City Council must act. We urge that you join with other like-minded councilmen to introduce the attached Resolution in the City Council, in order that public hearings may be held on these allegations, and that necessary steps be taken to the end that New York City piers be free from discrimination, in accordance with the laws of the City and State.

A small delegation from among our number would like the opportunity to meet with you to discuss this urgent matter.

We await your reply.

Very sincerely,

Mrs. Hattie Brisbane, President

Mrs. Lydia Bailey, Secretary

Longshoremen's Aid Society
654A Halsey Street
Brooklyn, New York

[1949]
[ENC]

23C-52

RESOLUTION

"Whereas there exists evidence of a drive to exclude Negro longshoremen and others from employment on piers of the City of New York in violation of the laws of the City and State of New York against such discrimination,

and

Whereas this situation is a subject of great concern to the Citizens of New York, the owners of piers, therefore

Be it Resolved, that the Council of the City of New York, or a proper committee thereof, shall hold immediate hearings on this matter and take action to the end that our piers be free from discrimination in accordance with the laws of our City and State."

Longshoremen's Aid Society
654A Halsey Street
Brooklyn, New York

cover 8/

Oak Terrace, Skokie.
August 15. 49

Dear Du Bois:

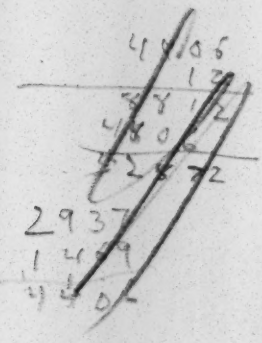
It was good of you to write me from the Steppe. I have spent many pleasant days there. You and I first met in the autumn of 1888, in N. H. Ya, and examined the shifts and dressings of the coast under the direction of Mr. Harris. In the fifty years since then I have followed your career with enthusiasm. I envy you the opportunity of visiting the Soviet Union.

Thank you for your friendly warning as to Frik.

Always sincerely yours,

Robert Morss Lovett

23-0-29



Req for Info

1306 Walnut St.
Texarkana, Tex.
Oct. 28, 1949

23-7-23

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
2302 Montebello Terrace
Baltimore, Md.

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

October 10, 1949 I wrote you a letter and it was forwarded to your secretary about some material I need to write a little thesis on you and your work. She was very prompt in her reply and sent me some notes on your life but I need some other material that I can't locate in Texas or have failed to so far. I must have the following

23-7-24

1. Suppressing the African Slave Trade.
2. Black Reconstruction and 3. an Autobiography.

I'm sure you have a copy of these books and am asking, probably an unheard of thing, if you will, for a reasonable fee, send me or my instructor, Dr. Grantham, North Texas State College, Denton, Texas, these books for me to use with his and my assurance that I shall take good care of the books and return them as soon as I write my paper. I have ordered from the publisher, Dusk of Dawn but that at this it seems can't be bought even were I able to buy all of them.

23-7-25

I shall appreciate an immediate reply and telling me whether you can & will comply with my request.

Sincerely yours
Mrs. L. F. McAfee

23-7-26

November 14, 1949

Mrs. L. F. McAfee
1306 Walnut Street
Texarkana, Texas

My dear Madam:

Answering your letter of October 28, may I say that my book, "The Suppression of The African Slave Trade," has long been out of print, and is quoted at $100 in second-hand book shops when a stray copy happens to turn up. Your only way of consulting it would be through some library which has it. I could not let my copy out of my hands.

My book, "Black Reconstruction," is also out of print and practically impossible to obtain. My autobiography, is contained in the book, "Dusk of Dawn", which could easily be obtained from the publishers, Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., whose is 383 Madison Avenue, New York, New York.

Any reliable book-seller in Texarkana, could order this for you if he wished to. I am sorry not to be more helpful.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

651 Ringview Pl
Decatur 26. Ill
Matthew S. McCauley

DECATUR
NOV 20
6:30 PM
1949
ILL.

Ryan Photo

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Mr W. E. B. Dubois - Ph D.
23 - W - 26th St
New York 10
N. Y

Dear Dr Dubois - I wrote
you some time ago, but you
secretary wrote that you was over
seas. However. Dr I collect
autograph pictures & auto
graphs of famous peoples.
Seeing the subjects as Waters
for our teen age study club -
they are put up for refer-
ence & inspiration not only
for my children, the club
those that frequent the home
but those not as yet on the
stage of action. The response
has been terrific - The
Decatur Review only
carried a picture & article
relating to my collection &
the Molier - Dr may we add
yours to the collection?
Thanks & may God bless
you & pray I am
Matthews S. McCauley
65 N. Longview St
Decatur 26. Ill

234-8

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 17, 1949

Mr. R. W. Barber
A. C. McClurg & Company
333 East Ontario Street
Chicago 11, Illinois

23-11-7

My dear Mr. Barber:

Enclosed please find my check for $100 for the plates of THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK. Will you kindly have them sent to this address.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure: Check

Brother

A. C. McClurg & Co. SINCE 1844

WHOLESALE 333 E. Ontario St. Chicago (11), Ill.

AIR MAIL

January 18, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York (18), N. Y.

23-11-5

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your check for $100.00 tendered by you in connection with your purchase of the text plates for THE SOULS OF THE BLACK FOLK.

As you know, these are now in the possession of Wisconsin Cuneo Press, Milwaukee, and will be shipped from there. We are accordingly asking them to make shipment to you at 20 West 40th Street, New York, at their earliest convenience.

We neglected to ask you in our last letter if you had any shipping instructions to give us. If so, please reply by air mail immediately. If you have no such instructions, we shall use our best judgment in the matter of shipping the plates so that they will be delivered to you at the lowest cost consistent with proper handling.

Very truly yours,

A. C. McCLURG & CO.

RWBarber

Publishing Dept.

RWBarber:dlm

BOOKS STATIONERY OFFICE SUPPLIES SCHOOL SUPPLIES PARTY GOODS GREETING CARDS HOLIDAY GOODS GIFTS
HOUSEWARES DINNERWARE GLASSWARE DRUG SUNDRIES BABY GIFTS EASTER GOODS VALENTINES
SPORTING GOODS ELECTRICAL APPLIANCES LEATHER GOODS DECORATIONS DOLLS GAMES TOYS

23 West 26th Street
New York, New York
January 21, 1949

A. C. Mc Clurg & Company
333 E. Ontario Street
Chicago 11, Illinois
Attention: Mr. Barber

My dear Mr. Barber:

In my last letter to you On January 17, 1949, in which I enclosed my check of $100 to pay for the shipping of the plates of "Souls of Black Folk"; I gave you my new address and asked that they be shipped to this address.

Will you kindly take care of this matter at once.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

A. C. McClurg & Co. SINCE 1844

WHOLESALE 333 E. Ontario St. Chicago (11), Ill.

January 26, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street,
New York (10), New York

23-11-4

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thanks for your letter of January 21st. You will be glad to know that the correct forwarding description was given Wisconsin Cuneo Press in our original instructions to them. We have asked them to ship the plates by motor freight to you at 23 W. 26th St. and we hope they will arrive in good condition.

Very truly yours,

A. C. McCLURG & CO.

R. W. Barber,
Publishing Dept.

RWB:dlm

BOOKS STATIONERY OFFICE SUPPLIES SCHOOL SUPPLIES PARTY GOODS GREETING CARDS HOLIDAY GOODS GIFTS
HOUSEWARES DINNERWARE GLASSWARE DRUG SUNDRIES BABY GIFTS EASTER GOODS VALENTINES
SPORTING GOODS ELECTRICAL APPLIANCES LEATHER GOODS DECORATIONS DOLLS GAMES TOYS
443

WORKS SOULS OF [illegible]

A. C. McClurg & Co. SINCE 1844

WHOLESALE 333 E. Ontario St. Chicago (11), Ill.

February 3, 1949

Booker

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York (10), N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We feel it necessary to explain the delay in the shipment of the plates for THE SOULS OF THE BLACK FOLK, although we gave shipping instructions to the printer as soon as we were able to do so after hearing from you. However, they tell us they need a copy of the book in order to insure the inclusion of all the pages of the book and we have promised to send them a copy we have in our reference library. However, the room in which the book is stored is undergoing alterations at the present time and the workmen have the bookcase blocked in such a way that we cannot gain access to it until later this week. Just as soon as we can get hold of the book, we will forward it to the printer so that the plates can be shipped as speedily as possible.

Very truly yours,

A. C. McCLURG & CO.

R. W. Barber,
Publishing Dept.

RWB:dlm

BOOKS STATIONERY OFFICE SUPPLIES SCHOOL SUPPLIES PARTY GOODS GREETING CARDS HOLIDAY GOODS GIFTS
HOUSEWARES DINNERWARE GLASSWARE DRUG SUNDRIES BABY GIFTS EASTER GOODS VALENTINES
SPORTING GOODS ELECTRICAL APPLIANCES LEATHER GOODS DECORATIONS DOLLS GAMES TOYS
443

[McMahon]

July 19, 1949

Miss Helen G. McMahon
526 Winsor Street
Jamestown, New York

Dear Miss McMahon:

Answering your letter of May 15, addressed to Dr. Hunton, may I say that we do not have any copies of Dr. Armattoes' "Golden Age of Western African Civilization." for sale. I have a single copy in my library.

If you wish to follow the history of Africa during the Middle Ages and up to 1600, may I recommend: Du Bois' "The World and Africa", published in 1947 by the Viking Press. You will find bibliographical notes in the preface; and also if you will consult the preparatory volume of the "Encyclopedia of the Negro," published by the Phelps-Stokes Fund, you will find further references to books.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:LM

23-50-27

April 11, 1949

The Dean
Makerere College
Kampala, Uganda
East Africa

My dear Sir:

Enclosed please find my check for $1.00 a subscription for MAKERERE, your magazine.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure: Check $1.00

[MARCANTONIO]

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1299

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

N83D97 6R NL PD

NEWYORK NY JAN 29 1949

DR W.E.B. DU BOIS

409 EDGECOMBE AVE NYK

EVIDENCE ALREADY PRODUCED IN TRIAL INDICTED COMMUNIST LEADERS REVEALS SHOCKING SUBVERSION JUSTICE FEDERAL COURTS NEW YORK. CHIEF JUDGE KNOX ADMITS PUTTING IN OPERATION SYSTEM HAND-PICKED GRAND AND PETIT JURIES PRECLUDING FAIR TRIAL BY SYSTEMATICALLY EXCLUDING WORKERS, NEGROES, JEWS, OTHER MINORITY GROUPS. JUDGE KNOX SAYS WILL NOT ALTER SYSTEM UNLESS QUOTE ORDERED TO DO SO BY AUTHORITY, TO WHICH I MUST YIELD UNQUOTE. UNDERSIGNED BELIEVE BILL OF RIGHTS RESTS THIS AUTHORITY IN THE PEOPLE, WHO SHOULD EXERCISE IT TO ABOLISH DISGRACEFUL JURY SYSTEM FOISTED UPON US. WE URGE YOU ATTEND EMERGENCY CONFERENCE LAUNCHING SUCH REFORM MOVEMENT TUESDAY, FEBRUARY FIRST AT 1 P.M. IN WALNUT ROOM, CAPITOL HOTEL, 51ST STREET 8TH AVENUE.

HON VITO MARCANTONIO	SHIRLEY GRAHAM	JACK LEVINE
PAUL REBESON	JOHN T DOLES JR	MAXINE WOOD
BEN GOLD	ALBERT C GILBERT	PAUL STRAND
EWART GUINIER	LEO J LINDER	DR GENE WELTFISH
MAX PERLOW	LEE PRESSMAN	HELEN PHILLIPS
ALEX SIROTA	PAUL L ROSS	JOSEPH BRAININ
JOHN STEUBEN	ARTHUR SCHUTZER	RABBI B BICK
HARRY REICH	MURIEL DRAPER	DR RAPHAEL MAHLER
SAM BURT	MAX WEBER	LUIS QUERO CHIESA
CHARLES COLLINS	ADA B JACKSON	WILLIAM FURMAN
WILLIAM LAWRENCE	DR A GERALD EDWARDS	REV JOHN S GIVENS
DASHIELL HAMMETT	SAM MORGENSTERN	DR GEO. E J BANKS
WILLIAM L PATTERSON	HOWARD FAST	REV J N C DAVIS
		DANIEL BENJAMIN

911P

23-49-25

THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE

42/10/7

June 27, 1949

Mrs. Della Marshall
11 & Ripley Streets
Davenport, Iowa

Dear Madam:

I am trying to secure data as to the exact age of my wife, Nina Gomer Du Bois. Will you kindly send me an affidavit as to her age or date of her birth so far as you know.

I shall be greatly obliged.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[MASSES & MAINSTREAM]
409

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

1949 FEB 23

WESTERN UNION

1201 (22)

MU-3-5295

409

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NA128 PD=NEWYORK NY 23 1103A= 1949 FEB 23 AM 11 24

DR W E B DUBOIS, COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS=

:23 WEST 26 ST=

:ON BEHALF OF OUR READERS, CONTRIBUTORS AND STAFF WE EXTEND WARMEST GREETINGS TO YOU ON YOUR EIGHTY-FIRST BIRTHDAY. YOUR LIFE AND WORK IS AN INSPIRATION TO ALL OF US IN THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUAL RIGHTS PEACE AND FREEDOM=:

SAMUEL SILLEN HERBERT APTHEKER MADELINE LAWRENCE LLOYD L BROWN CHARLES HUMBOLDT EDITORS AND STAFF OF MASSES & MAINSTREAM=

28-1-83

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

23-411-6

April 14, 1949

Dr. Herbert Aptheker
Masses & Mainstream
832 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Aptheker:

Here are three corrections in the text of my proposed Paris speech.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

Aptheker

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN · *Associate Editors:* HERBERT APTHEKER, LLOYD L. BROWN, CHARLES HUMBOLDT

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 Algonquin 4-0233

15 July 1949

23-40-31

Dear Dr. DuBois

I am enclosing a manuscript which the Editors are considering for publication. We are eager to have the opinion of the contributing editors as to the merit of this story and the desirability of our publishing it.

Will you be good enough to send us, your comment as quickly as possible? I should appreciate your returning the manuscript.

Thanks for your help.

Yours cordially,

Samuel Sillen

Samuel Sillen
Editor

uopwa#18

July 19, 1949

23-18-32

Mr. Samuel Sillen, Editor
MASSES & MAINSTREAM
832 Broadway
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Sillen:

I think this story is quite worthy of publishing.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Aptheker

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN · Associate Editors: HERBERT APTHEKER, LLOYD L. BROWN, CHARLES HUMBOLDT,

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 Algonquin 4-0233

23-41-10

9/13/49

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Welcome home!

The editors are very anxious to get from you a piece dealing with the Soviet Peace Congress, running to some 2500 words. Our November issue will be devoted in good part to the USSR, and the article from you would be most helpful. If you found it possible to get this to us by October 3(not later) it would make the November number.

PLEASE.

Cordially,

Herbert Aptheker

Herbert Aptheker

23-41-11

September 21, 1949

Mr. Herbert Aptheker
MASSES & MAINSTREAM
832 Broadway
New York 3, New York

My dear Mr. Aptheker:

I have your letter of September 13. I have promised the GUARDIAN, that I would give them a short statement about the Moscow Peace Conference. However, I do not suppose this would interfere with the article which you wish. I will, therefore, try to see if I can get it ready for you by October and will let you know definitely very soon.

I tried to get hold of you and Mrs. Aptheker before the trip to Russia, in order to have you come and have breakfast with me and Shirley, but you were on vacation. I hope we can arrange this very soon.

My best regards.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN · *Associate Editors:* HERBERT APTHEKER, LLOYD L. BROWN, CHARLES HUMBOLDT,

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 Algonquin 4-0233

October 14th, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

23-40-33

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter I have just received from Paris describing a recent government action against Louis Aragon, who has been deprived of his civil rights. I know you will agree that it is important for American writers to protest this highhanded action. May I suggest that you communicate your protest to the signer of the enclosed letter whose address is given at the bottom of the letter. Thank you very much.

Yours cordially,

Samuel Sillen

Samuel Sillen
Editor

SS:ML
enc.
uopwa-18

[ENC]

C
O
P
Y

Translation

Dear Friend:

The great French writer, Louis Aragon, has been the victim of a repressive action on the part of his government, an action which has aroused amazement and indignation among French intellectuals.

Louis Aragon has been deprived of his civic rights and has had his voting card taken from him.

He was charged, as editor of Ce Soir, with having published, almost a year ago, an article containing an inaccurate statement (of which he himself was not even the author); and because this "error of the press" has been taken up by the courts, the above-mentioned punitive action has been taken against Aragon.

A law of 1852 gives the courts jurisdiction, if they so desire, to deprive a citizen of his civic rights in the event that he is found guilty of serious or infamous crimes which call for a punishment in excess of five years imprisonment.

23-40-34

An ordnance of 1945 by the Government of DeGaulle enlarged upon the decree of 1852 and stipulated that any correctional punishment, no matter how slight - a fortnight in jail, or a penalty of 10,000 francs, automatically entails the loss of civic rights.

These texts clearly refer to offenses against the common law. Today French judges are interpreting this law in whatever way they deem convenient, and are thus staging a shameful spectacle for France and the whole world: They condemn to national indignity a French poet and novelist of the stature of Louis Aragon, one of the greatest of men, who has enhanced the prestige of France and of French culture with his outstanding and heroic achievements. And while innumerable individuals are benefiting from leniency on the part of the courts, a man such as Aragon is deprived of his rights as a French citizen.

This shocking news, this travesty on justice, must arouse indignation and protest in every country in the world where Aragon's name and works are known....

This matter represents not only a vicious attack on the personal rights of a great French citizen, but also an attack on a man whom all the world regards as one of the finest and staunchest defenders of culture and peace.

France is respected by the rest of the world for her traditional love of freedom and for her respect and understanding of diverse opinions and beliefs. The attack on Aragon is an attack on France, an attack upon the highest traditions of France; and men of all nations cannot possibly accept this event with indifference.

Please accept my sincere wishes
(Signed) P. Gamarra

Bureau de Liaison International des Intellectuals
2 rue de l'Elysee - Paris (8e), France

October 28, 1949

Mr. Samuel Sillen
Editor
MASSES & MAINSTREAM
832 Broadway
New York 3, New York

My dear Mr. Sillen:

I knew of the attack on Aragon while I was in Paris, and I shall be very glad to sign any protest if I am not too late.

I have been hoping to see you sometime and find out just in what shape you escaped Europe.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

2302 Montebello Ter.
Balt. 14, Md.

June 1st Dubois

Dear Dr.

We are surviving fairly well with the terrible heat spell.

Mrs DuBois suffered quite a bit, but since we have some relief, she is doing fine. I had been waiting for Miss Pratt (Mrs Marains) to call me to let me know definitely if she could come out. She called me last week, and she will be able to work. She will be here Aug. 14th until I return.

Hope You are feeling well, and thank You very much.

Truly
Elsie Matthews

23-52-2

[1949?]

2026 Madison Ave.
Balto. 17, Md.

Dear Dr.

I know you are very busy these days as I do keep up with some of your activeties through the Newspaper. I was in New York in Aug. and I called your office, but was informed you were Abroad. Hope you had a nice trip.

I haven't talked with Debby. but her mother told me she had a fine trip. I am back at Dr. Higgins again.

I have been here since the first of October. If hen you have a few spare Minutes, let me hear from you and how you are.

Yours truly,
Ellis Matthews

23-1-27

about 1949

Req. for an appt.

New York, N., July 4th, 1949
61 West 114th Street, Apt. 4 C.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
Council on Sfrican Affairs,
23 West 26th Street,
New York, N. Y.

23-3-10

Dear Doctor:-

The undersigned has come to this country on commission fron the Cuban Government, and personally bringing greetings from the Negro workers of Cuba.

I have designed several machanical apparatus, invented by and I would like for you to see them and give me your advice, therefore I am asking for an interview to that effect.

In the hope that you will give this request your attention and with kind regards to your organization, i beg to remain,

Very respectfully yours,

Pastor Melendrez

Pastor Melendrez

July 6, 1949

Mr. Pastor Melendrez
61 West 114th Street
Apartment 4 C
New York, New York

My dear Sir:

I shall be very glad to see you at your convenience. Will you please call my secretary and make an appointment, the number is Mu. 3-7894.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Corres. M

MENIN AND CONRY
COUNSELORS AT LAW
SUITE 614 ERNEST & CRANMER BUILDING
DENVER 2, COLORADO
KEystone 7509
MAin 2054

SAMUEL D. MENIN
FRANK H. CONRY
KENNETH N. KRIPKE

May 16, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
23 West 26th Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

23-1-26

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I guess you will remember me from the National Lawyers Guild convention in Detroit.

Recently, I wrote an article for the publication of the Colorado Bar Association, entitled "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights -- a Challenge to America." I am sending you a copy of the publication, and would appreciate very much your reaction to this article.

On Saturday, May 14th, Mrs. Paul Robeson was in Denver with the Wallace party, and I had occasion to talk to her, and promised to send her a copy of the publication which I am enclosing. I would appreciate it if you would let her see this after you are through with it, and tell her that I would like to hear from her regarding it.

With kindest personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Samuel D. Menin

SDM:gp
Enclosure

DICTA

32-14-21

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May, 1949

Volume XXVI Number 5

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights—A Challenge to America

BY SAMUEL D. MENIN
of the Denver Bar

INTRODUCTION BY THE EDITOR

The ABA Journal quite rightfully has given a great amount of space to merits and demerits of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, both before and after its adoption by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10, 1948. Because ABA President Holman and the Journal, editorially, have opposed the Declaration, your Editor hoped to find some local lawyer who would explain this historic document in a more favorable light.

Mr. Samuel D. Menin, famed for his courageous defense of minority groups, was asked to give his views, and they are reprinted herewith. Not too surprisingly, Mr. Menin sees the Declaration as a challenge to America in her cavalier treatment of minorities.

With all due respect to Mr. Menin, however, and not denying for a moment that the treatment of Negroes is a shameful page in American history, your Editor believes, none the less, that Mr. Menin's remarks lend no assistance to the argument that a covenant embodying these principles of human rights should be entered into by the United States. On the contrary, one might cite the situation so fearlessly spelled out by Mr. Menin as a convincing argument why this nation, if incapable of policing itself, should not enter into any binding compacts with other nations regarding human rights.

For a discussion of the Declaration, with particular reference to the dilatory tactics of the Soviet Union in attempting to obstruct its passage, see the article of James Simsarian of the State Department in 35 ABAJ 205, March, 1949. The full text was printed in 35 ABAJ 32, January, 1949, and the April issue of the Journal contains a defense of the Declaration in reply to President Holman, 35 ABAJ 283.

On December 10, 1948, the United Nations General Assembly approved and promulgated for the Nations of the world and their people, a Universal Declaration of Human Rights. While this Declaration does not impose the obligations of a treaty, it nevertheless is a challenge to the world to promote respect for human dignity and the basic freedoms of the people.

"The United Nations, on the initiative of the government of the United States, will press vigorously in 1949 for the formulation and submission of a Covenant which will give contractual and treaty form to such 'rights' as are stated in it; also, measures for implementation, to 'put teeth into the Covenant' and assure international powers and means of enforcing it against states, groups and individuals."[1]

The Declaration takes cognizance of the fact that "disregard and contempt for human rights" has international repercussions and if man is not to take "recourse . . . to rebellion against tyranny and oppression . . . human rights should be protected by the rule of law."

Secretary of State George C. Marshall, in urging approval by the nations of "a new declaration of human rights for free men in a free world" further said:

"Systematic and deliberate denials of basic human rights lie at the

[1] American Bar Assn. Journal, Jan., 1949, Page 32.

> root of most of our trouble and threatens the work of the United Nations. It is not only fundamentally wrong that millions of men and women live in daily terror of secret police, subject to seizure, imprisonment, or forced labor without just cause and without fair trial, but these wrongs have repercussions in the community of nations. Governments which systematically disregard the rights of their own people are not likely to respect the rights of other nations and other people and are likely to seek their objectives by coercion and force in the international field."

It could hardly be said that the reference by Secretary Marshall to "Governments which systematically disregard the rights of their own people . . . . " was a reference to the United States. Yet in the light of current American history, we would have to assume an ostrich-like attitude to say that in this nation there is not a disregard of the basic human rights of a large segment of the American people.

In the founding document which gave birth to this Nation, certain truths were held to be self-evident: "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Likewise, in the Bill of Rights of the Federal Constitution, and in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments thereto, did we set out certain human and civil rights all of which are repeated in greater detail in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In addition, the Declaration goes into the field of domestic social policy. Our government now seeks by its active support in the United Nations to assure by means of a Covenant the enforcement of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights against states, groups and individuals.

The record of our government in the treatment of minorities, especially Negroes, is definitely not in keeping with the commitments we made in the Charter of the United Nations. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights has its genesis in Articles 55 and 56 of the United Nations Charter which provides among other things for:

> "universal respect for and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race . . . "

That our relations with the world are affected by the treatment accorded racial minorities is acknowledged by the President's Committee on Civil Rights in its report to the President of the United States issued in 1947. The Committee states that "our civil rights record has growing international implications. These cannot safely be disregarded by the government at the national level which is responsible for our relations with the world, and left entirely to government at the local level for proper recognition and action. Many of man's problems, we have been learning, are capable of ultimate solution only through international cooperation and action. The subject of

human rights, itself, has been made a major concern of the United Nations. It would indeed be ironical if in our own country the argument should prevail that safeguarding the rights of the individual is the exclusive, or even the primary concern of local government."[2]

It is most ironical indeed, that the United States whose representatives in the United Nations Assembly are now ardently seeking by means of a Covenant to assure the enforcement of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, should themselves be confronted by an appeal for redress made to the United Nations by the Negro people of the United States for wrongs perpetrated against them.[3]

The Negro people, despite Constitutional guarantees and the international agreements to which we are signatory, do not enjoy political, economic or social equality. The poll-tax and various other devices used in the several states below the "Smith and Wesson" line have effectively denied Negroes voting rights on a par with white Americans.

Negroes are subjected to the most degrading discrimination in housing, and they are not free to live where they please. In every large city in the United States, the Negro has been relegated to the slums and tenements. Recently the United States Supreme Court ruled that restrictive covenants could not be enforced.[4] Yet the court refused to declare invalid such covenants by saying "that the restrictive agreements . . . cannot be regarded as a violation of any rights guaranteed . . . by the Fourteenth Amendment. So long as the purposes of those agreements are effectuated by voluntary adherence to their terms, it would appear clear that there has been no action by the State and the provisions of the Amendment have not been violated."

Negroes are subjected to degrading discrimination in education. In the case of *Sipuel vs. Board of Regents,*[5] the petitioner sought admission to the Law School of the University of Oklahoma. She was denied admission because she was colored. The Supreme Court in reversing the State Courts ruled that the State must provide petitioner with the means of obtaining legal education "as soon as it does for applicants of any other group." It will be noted that the language of the Court does not indicate that the petitioner was entitled to enter the regular law school, but merely that the State must provide petitioner with the means of obtaining a legal education as soon as it provides such means to others. The decision thus far has resulted in the creation of a separate law school, which by its very nature cannot result in equal education. The tradition and reputation of a law school of long standing cannot be equaled by the designation of a few instructors in a room or two set up for a single student.

---

[2] To Secure These Rights, Page 100.

[3] An Appeal to the World . . . Issued by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

[4] *Shelly et Ux. vs. Kraemer et Ux,* 68 Sup. Ct. 836.

[5] 68 Sup. Ct. 299, 332 U. S. 631.

The doctrine of separate but equal has never been demonstrated to be more than a mere phrase which means segregation, and segregation means discrimination. The President's Committee has in its report amply demonstrated such to be the case and as to such educational facilities indicated that:

> "... the separate but equal rule has not been obeyed in practice. There is a marked difference in quality between the educational opportunities offered white children and Negro children in separate schools."[6]

Supreme Court Justice Harlan, years ago, in one of the most vigorous and forthright dissenting opinions said:[7]

> "Our Constitution is color blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens... We boast of the freedom enjoyed by our people above all other peoples. But it is difficult to reconcile that boast with a state of law which, practically, puts the brand of servitude and degradation upon a large class of our fellow citizens, our equals before the law. The thin disguise of 'equal' accommodations... will not mislead anyone or atone for the wrong this day done."

The Negro is discriminated against in the armed forces. President Truman made what sounded like a clear statement that he had ordered the earliest possible ending of segregation in the armed forces. Secretary of the Army Royall refused to comply and stated before a congressional committee that he didn't believe that was what the President meant. Army Chief of Staff General Omar Bradley stated there was no plan whatever to alter the system of segregation in the armed forces. "The Army," he said, "will keep racial segregation as long as the nation does."

Negroes do not have equal opportunities in the professions. It is common knowledge that except for some very few hospitals, Negro physicians are barred, while Negro lawyers are not accepted for membership in the American Bar Association. In employment, Negroes are forced into accepting the most menial and undesirable employment. In the few instances where Negroes obtain employment comparable to work offered whites, they are often compelled to work for less. Article 23 of the Universal Declaration says, "Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work."

The life of the American Negro in the South is stalked by the dread of lynch terror. When Negroes are lynched, little or no effort is made by local authorities to punish the offenders. There is complete indifference on the part of law enforcement officers in their investigation. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights provides that "All are equal before the law and are

---

[6] To Secure These Rights, Page 63.
[7] *Plessy vs. Ferguson*, 163 U. S. 537.

entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the laws."[8] Numerous illustrations of the denial of equal protection of the law could be indicated.

"Every person has the right to life, liberty and the security of person."[9] Isaac Woodard, a Negro war veteran didn't receive that security when on February 12, 1946, as he was returning home after serving his country against the Nazi ideology of racial superiority, he was beaten by a South Carolina police chief so severely that he was blinded.

This government which pleads for "a new declaration of human rights for free men in a free world," permits and sanctions in the City of Washington, the refusal of hotels to rent rooms to Negroes, the denial by restaurants to serve Negroes, and theaters to refuse admittance to Negroes. The Federal Government cannot escape responsibility for such conditions; the practice is too wide-spread and open. On March 2, 1949, the House of Representatives voted down a proposal to end segregation in the City of Washington.

The foregoing demonstrates that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in so far as it applies to Negroes has been violated, and in most instances not without the knowledge and sanction of the Federal Government. An immediate cessation of discrimination and segregation of the Negro becomes one of the first duties of our government if we are to adhere to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and most certainly if we are to assume the leadership of putting "teeth into the Covenant." Our government must affirmatively and effectively guarantee equality by outlawing and punishing segregation and discrimination practices by our citizens. This cannot be done by such action as was taken by the House of Representatives March 2, 1949, nor by the Senate filibuster against Civil Rights legislation.

The United States, moreover, must secure legislation and take action not only to eliminate discrimination which is the result of prejudice, but prejudice itself. The Government must take action for the development of a *democratic attitude*. For this reason it is important that the language of Article One of the Declaration of Human Rights that all human beings "should act towards one another in the spirit of brotherhood" be interpreted in the full meaning of its import.

The peoples of the world do not understand America's protestations of democracy while the Negro people here suffer continuous deprivation of human rights and liberties. Before America can assume her rightful place in the world as its moral and spiritual leader, she cannot escape meeting the challenge which the Universal Declaration of Human Rights presents to her. May she meet it with courage and dignity to the end that all the principles set forth therein become part of the common practice of our people and our government.

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[8] Article 7.
[9] Article 3.

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ROBERT J. KINKEL, Secretary

PHONE 7 LITTLETON, COLO.

HAVE YOU PAID YOUR DUES?

It is no justification to say that other nations violate the rights of racial minorities. The writer is not unaware that such is the situation in other countries. But our government has taken the initiative in having had approved the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. And our government has declared its intention to press for an International Covenant of Human Rights which could be enforced against all nations within the fold of the United Nations. Therefore, we must, as a very minimum, practice the principles we advocate, lest we find ourselves confronted by the United Nations attempting to enforce against us the International Covenant of Human Rights.

Gray Grieves at Grievous Grievances

Gray Secor of Longmont writes that "a woman living near here recently wrote a letter to a local hay buyer demanding payment for some hay he had purchased, in which letter she stated that the 'grievous committee of the Bar Association' would take care of people like him.

"From some experiences we have had with certain hay buyers, maybe they should be included in the same category with lawyers, and subject to visitation by the 'grievous committee of the Bar Association'."

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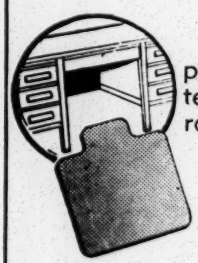

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May 23, 1949

Mr. Samuel D. Menin
Suite 614 Ernest & Cranmer Bldg.
Denver 2, Colorado

Dear Mr. Menin:

Your letter and article of May 16, to Dr. Du Bois has been received. He is still abroad in Paris, but is expected to return on the 31st of this month.

I will bring your letter along with the article to his attention immediately upon his arrival.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

Messner

Cover G

June 8, 1949

23-42-8

Miss Johnston
c/o Julian Messner Inc.
8 West 40th Street
New York, New York

My dear Miss Johnston:

Shirley Graham has just written me from Paris asking me to send the two books which you had delivered here to:

M. Renaud de Jouveral
15 Rue des Saints Peres,
Paris 6, France

She asked that you write him and tell him that these books are sent at her request. Her address is, as I presume you know:

Miss Shirley Graham
Hotel Paris-Dinard
29 Rue Cassette
Paris, France.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Reg Jones Letters

471 W. 145 St., apt 4
New York, N. Y.
May 26, 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Ave
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

23-3-7

Several months ago I requested your permission to use some facts presented by you in a book which I was attempting to write. You granted such permission and I wish to thank you for it. However, you did not reply to my request that I be permitted to meet you.

Since that time I read portions of your book, "Dusk of Dawn" and I have found that some of my ideas — concerning the development of Negro cooperative Enterprise — are very similar to some which you propounded in this book. This, of course, has made me even more anxious to see you, for I would like to have the opportunity of discussing this with you.

I realize, of course, that you are always very busy and could ill-afford to take up time with everyone who wanted to take up your time. If, however, you could allow me a little of your time, I would regard it as a great privilege and an honor.

Respectfully Yours,
Abie Miller

Saw Dr Hughes

June 6, 1949

Mr. Abie Miller
471 West 145th Street
Apartment 4
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Miller:

Answering your letter of May26, may I say that Dr. Du Bois sincerely appreciates your kind words about him and your interest in his work.

He has just recently returned from Paris and has an already over-crowded schedule. I am afraid an interview with him just now would be impossible. I am sorry.

Perhaps later in the season when he is not so rushed, would be more convenient.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

MONTHLY REVIEW

AN INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST MAGAZINE

Menemsha
Martha's Vineyard
Mass.

66 BARROW STREET
NEW YORK 14, N. Y.
TELEPHONE WA 4-7497

23-1-43

June 21, 1949

Dear Mr DuBois,

I have been trying for a month or more to see you personally to ask you to contribute an article to a series we are running in Monthly Review on "Why I Believe in Socialism." Unfortunately, because you were busy abroad, that was not possible, so I write you now what I would have told you had we met.

First, I enclose the announcement of the magazine which tells you something about the editors and where they stand. Second, I call your attention to the first article in the series, by Dr Einstein in the May number, and to the next article in the series by Scott Nearing in the June number. On the theory that the American people have been tricked into believing that only crackpots believe in socialism, we are planning to have the most eminent figures in every walk of American life who believe in socialism declare for it openly. We already have commitments from Corliss Lamont and F.O. Matthiessen of Harvard; we want very much to have a piece from you whom my friend Paul Robeson calls "the greatest scholar the Negro people has produced." We

EDITORS • • LEO HUBERMAN • • PAUL M. SWEEZY

aim to be scholarly but not academic, hard-hitting but not hysterical, and we are certain that you can write us a piece within that framework which would be packed with dynamite and aid the movement for socialism.

Will you do it? When? We would, ~~of course~~, appreciate it if it could be done soon. Length: up to 3000 words -

Cordially yours,

Leo Huberman

[Monthly Review]

October 28, 1949

23-1-44

Mr. Leo Huberman
Menemsha
Martha's Vinyard
Massachusetts

My dear Sir:

I have been away from my desk so long that I have neglected to answer your letter of June 21. I should be glad sometime in the future to contribute to the Monthly Review, but just now I am very busy with a book on Russia, so that I am afraid I cannot set a particular date.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

A.S.P.

August 3, 1949

Mrs. Elizabeth Moos
49 West 44th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mrs. Moos:

Here is a possible telegram. Criticize it. Would it be assumed from this that I am speaking officially for these organizations?

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

Enclosure:

Statement sent to Mrs. Moos
49 West 44th Street, 8/3/49

35-3-87

I am herwith asking for opportunity to testify before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee against the arms provision proposals of the Atlantic Pact. I would speak as vice president for the United States of the Coming American Continental Peace Congress to be held in Mexico in September; as a member of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; as a member of the World Committee of the Defenders of Peace which recently held a Congress in Paris; as a representative of the Council on African Affairs and as one of 15 millions of Americans of Negro descent who hate war. I trust you will grant me fifteen minutes to make a statement before you against the arming of Europe for war at the expense of American taxpayers.

24-4-2

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

(48)

BY THE SENDER OF THIS MESSAGE. PLEASE GIVE IT TO THE MESSENGER OR TELEPHONE IT TO

...ms and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NA176 PD=BALTIMORE MD 23 212P=

1949 MAR 23 PM 2 48

DR W E DUBOIS=APT 13H
409 EDGECOMB AVE=

=WOULD LIKE TO HAVE YOU DELIVER COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS MORGAN STATE COLLEGE JUNE 6TH AT 6PM ON SUBJECT OF YOUR OWN CHOOSING HONORARIUM $100 PLUS TRAVELING EXPENSES FROM NEW YORK PLEASE WIRE YOUR REACTION BY FRIDAY MARCH 25TH=
MARTIN D JENKINS PRESIDENT MORGAN STATE COLLEGE=

6 6PM $100 25=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

24-4-3

Charge to the account of _____ $_____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
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DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
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Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

March 24, 1949

(Sent collect)

Martin D. Jenkins, President
Morgan State College
Baltimore, Maryland

Will speak Monday, June 6, Subject " The Future of the Negro State College."

W. E. B. Du Bois

Mu. 3-7894

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

LIBRARY

MORGAN STATE COLLEGE

BALTIMORE-12, MD.

23 April 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
Apartment 13-H
New York City, New York

Dear Dr.DuBois:

This belated letter will confirm my telegram of March 23, 1949, in which I invited you to deliver our Commencement Address. As stated in the telegram, we will pay you an honorarium of $100 plus first-class railroad fare from New York City to Baltimore and return. I am glad that you have accepted this invitation and we look forward, with a great deal of pleasure, to your visit with us.

The Commencement Exercises will be held in the Hughes Stadium of Morgan State College on Monday, June 6, 1949, at 6:00 P.M.,D.S.T. The academic procession will move at 5:30 P.M., probably from the Morgan Christian Center.

There will be a luncheon for the Commencement guests at 3:30 P.M. in the dining hall, which is located in Spencer Hall. You are invited to be present at this affair.

Since Baltimore is your home, you may not wish us to provide sleeping accommodations for you. If you wish us to do so, however, please advise me.

The college will furnish the academic costume, unless you care to provide your own. I am inclosing a form which I wish you would fill out entirely, if you desire us to procure a costume for you, or partially, if you wish to furnish your own academic costume. Of course, we must have the information concerning your name, degrees, and so on. A self-addressed stamped envelope is being inclosed for your convenience.

Cordially yours,

Martin D. Jenkins

MDJ:ewc
Incl: - 1(with attached
envelope)

24-4-4

April 28, 1949

President Martin D. Jenkins
Morgan State College
Baltimore 12, Maryland

Dear President Jenkins:

Your letter of April 23, has been received. Dr. Du Bois is abroad in Paris in attendance at the Peace Congress. He is expected to return early in May.

I will bring your letter and its enclosure to his attention immediately upon his return. He will, I am sure, let you know in time about the costume. However, I do not think you need to provide sleeping accomodations for him.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT LIBRARY

MORGAN STATE COLLEGE
BALTIMORE-12, MD.

29 April 1949

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecomb Avenue
Apartment 13-H
New York City, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am writing to withdraw our invitation to you to deliver the Commencement Address at the Commencement Exercises at Morgan State College on June 6, 1949. This invitation was extended to you as a tribute to your outstanding contributions in the field of scholarship. You were among the first of the great Negro scholars, and you have been for many, many years a symbol and a source of inspiration to the younger Negro scholars who are attempting to follow in your footsteps. Now that you are approaching the end of your career, we thought it desirable, particularly in view of your Baltimore residence, to present you in person to the members of our graduating class.

Your appearance with Mr. Paul Robeson at the recent World Peace Congress held in Paris and, particularly, your failure to condemn his treasonable statement made at that meeting have linked you in the public mind with the Communist movement in this country. I do not deny you the right to your own views. I feel, however, that if you were to speak at Morgan State College, even on a non-political topic as you had planned, it would give the appearance of our being in sympathy with your general views. As a matter of fact, we are far from being sympathetic in this matter. I think that Mr. Robeson's views and apprach are to be severely condemned.

I regret very much that it has been necessary for us to take this action.

Cordially yours,

Martin D. Jenkins

MDJ:ewc
REGISTERED MAIL

24-4-5

May 4, 1949

President Martin D. Jenkins
Morgan State College
Baltimore 12, Maryland

Dear President Jenkins:

Your letter of April 29, to Dr. Du Bois has been received. Dr. Du Bois, as you no doubt know, is still in Paris.

I shall bring your letter to his attention when he returns to his office.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Murphy
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

34-4-3

[MOSHER]

Newspapers

The Newberry Library · Chicago 10 · Illinois

The Reference Department

March 17, 1949

Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois
20 West Fortieth Street
New York City 18

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

23-9-52

For my doctoral dissertation at the University of Illinois I am investigating the editorial policy of The Dial, to which you were a contributor of book reviews. I am writing to you in the hope that you will give me some information concerning your relations with The Dial, since only you as a former contributor can help me answer satisfactorily a number of important questions about Dial policy.

I should like to know everything you can remember about your association with The Dial as a reviewer. These questions will indicate to you the kind of information in which I am interested:

1. Did the editor of The Dial ask you to write reviews for The Dial, or did you offer your services as a reviewer?
2. Were the books you reviewed sent to you by the editor with a request for reviews, or did you ask to review certain books?
3. Were you paid for the reviews?
4. Were you allowed to keep the books you reviewed?
5. Were you ever told what your attitude as a reviewer should be toward a book you were to review?
6. Did you see proofs of your reviews before they were printed?
7. Was any editorial control exercised over your reviews beyond editorial revision for punctuation, capitalization, spelling, etc.?

A statement from you as a contributor expressing what you thought of The Dial and its editors as you knew them would be of historical value to any student of Midwestern literary history. I have just finished reading the first sixty-five volumes of The Dial and am impressed with its real worth as a literary review magazine. From contemporary press and magazine accounts I have learned that it was considered the leading literary review magazine of the country.

But I should like to know what your opinion of The Dial was and is. Here are some guiding questions that might help you frame such a statement:

1. What was your opinion of The Dial when you were writing reviews for it?
2. Do you think it was influential? widely read?
3. Did you consider it too academic, conservative and stodgy? in all fields?
4. Did you feel that it was an honor to be a reviewer for The Dial?
5. What was your opinion of the editors?

23-9-57

You will remember that The Dial changed radically after it was transferred from Chicago to New York. The New York Dial became an entirely different magazine. It is the Chicago Dial (1880-1916), which was edited by Francis Fisher Browne and, after his death in 1913, by his son Waldo R. Browne, with which this letter is concerned.

The Newberry Library, where I am writing my dissertation, has been presented with the Francis Fisher Browne papers by Mr. Browne's sons. Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Bradley recently gave to the library the correspondence of William Morton Payne. The papers of several Dial contributors, including those of Wallace Rice, Henry B. Fuller, and Joseph Kirkland, are also in the collection of papers of Midwestern literary men that Dr. Stanley Pargellis, our librarian, is building. The Browne papers contain chiefly letters to Mr. Browne. We should like to add to the collection more letters written by Mr. Browne. Have you preserved any letters from either Francis Fisher or Waldo R. Browne that you would care to give to the library or that you would send to me to be copied and returned?

Any information you can give me concerning your relations with The Dial will be gratefully received and will be of great help to me in my study.

Sincerely yours,

Fredric J. Mosher

Fredric J. Mosher
Head

[MOSHER]

October 31, 1949

Mr. Fredric J. Mosher, Head
The Newberry Library
Chicago 10, Illinois

My dear Sir:

Your letter of March 17, has been unanswered because I have been absent on two trips to Europe and unable to keep up with my mail.

I am not sure that I can be of much use at this late date. I do not remember that I wrote any reviews for the Editor of the Dial, or offered my service as a reviewer, but I cannot be certain about this without a search through my files which I would not be able to undertake just now.

I agree with you that the Dial was an interesting and significent review and I at the time had hopes that it was going to succeed in building in the Middle West a real literary center instead of letting Chicago remain as an uncertain appendage upon New York. It was certainly influential and while not widely read still was read among persons of importance.

I will try and see if I can find in my files letters from Mr. Brown, with whom I had some correspondence which was of interest and encouraged me in my work a good deal.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[MOSHER]

The Newberry Library · Chicago 10 · Illinois

The Reference Department

November 3, 1949

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West Twenty-sixth Street
New York City 10

23-1-31

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Your letter in reply to my inquiry about your connection with The Dial pleased me very much, and I am grateful to you for taking the time to write me. It was a long time ago, but you did write some reviews for The Dial. According to my notes, the first review by you published in The Dial appeared in the April 16, 1901, issue (XXX:262-64) and was entitled "The Storm and Stress in the Black World." It was a review of The American Negro, What He Was, What He Is, and What He May Become by William Hannibal Thomas. Two more reviews signed by you appeared in The Dial as follows:

> "The Evolution of Negro Leadership." XXXI (July 16, 1901), 53-55. Review of Up From Slavery by Booker T. Washington.
>
> "Slavery and Its Aftermath." XL (May 1, 1906), 294-95. Review of The Negro and the Nation by George S. Merriam and of The Aftermath of Slavery by William A. Sinclair.

I am glad that you concur in my opinion that The Dial was interesting and significant. The more I learn about Francis Fisher Browne, the more I respect him as a man and as an editor. The Dial was absolutely honest, rigidly independent, and always intelligent. It fixed the highest standards of conduct for itself and stuck to them.

Should the titles of the books you reviewed for The Dial strike any responsive chord in your memory so that you will recall any more details of your association with Mr. Browne, you would render me a great service by relaying them to me. Please do search your files for any correspondence with Mr. Browne. Such letters would be doubly valuable--on account of both the writer and the recipient.

One of the reasons I hold so high an opinion of The Dial is that Mr. Browne secured the services of such men as you to prepare its book reviews.

Gratefully yours,

Fredric J. Mosher

Fredric J. Mosher
Head

World Peace Congress

September 21, 1949

Miss Ruzena Mrstikovia
Konecna Ulice 1974
Pardubice, Czechoslovakia

23-40-520

My dear Ruzena:

I arrived in New York, September 16, at noon, finishing the trip which I began August 22.

I had a marvelous time. It was a great privilege to see the Soviet Union again, to see Warsaw and especially to see Prague and you. You were very kind, and I have often thought of the few days which we had together and of how much I enjoyed it.

I hope you are in good health as I am. Within a few days I am going to send you some coffee, tea and other things in the hope that you will have a chance to enjoy them during the coming fall.

I had a very interesting stop in Paris.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[MRSTIKOVIA]

Kostelní ulice 1974,
Pardubice,
17th Oct. 49.

Dear Mr. DuBois,

Being a woman, I like getting pleasant surprises and it was such a lovely surprise over a fortnight ago, when I received your letter.

Please forgive me for not having answered before this, but I had a nasty cold and a touch of pleurisy and in that mood, I did not feel like writing letters.

I was very happy to read you arrived safely back in new York (and in time, I expect, for that conference on the 17th Sept. - am I right?!)

Did you know I waited at the airport until I saw you enter your plane? I did not think, however, that you saw me standing there.

I read with a great pleasure that you enjoyed your short stay in Prague. I have enjoyed those few days which we have together very much indeed. You know how much I

23.1-38

have admired you and your ears must have been ringing a great many times when I was telling my family and friends about you. I was very happy to have met you and to have had the opportunity of spending those few short days in your company.

I wonder how your daughter liked the blouse you chose for her? And did you find on arrival home your oranges, double cream and leg of mutton all ready for you as you ordered them?

I have been home for over a fortnight now nursing my cold and a touch of pleurisy, but I am all right now again. I only need to put on some weight - doctor's order is at least 5 lbs! - What a hope! - and for that reason I am not to go back to Prague for another fortnight or so.

How very nice of you to send me some tea and coffee and "other things" as you write. (My curiosity is greatly aroused by the "other things" as you may imagine!) I shall think of you when I make myself nice cups of coffee (but I hope, by that your invitation to "coffee and cream" x - by yourself is still standing!) I love getting surprise gifts from my friends (no doubt, being a woman has again something to do with it!) and I am very much looking forward to receiving yours.

With best wishes,

Yours very sincerely Růžena.

October 28, 1949

Miss Ruzena Mrstikovia
Konecna Ulice 1974
Pardubice, Czechoslovakia

23-1-39

Dear Ruzena:

I have your kind letter of October 17, and since receiving it have sent you a package containing six pairs of nylon stockings, (I hope they are the right size,) two pounds of coffee, a pound of tea and some chocolate.

I am afraid that perhaps you may be charged duty on the tea because I sent a whole pound instead of the eight ounces which are allowed free. I am trying to find out what the duty will be, and if and when I do, I will send you funds to cover that expense. If I do not hear will you kindly let me know if you have to pay any duty, because it would be too bad to have you charged for this little matter.

I am sorry to hear that you have been ill. I hope that you will take all the rest that you can. I presume that the Winter in Czechoslovakia is pretty severe and you ought to guard yourself. Perhaps another Winter you will be able to be in some higher and drier climate.

I still remember with much pleasure our visit in Prague.

Yours with love,

W. E. B. Du Bois

[MRSTIKOVIA]

11th November 1949.

Correa M

23-1-33

Dear Mrs. Du Bois,

Thank you so much for your very nice letter and a very generous and a most wonderful present! I cannot tell you how thrilled I was to receive the nylons - even now I can hardly believe that I really possess six lovely pairs of nylon stockings! What a surprise! But, how did you guess my size? They are absolutely right size and fit very nicely. The colour is right also. I hardly dared to touch them but, of course, I could not resist and had to put them on right away - they are marvellous and I feel grand wearing them! I always feel very happy and contented, when I manage to get nice clothes - what woman wouldn't? Clothes and accessories are so very important to women, just as business and politics are to men, I think.

The other parcel has not come yet, but I hope that, since the nylons arrived safely, it too, will, some day.

Please, don't worry about the duty. I am sure I shall manage that and I shall be only too glad to pay what little duty there may be on tea to get the contents. Really, you must not think of sending me money to cover that expense because what you have sent me is very

precious and worth a lot of money itself. I appreciate it all and, especially the thought that prompted it, very much indeed.

So please, really, don't try to find out about the duty and I shall certainly not tell you what there was to pay - there may not be anything to pay at all, maybe. If that is the case, then I will let you know!

I am much better again but I am not yet allowed to get back to work. The weather is very cold and wet now, just the very wrong kind of weather for my trouble and the doctor feels I still need more rest. He ordered me to put on some weight - he has long given up hope that I might get "fat".(I shall never be fat anyway, and I am glad, although I also wish that I might manage to put on a few pounds at least)- and I sleep a lot and take a lot of rest and my mother tries as best she can to tempt my appetite to achieve that goal - to fatten me up!

I wonder if you would do me a favour. Would you send me a photograph of yours, please? I should very much like to have it. You see, I like to meet my friends, to see them, talk with them from time to time. And when it is impossible to meet them, I like to see them in a picture. Letters and pictures can recall such pleasant moments as those, I also remember with much pleasure, when you were in Prague.

I don't know if you can imagine how much I appreciate your kindness to me, but I do, very much, and I thank you once again for your lovely present.

With kindest regards, Rilke

23-1-34

December 5, 1949

Miss Ruzena Mrstikovia
Konecna Ulice 1974
Pardubice, Czechoslovakia

My dear Ruthie:

In the same package in which we sent your stockings were also two pounds of the best coffee, one pound of the best English tea and three pounds of chocolate.

If you have not received them, they have probably been stolen, do make enquiry and let me know and I will try to get them to you by registered mail.

I am so glad that you received and liked the stockings.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

[MRSTIKOVIA]

Corres. MI

13th December 1949.

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Thank you very much for your letter which I have just received. I cannot really say that I am enjoying writing this letter to you, because I am so very disappointed and sorry to have to tell you that your lovely surprise parcel to me must have been stolen indeed. And what is more, the whole of it has been lost, unfortunately.

When the nylons arrived, I naturally thought that you have probably mailed them separately and that the other things would follow. But after having written to you to acknowledge them and to thank you for them, I have received a letter from an old English friend who has now been in New York for about a year and who has written to ~~me~~ tell me about the nylon stockings(!) You cannot

(from Saks Fifth Avenue)

23-1-32

imagine what a shock that letter gave me! I realized then that you must have sent the stockings in one package with the other things and that I ought to have received it by this time. I am, therefore, much afraid and terribly sorry to say that it has gone astray.

I have already made inquiries here and was told that the parcel should be traced from the place of its origin, from where it might be found out just how far it got on its way here. I expect you have some kind of a receipt from the post office?

I am so sorry to be the cause of all this trouble; and I hate to think that all those precious and lovely things you intended me to have, are lost.

I wish the parcel might still turn up; when you told me about it, I was so looking forward to receiving it and it is so disappointing to send someone a gift and to find that it did not arrive. I wish I wouldn't have to tell you this; instead I should like to tell you how much pleasure I had from receiving your lovely gift.

Forgive me for having to give you this not at all good news. If by some good chance it arrives after all, I shall let you know immediately.

And now, before I end, what about that favour I asked you?

With my kindest regards.

Yours very sincerely Rita M.

[MRSTIKOVIA]

Cmrek M.

24th December 1949.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In great haste but very happy, I am writing this short note today to tell you that your picture and the parcel have arrived safely after all! The parcel was addressed to me at the Ministry in Prague and I expect that must have caused its delay in getting here, because the Prague Customs officials are even more busy and harried under the great many parcels that arrived at this

23-1-28

time of the year than the Customs here and it took some ~~took~~ time before it was sent on to me here.

I meant to send you a wire to let you know my good news immediately, but our local Post Office were so harassed and could not ~~receive~~ accept my wire until after Christmas. I did not want to wait and decided to write an air mail letter right away which I hope you will soon receive.

Thank you so much for your picture; it is excellent and so alive!

Forgive me for having caused a panic about the parcel but the Customs officials here advised me to let you know immediately; I am sorry now

that I have not waited another week. And the thought that you took the trouble to send those precious things and the kindness which made you think of sending them made me "act promptly"! I am sorry my "prompt action" only created more trouble for you. I apologise and hope that you are not angry with me.

23-1-29

I tasted the chocolate right away - it is marvellous! - but the coffee and tea I shall open tomorrow - on Christmas Day. It will be a perfect finish to the Christmas dinner.

The stockings are heavenly! They are even finer than those I received

some time ago - and which caused all this trouble incidentally! The colour and size are also just right - they are a dream! I shall wear them tomorrow!

Your generous parcel came really like a perfectly wonderful Christmas present - and perfectly timed too, don't you agree?

I do hope that you are having a happy Christmas! I am having it already with your precious gift which I appreciate greatly. I shall be thinking of you hard tomorrow while drinking your coffee so don't be surprised if your ears are burning!

With many grateful thanks
and kindest regards

Yours
Pauline.

[Murphy, Ralph]

34-33155

Mrs. Lovett B. Groves

announces the marriage of her daughter

Corona Marjorie

to

Mr. Ralph Murphy

on Monday the seventeenth of October

nineteen hundred and forty-nine

Dorchester, Massachusetts

June 2, 1949

Dr. Peter M. Murray
2588 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Murray:

I know you have plenty of these but after all this one is from Paris! Greetings and thank you again.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

23-1-26

[MUSOLIT]

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

1949 JAN ... PM 12

WESTERN UNION

(35)

1144 BROADWAY
MU 3-529

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

1949 JAN 1[illegible] PM 1 36

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NA329 DL PD=WASHINGTON DC 18 123P=

DR W E B DUBOIS, CARE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS=

23 WEST 26 ST=

23-9-35

UNDERSTAND YOU WILL BE IN WASHINGTON FEBRUARY 11 CONNECTION CIVIL RIGHTS MEETING WOULD YOU DO MUSOLIT CLUB OLD WASHINGTON ORGANIZATION OF BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL MEN MANY OF WHOM YOUR ACQUAINTANCES AND ADMIRERS HONOR OF SPEAKING AT ANNUAL LINCOLN DOUGLAS BANQUET SATURDAY NIGHT 12TH? PERSONAL REGARDS WIRE COLLECT=

LESLIE S PERRY 100 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE=

11 MUSOLIT 12 100=

WE APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[NUSDLIT]

Tentative speaking engagement for Feb. 12,

Lect Comp

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
January 18, 1949

Mr. Leslie S. Perry
100 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Tentative

23-9-34

My dear Mr. Perry:

At present I have no plans to be in Washington on February 11. If I decide to come, I will be glad to accept your kind invitation.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

W. E.BD:lm

[MUSO LIT]

23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
February 2, 1949

Mr. Leslie S. Perry
100 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

23-9-30

Dear Mr. Perry:

I wired you last night saying that I could speak at the Banquet. I am going to preside at the meeting of the Civil Rights Congress, Saturday afternoon. That would leave me free to speak at night; but I should not want to make a long speech; something about 15 minutes. Moreover, if it is too late for me to be placed on the program, that will be quite all right.

You might remind the club, however, that many years ago, I was made an honorary member, but somehow it seems to have failed to have gotten on the record.

With best regards.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

TELEPHONES {DECATUR 9825
DUPONT 9790

MU-SO-LIT CLUB, INC.
1327 R STREET, NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON 9, D.C.

Lecture comp

February 3, 1949

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

23-44-64

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

We are delighted that you will be able to be with us on Saturday, February 12th and to speak to us. Raymond Pace Alexander and Belford Lawson, both of whom you know well, will speak very briefly.

You may select any subject you want for your remarks that night. We shall certainly follow through on the matter of your having been an "honorary member".

You might be interested in the enclosed program of our activities for the month. Notice of the speakers for the Banquet have not yet been sent out and I know that our membership and friends will be happy to learn that you will be one of them.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

Leslie S. Perry
President

LSP:mt
Encl/

[ENC]

MUSOLIT CLUB, Inc.
1337 "R" Street, N.W.

Telephone - DEcatur 9825
DUpont 9790

PROGRAM FOR FEBRUARY, 1949

Wednesday Night Forums at 8:30 P.M. sharp.

February 2 The Current Situation in Korea

Harry McAlpin

Mr. McAlpin, a well known newspaper correspondent and lawyer, has just returned from a two year stay in Korea where he served as Magazine Editor in the Office of Civil Information, United States Department of Army.

230-44

February 9 Ethnic Relations in Mexico and Guatemala

Dr. Mark Hanna Watkins

Dr. Watkins, Professor of Anthropology, Howard University, has travelled widely in Latin America having lectured and taught at the University of Guatemala.

February 16 Haiti

Dr. Mercer Cook

Dr. Cook is the author of numerous articles dealing with life in the Republic of Haiti. His superb translation of the modern Haitian literary classic "Master of the Dew" (published by Reynal & Hitchcock, 1947) has been widely acclaimed. Dr. Cook, who is Professor of Romance Languages, Howard University, is the author of the forthcoming book "Education in Haiti".

February 23 Ethiopia Since Liberation

William M. Steen

Mr. Steen knows Ethiopia. He served the Ethiopian Government in Addis Ababa for three years as Director of Foreign Information for the Ministry of the Pen.

Saturday, February 12, at 9:00 P.M.

Lincoln-Douglass Banquet

$3.50 per plate. By reservation only.

(Speakers to be announced)

Friday, February 25, at 8:30 P.M.

Motion Pictures

Dr. A. L. Spencer will favor the Club with a showing of films and short subjects.

Members and their guests are invited.